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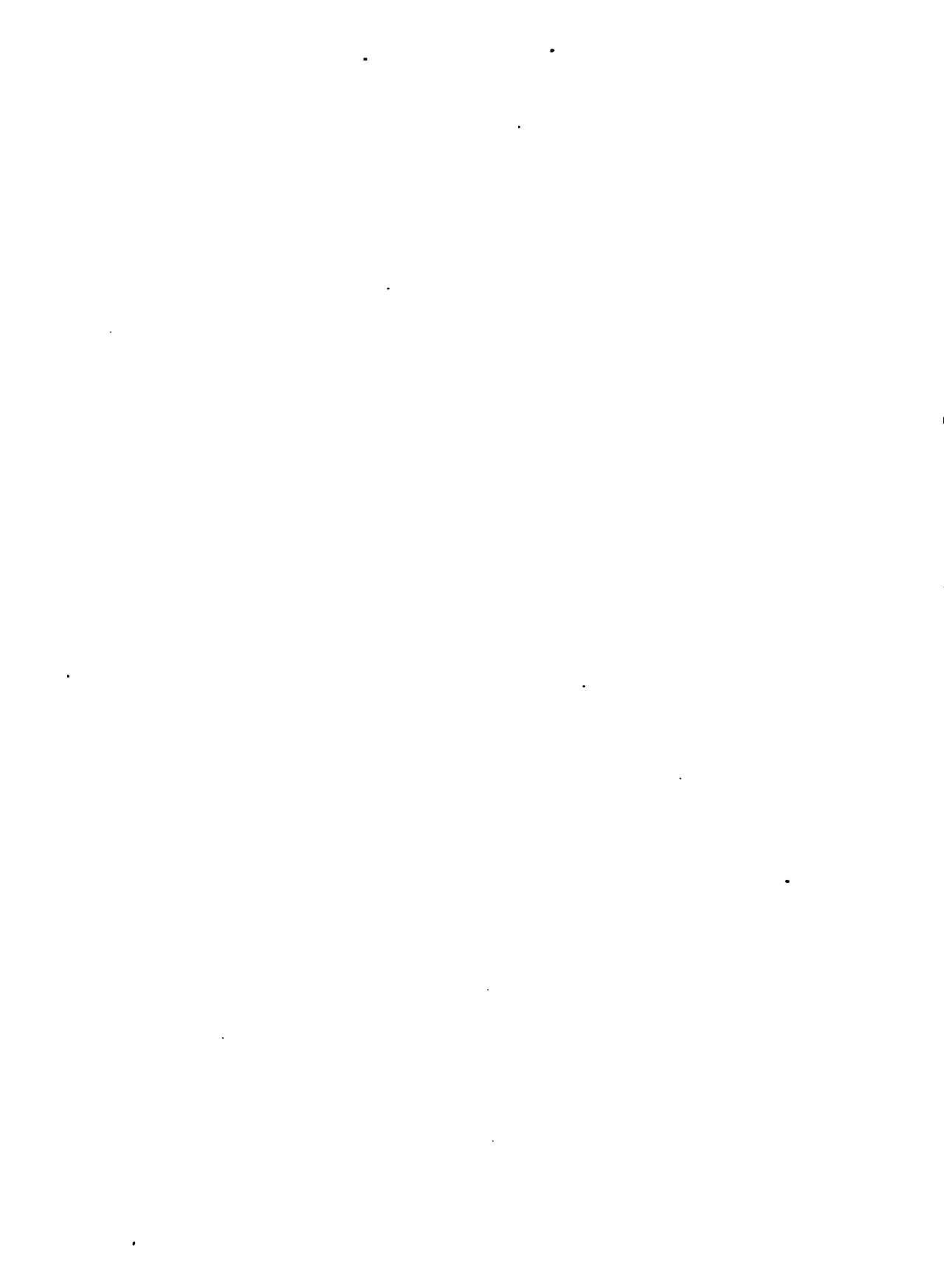




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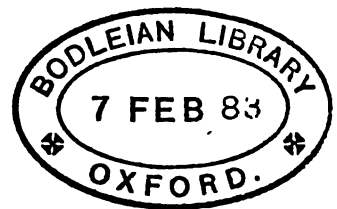






THE  
MAGAZINE  
OF  
AMERICAN HISTORY  
WITH  
NOTES AND QUERIES

VOLUME VII



A. S. BARNES & COMPANY  
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1881



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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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No. 1



## THE RETURN OF THE FRENCH

1782-3

THE determining influence of the victory at Yorktown upon British opinion and the counsels of the King and his Ministry was scarcely anticipated in America. The disinclination on the part of the Allies to a longer prosecution of the war had been plainly evident during the summer, and there is little doubt that negotiations for peace would have been commenced at the close of the year 1781 but for the new turn given to affairs by the defeat of the plan of the British Ministry to restore their dominion over the Southern States, preparatory to the entertainment of any propositions for a cessation of hostilities. Nor yet was it in the character or traditions of the English race to treat with an enemy in the hour of disaster. In its history treaties had, from time immemorial, followed upon victory, never upon defeat. It was, therefore, necessary, as well as politic, to grasp the full fruits of the brilliant success, and Washington, with the vigor which is one of the most striking traits of his well-balanced nature, resolved to carry its consequences to their uttermost limit.

Wilmington and Charleston, the seaports of the Carolinas, were still in the hands of the British, and Admiral Graves, with a powerful fleet, lay at anchor in the harbor of New York, and on the withdrawal of the French would again become the master of the entire coast, from Rhode Island to Georgia. If the Southern ports were to be recovered, immediate action was an imperative necessity, and the cooperation of the squadron of de Grasse an essential condition of success. On his arrival the French admiral had announced that his presence on the American coast was but an incident in his general plan of campaign, and the day fixed for his rendezvous with the Spanish admiral, for operations in the waters of the Antilles, was now close at hand.

Washington's first care, therefore, was to visit the Count de Grasse, to



induce him to further cooperation with the land forces before his final departure from the coast. On the 21st of October, after setting the prisoners upon their march to Winchester and Fort Frederick, the places destined for their reception, he went on board the *Ville de Paris* to pay his respects to the admiral, and to thank him for his important services. Aware from an earlier conference, that there was little hope of obtaining more than a convoy, he contented himself, to use the words of his invaluable journal, "with representing the important consequences and certain prospect of an attempt upon Charleston, and requesting, if his orders or other engagements would not allow him to attend to that great object, that he would, nevertheless, transport a detachment of troops to, and cover their debarkation at, Wilmington, that by reducing the enemy's post there we might give peace to another State with the troops that would afterwards join the Southern army under the command of Major-General Greene," who only awaited sufficient reinforcement before undertaking the siege of Charleston in form.

The Marquis de Lafayette, to whom the command of the detachment destined for the attack upon Wilmington had been promised, accompanied Washington on this visit to the fleet, and, according to the narrative of Cromot du Bourg, an aide of Rochambeau, the French general went on board the squadron the same day. Washington returning, left the Marquis to use his personal influence to press considerations which his own dignity only permitted him to state. On the 23d Lafayette returned with the assurance from the Admiral that he would protect the proposed expedition against Wilmington, and arrangements were immediately undertaken for the embarkation of Wayne's and Gist's brigades with artillery and other necessary materials of war. The next day, the 24th, an express arrived from General Forman, who was entrusted with the observation, from the Jersey Highlands, of the movements of the British fleet, announcing the passage of the Narrows by ninety sail, including twenty-six ships of the line and numerous frigates, the destination of which was supposed to be the Chesapeake. The Count de Grasse was immediately notified, and arrangements were commenced for the withdrawal of the transports and stores from the James River to the Head of Elk. The same day the *Surveillante* sailed with the Duke de Lauzun to carry the news of the capture of York to the Court of France. This fast-sailing frigate reached Brest in twenty-two days.

Already on the 26th the Count de Grasse had reconsidered his consent to transport troops, artillery or stores. Any delay in their debarkation might expose him to censure. He declared that it would be

impossible for him to remain on the coast beyond the 8th of November. These views, first conveyed to Lafayette, were repeated in a letter to Washington, which reached him on the 28th. On the 27th the *Andromaque*, which had gone out the day before, carrying the Count William de Deux-Ponts to ask the favors of the Court, returned to the roadstead. Hardly had she left the Middle-Ground banks, the position, to the shelter of which De Grasse had moved his fleet from Lynn Haven Bay, off Cape Henry, when the signals of the frigates *Hermione* and *Concorde*, which were cruising outside, gave notice of the approach of a large squadron, and the *Andromaque* returned to the mouth of the James River. In the evening of the same day the Count de Grasse informed Washington that it was the British fleet, consisting of thirty-six ships, of which twenty-five were of the line, and that he had hoisted signals summoning all his people on board in order to make sail, but that delay in the execution of his orders, arising from the dispersion of the men on shore, had rendered it impossible. The next morning the British fleet appeared off the capes, but the wind not favoring, the French lay quietly at anchor. In the evening the hostile squadron disappeared.

No enemy having been seen for two days, the *Andromaque* again went out on the 1st November. Count de Deux-Ponts records in his diary that on the 2d she was chased, at long distance, but avoiding combat by the express orders of de Grasse, and pressing sail, she escaped under cover of the night, and, favored by wind and weather, reached the coast of France on the 20th November in a passage of nineteen days.

On the 1st November the English squadron was again reported making sail to the southward; it was supposed to reinforce Charleston. On the 5th the Marquis de St. Simon embarked the auxiliary troops which the squadron had brought from the West Indies to take share in the land operations. The same day Wayne's and Gist's brigades and the Virginia troops began their march southward to join General Greene. The command of this detachment was entrusted by Washington to General St. Clair.

The French fleet now weighed anchor and sailed out from the bay, leaving the *Romulus* and three frigates to protect the York and James rivers, and to cover the water transportation of the stores up the bay to Elk river. Before sailing, the French Admiral received a letter (28th October) from Washington, suggesting a plan of campaign for the spring, and inviting his presence in the Chesapeake with a force of

decisive naval superiority toward the end of May, in order that from this central position a movement might be made against either New York or Charleston, as seemed most feasible. In this letter Washington exhausted the power of forcible and persuasive language to impress his views upon the French Admiral, appealing by turns to his patriotism and his love of glory. "You will have observed," said he, "that whatever efforts are made by the land armies, the navy must have the casting vote in the present contest. The Court of France are convinced of it, and have declared their resolution to give this indispensable succor. The triumphant manner in which your Excellency has maintained the mastery of the American seas, and the glory of the French flag, lead both nations to look to you as the arbiter of the war."

Thus sailed from the peaceful waters of the beautiful bay, forever after of historic fame as the scene of the crowning victory of the Alliance, the gallant armament. The lilies of France floated at the mast-head of the outgoing vessels, and the standard of the King waved triumphant in the morning breeze. A hundred years elapse, and the vessels of France again appear to renew the old rejoicing. The glory of the royal lilies has paled before the tri-color symbol of liberty; but to American hearts they are alike dear. In our sympathy for the principles so gloriously vindicated and represented by the one, we can never forget the obligations we owe to the timely succor of the other. To us they are alike the emblems of a generous nation; the emblems of France.

On the abandonment of the expedition against Wilmington Lafayette resolved to take advantage of the interval, which would elapse before the beginning of another campaign, to return to France and visit his family. Congress granted him leave of absence, commended him by special letters to the King, and directed the ministers of the United States to confer with him on his arrival. He sailed from Boston in the Alliance on the 23d of December, and continued with the same discreet judgment and untiring energy, which marked his conduct in the field, to promote the interests of the United States, by furthering the preparations of the French and Spanish Governments for offensive operations, by sea and land, on a scale more extensive than any as yet undertaken.

The first work of the French troops, who remained under Rochambeau after the departure of their comrades, was the destruction of the defences which Arnold had erected at Portsmouth, which they razed to the ground, and of the parallels and exterior fortifications

before the town of York, and the reparation of such of the inner lines as were necessary to protect the post. This accomplished, from the 15th to the 18th of November, they went into winter quarters.

Count de Rochambeau established his headquarters at Newport (Virginia), where the winter was passed in comparative tranquility. In January the weather was so cold that, according to the diary of one of the officers, ink and wine froze in his room where there was a constant fire. On the 2d January, 1782, the French frigate *La Sibylle* arrived in Chesapeake Bay with money and dispatches. The money in specie to the amount of two million livres was a boon to the colonies. The premium upon gold and silver fell to par. On the 8th of this month information was received of the capture of St. Eustacia by the Marquis de Bouillé, and of Minorca by M. de Crillon. Advices were also received of the arrival in France of the Duke de Lauzun and Count William de Deux-Ponts with their glorious news. A special letter from the King to Rochambeau ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung in the town or camp where the army might be quartered, in thanks for the victory at Yorktown.

To the French the *Sibylle* brought news more gladdening than that even of victory; of the birth of a dauphin. After more than ten years of marriage, Marie Antoinette had presented to the king and the nation an heir to the throne. Nor was the joy confined to the French alone. The hearts of the Americans beat warm with sympathy for their generous allies, and the reception of the news was the occasion of general rejoicing. Addresses of congratulation were voted by the Legislatures of the several States and formally conveyed to the Chevalier de la Luzerne. An address on the part of the Commander-in-Chief, the Generals and officers, was also adopted by the army and sent from the headquarters at West Point, to all of which the King sent gracious replies through the same channel. The President and Council of Pennsylvania gave a grand entertainment to the Ambassador on the 15th of July at Philadelphia, and he in return opened his stately mansion to receive the visits of the dignitaries and inhabitants of the city, and numerous dinners testified the sympathy of the people in the joy of France.

In February, the Baron de Vioménil, whose personal affairs demanded his presence in France, set sail with some of the officers on board the frigate *Hermione*, commanded by M. de La Touche. On his departure the command fell to his brother the Vicomte de Vioménil.

Early in the year Gen. Greene, who was before Charleston, which had been reinforced by three British regiments, alarmed by the rumor that a body of four thousand men was expected from Ireland,

made an urgent appeal for reinforcements to Rochambeau. To this the Count replied, that in the uncertainty as to the destination of the reinforcements from across the sea, it was his true policy to remain in his intermediate position, whence he might move to the northward or southward as circumstances should arise, but at the same time he cheerfully consented to advance General de Choisy with Lauzun's legion as far as the Roanoke on the North Carolina frontier. This determination was approved by Washington, who so advised Greene on the 18th March, and the next day expressed his opinion to Rochambeau that de Choisy should not advance beyond Charlotte Court House, a village about eighty miles to the southwest of Richmond. Congress was possessed of information that the British ministers "had done with all thoughts of an excursive war," that they meant to send but small if any reinforcements to America, and that New York would probably be the only post they would attempt to retain, and in this event that the Southern States would probably be soon evacuated. The determining results of the victory at Yorktown were already apparent.

In March news came of the capture of St. Christopher by the Count de Grasse, and also of two engagements with Admiral Hood, in which the advantage was to the French. On the 25th of the same month the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the French ambassador, visited Williamsburg, and was entertained by the officers.

In May rumors of engagements between the Count de Grasse and Admiral Rodney were received, and upon a false report cannons were fired in token of victory by Rochambeau, but towards the close of June the mortifying truth arrived that, on the 12th April, Rodney had won an important success in the West India waters, and that seven vessels of the French squadron, including the admiral's ship, the *Ville de Paris*, with de Grasse himself, had fallen into his hands. The admiral made a gallant defense; his decks were swept by the enemy, and when he surrendered, only himself and two of his officers were uninjured. The news of this disaster to the French reached Congress at the time when a proposition from Carleton, who had recently superseded Clinton in the command of the British forces, to recognize the independence of the United States on condition of its renunciation of the French alliance, was before it. To their honor be it said, the Congress indignantly refused even to receive the envoy who was charged with the negotiations.

After the disaster to the French fleet, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, on whom the command devolved, received orders to go to Boston for repairs. In view of this information, and the probability that no further

offensive operations would be undertaken by the British, and also, of the fatal effects of the southern climate upon his troops, Rochambeau on the 1st of July determined to move his army to the northward. He had already expressed his intention to Washington, and invited an interview at Philadelphia to consult as to further operations. Leaving his troops in command of Major General the Chevalier de Chastellux, the second in rank of the general officers, he hurried to Philadelphia, where Washington joined him from his headquarters at Newburgh on the 15th July. In this conference it was agreed that in the momentary expectation of further advices from the French ministry the French army should rest a short time at Baltimore, then pursue its northerly march and effect a junction with the American army on the Hudson; a movement which by its menace of New York would effectually check the weakening of the British garrison at that post by any detachment to the West Indies to co-operate in an attack upon the French and Spanish possessions.

The first division of the French army, under command of the Chevalier de Chastellux, broke camp at Williamsburg, and began its march to the northward on the 23d June. Marching by night by slow stages and resting by day, they avoided the extreme heat, and reached Baltimore in good health and condition. The fourth division, consisting of the regiment of Saintonge and a detachment of artillery, under command of the Count de Custine, brought up the rear, leaving on the 4th July. The journal of M. Claude Blanchard, the commissary of the French forces, gives a minute account of the marches of this corps. The first day they encamped at Drinking Spring, nine miles from Williamsburg; 5th, at Bird's tavern; 6th, at Ratelof house; 7th, at New Kent; 8th, at New Castle; 9th, at Hanover town; 11th, Hanover Court House; 12th, Burks' bridge; 13th, at Bowling Green; 14th, twelve miles from Fredericksburg. On the 15th they passed through Fredericksburg, where the mother and sisters of Washington, who resided there, were visited by the general officers; crossing the Rappahannock, they encamped at Falmouth on the opposite bank, where a hospital was established. Resuming their march on the 17th, they halted at Peyton's tavern on the 18th, at Dumfries on the 19th. Crossing the Occoquum, they encamped at Colchester. On the 20th they reached Alexandria, where Mrs. Washington, who had arrived at Mount Vernon the evening previous, entertained M. de Custine, and other officers to the number of ten, at dinner. On the 21st the division crossed the Potomac and went into camp at Georgetown. In his description of the route, Mr. Blanch-

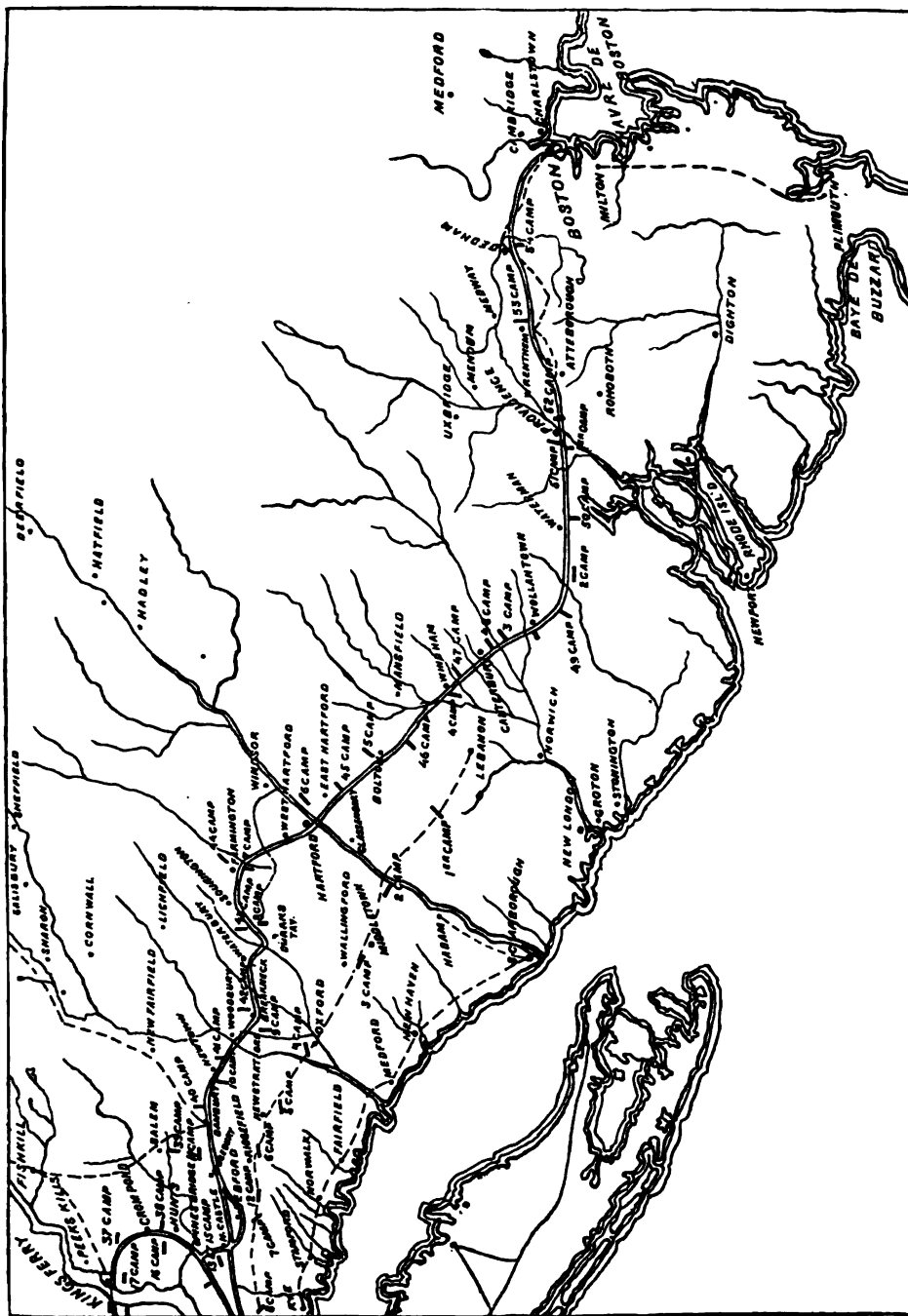
ard complains of the intense heat and general barrenness of the country, occasionally relieved by handsome residences, orchards and terraced gardens.

The march through Maryland was made with the same precision. On the 22d the troops encamped at Bladensburg, on the 24th, at Rose tavern, where the country began to show marks of more careful cultivation; on the 25th at Spurier's tavern; and on the 27th arrived at Baltimore, which is described, "as, after Boston and Philadelphia, the most important city in America, containing from thirteen to fourteen hundred houses, and from eight to nine thousand inhabitants." At Baltimore they were soon joined by the detachment which had been left behind, under the orders of M. de la Valette, to bring up the artillery from York and Gloucester and raze those posts. Although only engaged one month in this work, and at its conclusion brought up the bay by water in the little squadron which M. de la Villebrune commanded, such was the fatal influence of the peninsular malaria that every man was ill, from the commander to the soldier in the ranks. On the 5th August Rochambeau held a grand review of the troops, the force of which amounted to about five thousand men, in the presence of the Governor of Maryland. The army appeared to great advantage, and delighted the spectators.

The army was still reposing at Baltimore, when the news of the arrival of Admiral Digby, who had succeeded Rodney, in New York, and of preparations for an expedition against the French islands, determined Rochambeau to march at once to join Washington on the banks of the Hudson. The order and discipline of the French during their stay in Baltimore excited the admiration and won the affections of the citizens. The merchants waited upon Rochambeau with an address of gratitude in which they dwell upon this unexpected feature in military occupation, and take pains to declare that had the prejudice against the French nation, pertinaciously attributed by the English to Americans, been real, his residence and that of the army was of itself sufficient to obliterate any such impressions from the minds of either nation. To this Rochambeau replied in fitting terms, thanking them for the politeness they had shown in opening their houses for the reception of himself and his troops.

The march northward was made by the French troops in the same order and by the same route which they had taken in their southerly direction the preceding summer. Leaving Baltimore on the 27th August, they took their route through Head of Elk, Chester, Wilmington and Brandywine. Lauzun's legion, which formed the advance guard, passed through





NO. 1—ROUTE AND ENCAMPMENTS OF THE FRENCH—FROM SOULÉS TROUBLES DE L'AMÉRIQUE



Philadelphia on Friday, the 30th of August. Saturday it was followed by the regiment de Bourbonnais, on Sunday by the Royal Deux Ponts, Monday by the regiment de Soissonnais, and Tuesday, 3d September, the regiment de Saintonge brought up the rear, and proceeded on the same route. The report of this march in the Pennsylvania Packet of the 3d September pays an admirable tribute to that discipline which Franklin records in his memoirs as remarkable in its character. "It may perhaps be useless," says a writer in the Pennsylvania paper, "to repeat the encomiums which have been so often bestowed on these truly veteran corps by the inhabitants of the extensive countries through which they have passed; but we will venture to assure the public that in no similar instance within our knowledge have the rights of the citizens been so critically observed as by this army; not a complaint of any kind having been exhibited or even barely mentioned by the people in the vicinity of their camp or in the course of their long marches." On the 6th the march was pursued to Trenton, where the army, until then divided into four, was concentrated into two divisions. Crossing the Delaware, the main body marched behind the cover of the Pompton Hills, while Lauzun's legion, under command of M. Robert Dillon, marched at the foot of their eastern slope on a parallel line, watching the movements of the British in New York. This careful military formation was maintained until they reached the banks of the Hudson. On the 10th the legion passed through Chatham, attracting attention by their martial appearance. Reaching the Haverstraw heights, overlooking the Hudson, on the 16th, the first division went into camp, and the same action was taken by the others as they arrived until the whole body was gathered, when on the 19th September they crossed the river at Kings Ferry. Here at Verplanck's point, on the opposite bank of the river, Washington's army was waiting to receive them. They had moved down the Hudson by boats on the 31st August, the first important water transportation made by the American army in the course of the war.

Rochambeau and his suite, preceding the troops to confer with Washington, crossed the river on the 7th September. He was saluted on his approach by the American army drawn up in two lines fronting each other and extending from the ferry to headquarters. At headquarters he was received by Washington, and the entire army defiled before him, saluting him as they passed.

The French army on its passage was received with the same military ceremony by the American troops, which were drawn up at the head of their camp in two ranks, their formation extending two miles. On

this occasion the Americans were, for the first time since the beginning of the war, completely uniformed and armed, partly with the clothing received from France and partly with the stores of Cornwallis which had been entirely abandoned to their use. By Washington's order the American drummers beat a French march. The French officers remarked the admirable drill of the American army, even of the raw recruits, with surprise. The parade was concluded by a dinner, at which ninety of the officers were entertained. An eye-witness, describing the scene, says "that affection, esteem and cordiality were equally visible in the countenances of the French officers and of the Americans, their companions in war and glory. Never were two nations better formed for allies. Never did a generous nation exercise their virtue towards allies more grateful or reputable." His wishes have been realized, his predictions fulfilled. The standards which were then entwined in amity have never been opposed in strife. The allies of the last century are the cordial friends of this. At the close of the entertainment the French marched to Peekskill and went into camp. The bulk of the American force lay at Peekskill; the advance guard at the mouth of the Croton. The French corps took a military position at Crompond in the mountain, Lauzun's legion on the heights of the Croton. From this position the two armies could in one march reach New York, and their patrols extended from the sound on the Connecticut coast to the bank of the Hudson.

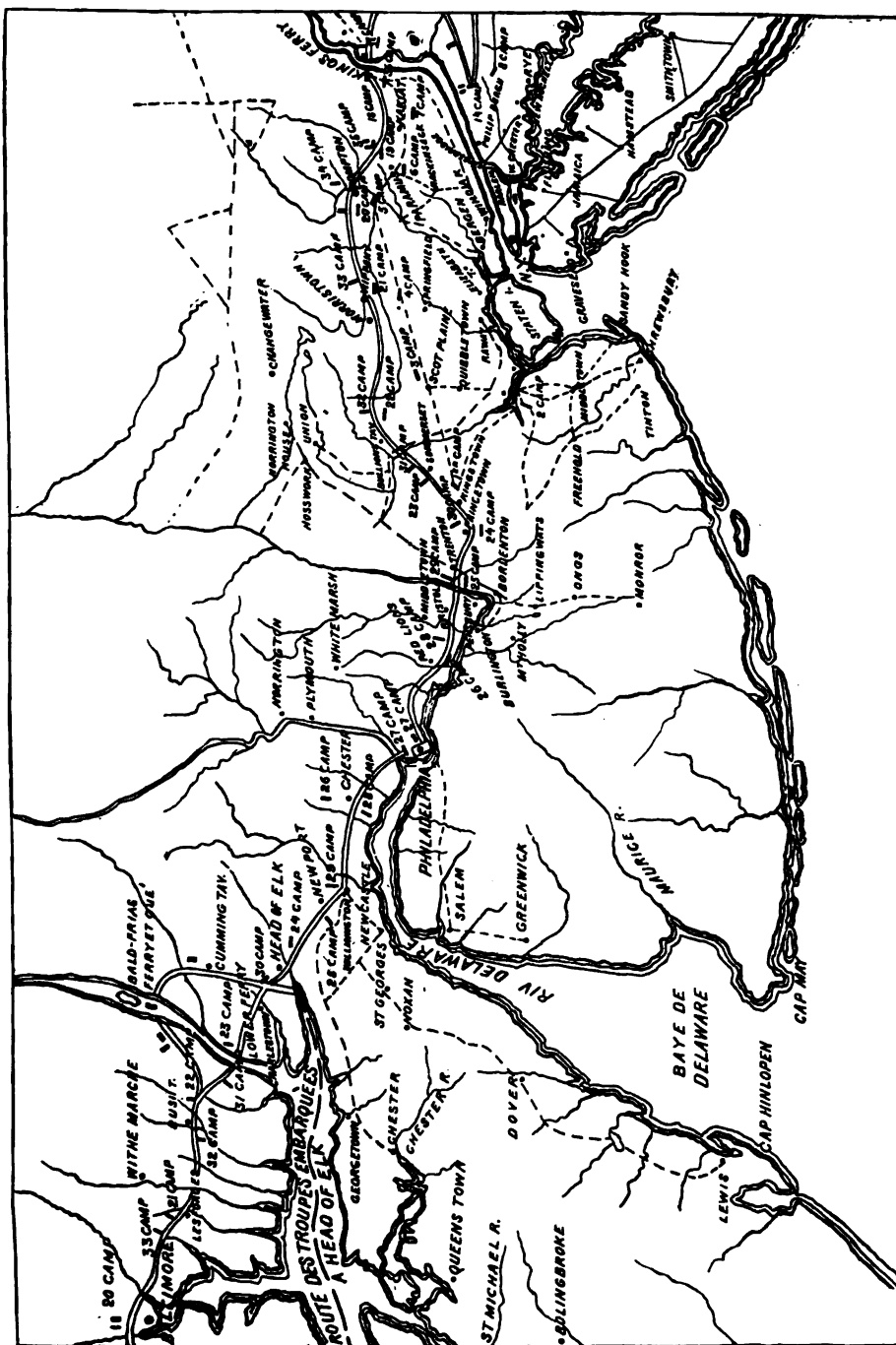
On the 20th September news reached the camp of the arrival of the frigate *La Gloire*, commanded by the Chevalier de Valonge, at Philadelphia. She brought back the Duke de Lauzun, the Baron de Violménil and the Marquis de Laval, all of whom had served in the late campaign, and visited France after the capitulation of Yorktown, and with them a bevy of young noblemen, who came to America for the first time to witness the scene of the fame of their companions, and of their country's glory. These were the Prince de Broglie, the Marquis de Ségur, Messrs. de Scheldon and de Loménil, the Chevalier Charles de Lameth, the Baron de Montesquieu, the Vicomte de Vaudreuil, M. de Poleresky and M. de Lijliorn, an aide-de-camp of the King of Sweden. The *Gloire* left France in consort with the frigate *L'Aigle*, commanded by the Count de la Touche, under whose orders both vessels sailed. The passage was eventful. Its romantic incidents are graphically related by the Count de Ségur in his memoirs, and by the Prince de Broglie in a narrative, which was first made public, in a translation by Mr. Balch, [*Magazine of American History*, I. 180]. The vessels touched at

Angra in the Azores, where the gay gallants had a series of adventures, the story of which reads more like the libretto of a comic opera than a relation of real life. But the delightful scent of the lemon trees, and the gay music of the fandango, were soon followed by the intoxicating odor of powder and the crash of ball. Off the Banks of Newfoundland the consorts fell in with the Hector man-of-war of 74 guns, one of the prizes Rodney captured from de Grasse. A hot contest ensued, in which the Hector was badly crippled, but other sail appearing, the French commander, remembering his mission, turned his course southward. The French vessels bore away marks of the encounter, but the Hector was so roughly used that she foundered at sea soon after, and all hands perished. Compelled to anchor off the capes of the Delaware while searching for a pilot, the French vessels were overtaken by an English squadron. Raising their anchors, they hastily entered the Delaware without a pilot. Mistaking the true channel, the Aigle grounded, and the Gloire was brought to anchor. A council of war was held on board the Aigle, when the Baron de Vioménil ordered the officers to take to the boats, and follow him to land, and sent ashore the specie which was on board, amounting to two millions five hundred thousand livres. The Gloire escaped, but the Aigle was pillaged and broken up by the boats' crews of the British squadron. In his report to the Marquis de Ségur the Baron de Vioménil gives a graphic account of the danger to which the specie was exposed, and accords high praise to the Duke de Lauzun for his extraordinary energy on the occasion. Although suffering for twenty days from a low fever, he roused himself, and by his personal efforts collected a sufficient number of the militia of the country to protect the progress of the boats which carried the specie and despatches. The Gloire reached the city in safety.

The orders of the King brought by the Aigle were that, if the English had evacuated New York and Charleston, or even one of these places, the Count de Rochambeau should embark his army on board the French fleet and send it to St. Domingo in charge of a general officer, there to be placed under the orders of Don Galvez, the commander of the land forces destined to take part in a combined expedition of the French and Spaniards against the English posts in the West Indies. The probability increasing that the British were on the point of evacuating Charleston, and the winter being too near at hand for any hope of a successful operation against New York, Rochambeau concluded that the time had arrived to obey the orders of the King, which he had already, with military judgment, anticipated by his movement to the

northward. He accordingly wrote to the Marquis de Vaudreuil that he would march his army to Boston to embark. In reply, the Marquis fixed the 8th of November as the day for their arrival. On the 22d of October Rochambeau, with the first division, left the camp at Crompond, followed by the second division the day following. The 23d the first division halted at Salem. On the 24th the weather was so cold that some of the officers dismounted and marched on foot. The route of the army was that taken on the southern march the year before; through Ridgebury to Danbury, where they halted on the 24th; on the 25th, at Newtown; on the 27th they moved to Breakneck; on the 28th, they reached Baron's Tavern, in the fertile valley of the Housatonic, where the troops found an abundance of straw, of which they were in great need. On the 29th a halt was made at Farmington, and the next day at Hartford. During the entire march of the army through Connecticut the conduct of the inhabitants was most praiseworthy. Informed of their approach, Governor Trumbull issued a proclamation inviting the inhabitants to supply the French commissaries with all that they required without addition to the usual price of provisions or other articles needed. Here the officers found M. de Tarlé, Intendant (Quartermaster) of the French army, who informed the commissaries of the dispositions for the embarkment. The weather of the last days of October is described as frightful, with heavy wind and continual rain. At Hartford Rochambeau made his final dispositions. The Baron de Vioménil and the Vicomte, his brother, were assigned to the command of the two brigades of infantry and that part of the artillery destined for the Antilles. To the Duke de Lauzun were entrusted the troops which were to remain in America at the disposition of Washington, and to M. de la Valette the charge of the siege artillery, which still remained at Baltimore. These arrangements completed, he set out on the morning of the 30th for Boston. At the moment of departure Rochambeau received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, expressing his regret at having fixed the date of departure as early as the 8th, the repairs to the men-of-war at Portsmouth not yet being completed, and postponing the embarkation till the 20th November.

The army again took up its line of march on the 4th November. On the 5th it halted at Bolton; the 6th at Windham; the 8th at Canterbury and on the 9th at Watertown. On the 10th the troops halted on the west bank of Providence river, and on the 11th passed through the city and encamped upon their old ground on the heights, about a league from the city. The entire force was quartered



No. 2—ROUTE AND ENCAMPMENTS OF THE FRENCH—FROM SOULÈS TROUBLES DE L'AMÉRIQUE





in barracks until news was received that the fleet was ready. The weather was excessively rough, with continued falls of snow and rain, and the troops suffered severely. Rochambeau took pains to divert their attention and gave a number of entertainments to his officers and the inhabitants of Providence in the public hall. The artillery was the first to move and reached Boston on the 18th November. On the 28th November the Count de Rochambeau bade adieu to his army, which he placed under the sole command of the Baron de Vioménil, and accompanied by the Chevalier de Chastellux, M. de Choisy, M. de Béville and some members of the staff, he left Providence and set out for the Chesapeake, where the frigate *Emeraude*, which was to convey him to France, was awaiting his return. His intention was to have sailed from Boston, but he seems to have been unwilling to detach a vessel from the French squadron, already crowded to its full capacity by the heavy armament of men, munitions and supplies. The Count de Fersen, in his recently published narrative, bears testimony to the regret of the entire army at the departure of their old commander. In the long and severe campaign they had learned, first to fear and respect him for his severe but even discipline, then to admire him for his admirable military qualities, and at last to love him as a father and a friend. On the 1st December the army left the Providence barracks, halting successively at Attleborough, Wrentham and Dedham, and passing through Roxbury they arrived at Boston, successively, on the 3d, 4th and 5th, in weather so fine that Dr. Miles Cooper was moved to say of it: "Heaven smiles upon the troops of France." Their reception at the capital of the Puritan commonwealth was worthy of the ancient city. On the 11th December a committee appointed by the citizens in town meeting, Samuel Adams, Moderator, waited in person on the Baron de Vioménil with an address, to which he made suitable reply; and in the afternoon a public dinner was given by the Governor and Council to the general and field officers of the French army, the Marquis de Vaudreuil and the officers of the fleet.

The troops were embarked, and the fleet was finally ready to sail. On the 23d M. de Vioménil went on board the *Triomphant*, and on the 24th the whole squadron, ten vessels, three of 80 and seven of 74 guns (in all 758 guns), and four thousand men, sailed out of the bay. The Baron de Vioménil had not omitted to address a letter of farewell to Washington, and before leaving port was honored with a reply (7th December, 1782) from the commander-in-chief, thanking him for the essential services he had assisted in rendering to the country, assuring

him of his esteem for his many great and amiable qualities, and engaging to correspond with him on any subjects of interest as they arose. Detaining his letter till the 12th, Washington added a postscript, explaining the reason, why he had deemed it prudent neither to take a public leave of himself nor to express his thanks to the army, to have been the secret destination of the expedition, but now that the movement was no longer to be concealed, he desired the Baron to express to the officers and the men his warm interest in whatever concerned their honor and glory, and his ardent wish that victory should attend them wherever the orders of their sovereign should direct their arms. The destination of the fleet, which was kept secret by M. de Vaudreuil until the close of January, was Porto Cabello, in the province of Caraccas, New Spain. Encountering heavy weather, and the sailing qualities of the ships differing greatly, which has been well observed to have been the chief cause of many of the disasters which befell the French navy in her struggle for maritime supremacy in the last century, the vessels of the squadron became separated. The Duke de Bourgogne struck upon a sand bank, two leagues from the coast of the Spanish main, on the 3d February, 1783. Its commander, all its officers, and a large part of its crew and troops, perished in attempting to reach the land. Four hundred lives were lost; three hundred who had remained on board were taken off in the last extremity of suffering and starvation, as the vessel was sinking in the sand. The squadron rendezvoused in March at Cape François, and remained in these waters until the 1st April, when the Marquis de Vaudreuil received orders to return to France. On the morning of the 17th June the lookout from the masthead of the Northumberland, on which M. de Vaudreuil had re-embarked with the Baron de Vioménil and his staff, cried out, "land," and in the afternoon the ship sailed into the harbor of Brest.

The Count de Rochambeau, after bidding his troops farewell, journeyed southward with his staff. Passing through Newburg on the 7th December, he visited Washington at his headquarters, and remained with him until the 14th December; upon his leaving camp, Washington addressed to him (14th Dec.) a letter of warmest thanks, expressing his admiration for his services and his great personal attachment, respect and regard. At Philadelphia the President of Congress handed to him the resolutions of Congress of January 1st, 1783. After his departure Washington wrote him a further letter, 29th December, 1782, announcing the dispatch of the two cannon which had been voted to him by Congress, upon which suitable devices and inscriptions had been

engraved. They did not reach the city until after he had left it, but in his acknowledgment to Washington of his final courtesy he informed him that he had given them in charge to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, to be kept till after the peace, when they could be carried over in perfect safety. These parting lines were written at Annapolis, as the vessel which was to convey him to the *Emeraude* was getting under sail.

The British Admiral in New York, informed of the journey of the Count from Boston to Philadelphia and its motive, could not permit such an illustrious prize to escape him without an effort for his capture, and sent out the *Lion*, a ship of the line and two fast frigates, to cruise off the capes of the Chesapeake, to intercept the *Emeraude*. The Count was aware of the danger, but trusted to get out under the cover of the night when a strong breeze should be blowing. The *Emeraude* went out on Jan. 14th with a strong northwest wind. Hardly had she reached the offing before she was seen and chased. In the night she changed her course. In the morning the British were still in sight. The chase lasted for thirty hours, and twice the pursuers were within cannon shot of the pursued. Finally M. de Quérin, who commanded the French frigate, threw overboard his spare masts and some of his upper tier of cannon, and, thus lightened, escaped. He regretted the loss of his timber in the heavy storm which he encountered later, but, fortune favoring, the ship arrived safely at Nantes, where the Count learned that peace had been signed.

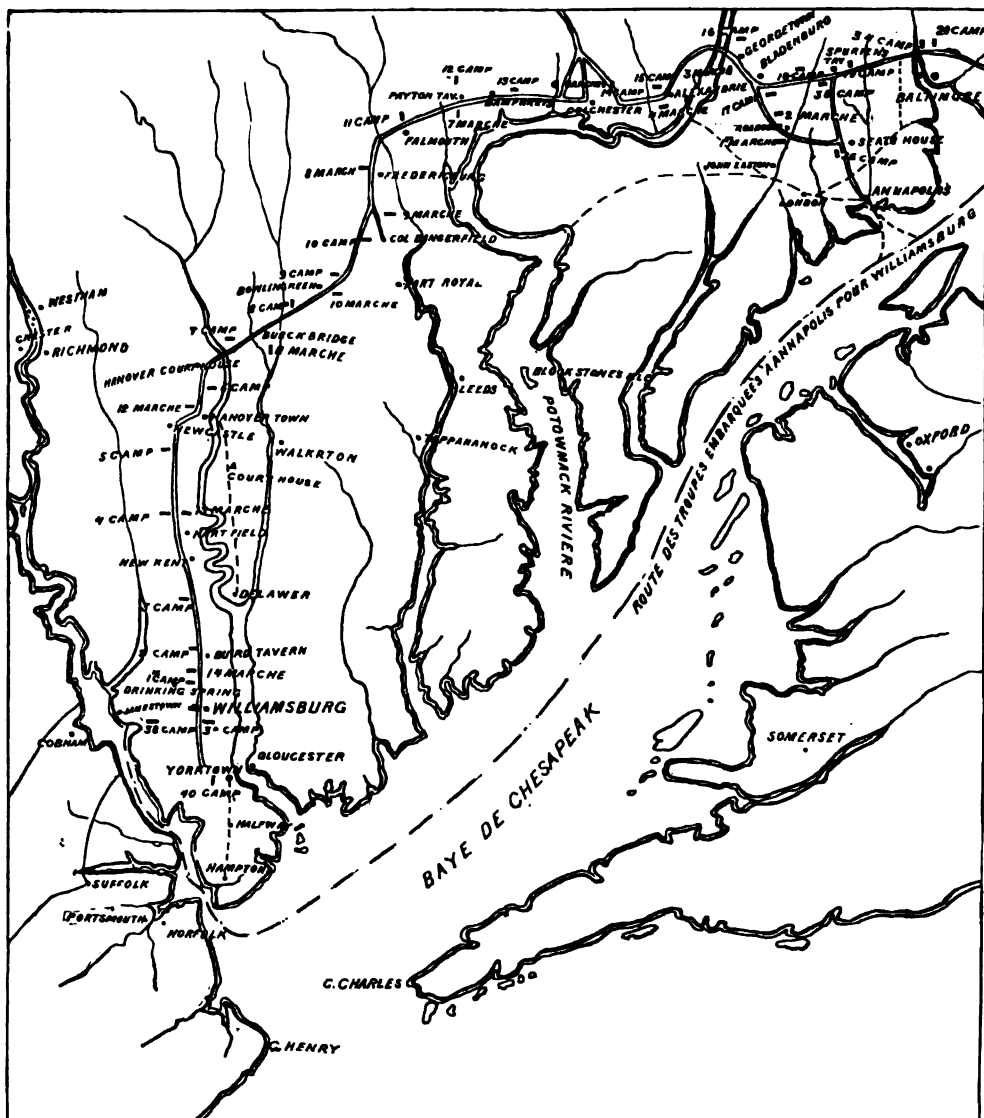
Immediately upon his arrival the Count de Rochambeau went up to Versailles, where he was received by the King with marks of the highest distinction. To him the King ascribed the honor of the capture of Cornwallis, the result of which would probably be a peace. Rochambeau asked permission to share this praise with the Count de Grasse, without whose assistance the event was impossible. The King replied that he was well aware of the services the admiral had rendered on that occasion, but that he must withhold his judgment until the inquiry upon his subsequent disaster was terminated. The next day the privilege of the King's apartments was given to Rochambeau; he was named Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, with the blue ribband at the next promotion, and was promised the government of the first province which should become vacant. He succeeded to that of Picardy the next year. The Baron de Vioménil was made Lieutenant-General, MM. de Choisy and de Béville, the Count de Custine, the Duke de Lauzun, the Duke de Laval, M. de Rostaing, the Count d'Autichamp, received the appointment of Maréchal-de-Camp, and MM. d'Aboville, Desandrouin, de la Val-

lette, the Baron de l'Estrade, M. du Portail and the Marquis de Deux-Ponts that of Brigadier. All the Colonels-en-second were promoted to commands of regiments. The Vicomte de Rochambeau received the order of Chevalier of St. Louis and Mestre-de-Camp, first of the regiment of Saintonge and subsequently of that of Royal Auvergne. Many other favors were bestowed upon the officers, and the soldiers were not forgotten, receiving two months' pay as a reward for their services.

When the army left the camp at Crompond on the close of October, Lauzun remained behind with his legion. On the 27th he also broke camp, and, crossing the Hudson, marched to the State of Delaware. The American army had already been moved to their winter cantonments, and Washington had again established his headquarters at Newburg before the legion took up its line of march. The French troops which remained in America under the command of Lauzun consisted of fifteen hundred men, including the siege artillery, four hundred men detached from the different regiments and four hundred sick. His headquarters were, by order of Rochambeau, established at Wilmington, in the State of Delaware. Lauzun divided his time between the camp and Philadelphia. In his memoirs he complains of the noise of the city as insupportable to him, and in the middle of the winter he paid a visit to Newport, where he was received by his old friends, the Hunter family, with whom he lodged during the stay of the army in the summer of 1780. It is pleasant to note the satisfaction with which he speaks of the quiet and peaceful life he led in this agreeable household, and of his gratitude for their attentions. There he received news of the peace, and leaving the town with regret, he returned to Philadelphia, stopping on the way at Newburg to pay a farewell visit to Washington, who received him with favor and distinction.

This is not the place to venture a vindication of the reputation of Lauzun from the cloud under which it has rested since the publication of the memoirs which pass as written by himself. At the time of their publication, in 1821, Talleyrand denied their authenticity, paying high tribute to his character; and no one can read the letters of de Fersen to his father without a recognition of Lauzun's many noble traits and a belief that De Fersen, the chivalrous adorer of Marie Antoinette, could not have maintained such intimate relations with Lauzun, had he, as is asserted in the apocryphal memoirs, already lost her favor by his impertinence and his indiscretion. No doubt Lauzun left autobiographical notes from which the memoir was compiled. The narrative





No. 3—ROUTE AND ENCAMPMENTS OF THE FRENCH—FROM SOULÉS TROUBLES DE L'AMÉRIQUE

of his campaign in America is evidently that of an actor in the scenes portrayed, but this of itself is not enough to secure credence to anecdotes of his personal life which may well have been added in one of the countless pseudo-biographies with which the French literature of empire and the restoration abounds. The private conduct of Lauzun in America was without stain; and if the captious still question the panegyric of Talleyrand, "that he shone in many ways, that he was handsome, brave, generous and witty," as insufficient praise, there yet remain the affectionate expressions of esteem, of attachment, of endearment, which Washington penned with his own hand.

On Lauzun's arrival at Philadelphia he found that the frigate *L'Active* had arrived with dispatches, ordering his return to France with the remainder of the army. The embarkation was immediately made, and on the 11th March the frigate weighed anchor at the port of Wilmington and returned to France.

In closing this final chapter of the narrative of the sojourn, marches and military exploits of our French allies in the decisive campaign of the revolution, one dominating thought impresses itself in the mind: that of the perfect amity which took the place of secular hostility between the French and American people. The colonial history is one long record of struggle between the English and French races for the mastery of this continent. While the seafaring race held the control of the coast and its harbors, the interior, from the St. Lawrence and the lakes to the Mississippi, was by right of discovery and exploration a part of the French domain. The contest of the mother countries for European supremacy was fought out in America, and the frontiers of the settlements were one continual scene of strife. In addition to this hostility of race and interests, there was the still stronger and more subtle antipathy of religious faith. The traditions of the long war between the House of Bourbon and the Protestants of England and Holland were still fresh in the minds of the colonists, and the domination of papacy was more dreaded than even the arbitrary authority of kings. When the French alliance was formed, the English were quick to take advantage of this sentiment, and their press teemed with appeals to the prejudices of religion and of race, and when the lilies of France were first planted on the shores of Rhode Island by the French army, the Tory gazettes shrieked out the alarm that Rochambeau had taken possession of the territory of the colonies in the name of the king and the Pope.

The French government showed itself equal to the difficult occasion,



and their prudent orders were faithfully obeyed by the commander-in-chief. Rochambeau set the example in a deferential subordination to the orders of Washington, and the high spirited gentlemen of his command by their personal amenity, and the troops by their temper and discipline, first broke the hesitation, then won the affections of the population with whom they encamped, and through which they marched, until at the close it may be said that the alliance was not only a political but an actual fact. The prejudices of centuries had finally disappeared, and France and America were not only allied, but friendly nations.

In the century that has elapsed, the friendship cemented at Yorktown has known no waning. A closer assimilation of political institutions each year tightens its bonds, and the alliance remains an example to the world, that in the brotherhood of man a perfect amity may be established and maintained between nations which have been separated by centuries of prejudice and of strife.

### JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

**NOTE.**—This sketch is the last of the studies on the services of the French in America in the struggle for independence. The first, the French in Rhode Island, 1780-1781, appeared in the July number, 1879. The second, the operations of the allied armies before New York, 1781, in January, 1880; the third, the route of the allies from Kings Ferry to the Head of Elk in July, 1880; the fourth, the allies at Yorktown in January, 1881. Each article illustrated with portraits, maps and a full appendix.

# MARCHES AND ENCAMPMENTS OF THE ARMY UNDER THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

IN THE YEAR 1781

*From Abbé Robin's Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*

DATES.	CAMPS.	DISTANCES ENG. MILES.	DATES.	CAMPS.	DISTANCES. ENG. MILES.
June	From Newport, R. I.		August		
11	To Providence.....	30	31	To Somerset .....	17
11 to 20	<i>Halt</i>		September		
20	To Waterman.....	15	1	To Princeton.....	13
21	To Plainfield.....	16	2	To Trenton .....	12
22	To Windham .....	16	3	To Lion Tavern .....	15
23	To Bolton.....	16	4	To Philadelphia .....	15
24	To East Hartford.....	12½	5	<i>Halt</i>	
25, 26	<i>Halt</i>		6	To Chester.....	16
27	To Farmington... ..	12½	7	To Newport.....	18
28	To Baron's Tavern.....	13	8	To Head of Elk.....	18
29	To Breakneck.....	13	9	To Susquehanna Ferry....	16
30	To Newtown.....	15	10	To Burk's Tavern.....	14
July			11	To White Marsh.....	15
1	<i>Halt</i>		12	To Baltimore .....	12
2	To Ridgebury.....	15	13, 14, 15	<i>Halt</i>	
3	To North Castle.....	20	16	To Spire.....	16
4, 5	<i>Halt</i> .....		17	To Coath.....	18
6	To Philipsburg ... ..	22	18	To Annapolis.....	8
August				<i>Halt</i> until the 21st, when sail was made on Chesapeake Bay for Jamestown	
20	To Northcastle .....	22	October		
21	To Crompond ... ..	14	25	To Jamestown.....	178
22	To King's Ferry.....	18	26	To Williamsburg.....	6
23, 24	<i>Halt</i>		28	Before York.....	12
25	To Stony Point.....	5		Total miles .....	756
26	To Sufferns.....	16		Total Encampments....	39
27	To Pompton.....	14			
28	To Whippany.....	16			
29	<i>Halt</i>				
30	To Bullion's Tavern.....	16			



## APPENDIX

## I

CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON  
AND DE GRASSE

Headquarters, 20 October, 1781

Sir

The surrender of York, from which so great glory and advantage are derived to the allies, and the honor of which belongs to your Excellency, has greatly anticipated our most sanguine expectations. Certain of this event under your auspices, though unable to determine the time, I solicited your attention, in the first conference with which you honored me, to ulterior objects of decisive importance to the common cause. Although your answer on that occasion was unfavorable to my wishes, the unexpected promptness, with which our operations here have been conducted to their final success, having gained us time, the defect of which was one of your principal objections, a conviction of the most extensive and happy consequences engages me to renew my representation.

Charleston, the principal maritime port of the British in the southern parts of the Continent, the grand deposit and point of support for the present theatre of war, is open to a combined attack, and might be carried with as much certainty as the place which has just surrendered. This capture would destroy the last hope which induces the enemy to continue the war; for, having experienced the impracticability of recovering the populous western States, they have determined to confine themselves to the defensive in that quarter, and prosecute a most vigorous offensive at the southward, with a view of reconquering States whose sparse population and natural disadvantages render them infinitely less susceptible of defence, although their productions made them the most valuable in a commercial view. Their general naval superiority, previous to your arrival, gave them decisive advantages in the rapid transport of their troops and supplies, while the immense land marches of our succours, too tardy and expensive in every point of view, subjected us to be beaten in detail.

It will depend upon your Excellency, there-

fore, to terminate the war, and enable the allies to dictate the law in a treaty. A campaign, so glorious and so fertile in consequences, could be only reserved for the Count de Grasse. It rarely happens that such a combination of means, as are in our hands at present, can be seasonably obtained by the most strenuous human exertions; a decisively superior fleet, the fortune and talents of whose commanders overawe all the naval force that the most strenuous efforts of the enemy have been able to collect; the army, flushed with success, demanding only to be conducted to new attacks; and the very season which is proper for operating against the points in question.

If, upon entering into the detail of this expedition your Excellency should determine it impracticable, there is an object, which, though subordinate to that above mentioned, is of capital importance to our Southern operations, and may be effected at infinitely less expense; I mean the enemy's post at Wilmington in North Carolina. Circumstances require that I should at this period reinforce the southern army under General Greene. This reinforcement, transported by sea under your convoy, would enable us to carry the post in question with very little difficulty, and would wrest from the British a point of support in North Carolina, which is attended with the most dangerous consequence to us, and liberate another State. This object would require nothing more than the convoy of your fleet to the point of operation, and the protection of the debarkation.

I entreat your Excellency's attention to the points which I have the honor of laying before you, and that you will be pleased at the same time to inform me what are your dispositions for a maritime force to be left on the American Station. I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count De Grasse

*Report*

On board the *Ville de Paris*  
28 October, 1781

The Count de Grasse would be happy to be able to make the expedition to Charleston, all the advantages of which he feels; but the orders of his court, ulterior projects, and his engage-

ments with the Spaniards, render it impossible to remain here the necessary time for this operation. His wish to serve the United States is such, that he desires to enter into engagements for a cooperation during the next campaign, as far as the plans of the Court will permit. The expedition to Wilmington requiring less time, the Count de Grasse would undertake to conduct to that place a detachment of two thousand Americans. As to the manner of operating, it may be determined according to the particular information that we shall collect. It will be necessary immediately to have pilots, persons well acquainted with the country, with whom the Count de Grasse would desire to converse as soon as possible, in order to give his answer definitely. The American troops must be furnished with their own provisions, the naval army having none to spare. The Count de Grasse gives us leave to make use of the vessels in York River. The Loyalist, the Queen Charlotte and the Cormorant have been sold to the State of Virginia, but the Count De Grasse does not think he will be able to embark the American troops on board his ships of the line. How then shall we provide sailors to man the other vessels? The Count has fifteen American sailors. There are some small armed vessels.

If, after having seen the persons acquainted with the coast, the Count de Grasse thinks he shall be able to take the troops on board his line-of-battle ships, and debark them without danger, then it will be useless to take the transports. If frigates can run into a convenient place, then the troops will be embarked on board of frigates. The day of departure to be the first of November, or if possible, sooner.

[LAFAYETTE]

[His Excellency General Washington]

Head Quarters, 28 October, 1781

Sir,

Your Excellency did me the honor to mention in one of your letters, and subsequently in the note transmitted by the Marquis de Lafayette, that, from a desire to serve the United States, your Excellency would enter into engagements for such cooperations the next campaign, as

should not be incompatible with the orders of your court. This offer is too essential to the interests of the common cause not to be embraced by me with the greatest eagerness, while it claims my warmest acknowledgments for the continuance of your friendly disposition towards America. As it is impossible at this distance of time to determine whether it will be most advantageous for the allies to open the campaign with the siege of New York, and thence proceed to Charleston, or make Charleston the leading operation, I take the liberty of proposing to your Excellency the following general dispositions as equally applicable to either; namely, that your Excellency would assemble a decisive naval superiority in the Bay of Chesapeake, towards the end of May, from which central position we might easily transport ourselves for a reunion of our means against whichever of the maritime points above mentioned circumstances should render it most advisable to attack first. With your Excellency, I need not insist either upon the indispensable necessity of a maritime force capable of giving you an absolute ascendancy in these seas, nor enlarge upon the advantages which must be derived from anticipating the British in opening the campaign, next to the immediate prosecution of our present successes with the union of superior means now in our power, and which would infallibly terminate the war at one stroke.

The plan, which I have the honor to submit to your Excellency, is that which appears to me most likely to accomplish the great objects of the alliance. You will have observed, that, whatever efforts are made by the land armies, the navy must have the casting vote in the present contest. The court of France are convinced of it, and have declared their resolution to give this indispensable succour. The triumphant manner in which your Excellency has maintained the mastery of the American seas, and the glory of the French flag, lead both nations to look to you as the arbiter of the war. Public and private motives make me most ardently wish that the next campaign may be calculated to crown all your former victories. I entreat your Excellency to be persuaded of my regard for your glory, and of the sincere friend-

ship with which I shall invariably continue,  
my dear General, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Grasse

## II

### CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON AND LAFAYETTE

Mount Vernon, Virginia

15th November, 1781

My dear Marquis

Not till the 5th instant was I able to leave York. Engaged in providing for the detachment that was to go southerly, embarking the troops that were to proceed northerly, making a distribution of the ordnance and stores for various purposes, and disposing of the officers and other prisoners to their respective places of destination, I could not leave that part of the country sooner.

On that day I arrived at Eltham, the seat of Colonel Bassett, time enough to see poor Mr. Custis breathe his last. This unexpected and affecting event threw Mrs. Washington and Mrs. Custis, who were both present, into such deep distress, that the circumstance of it and a duty I owed the deceased in assisting at his funeral, prevented my reaching this place till the 13th; and business here and on the road will put it out of my power to arrive at Philadelphia before the last days of the present month.

As this may extend to a later period than your business in that city may require, I owe it to your friendship and to my affectionate regard for you, my dear Marquis, not to let you leave this country without carrying with you fresh marks of my attachment to you, and new expressions of the high sense I entertain of your military conduct and other important services in the course of the last campaign, although the latter are too well known to need the testimony of my approbation, and the former I persuade myself, you believe, is too well riveted to undergo diminution or change.

As you expressed a desire to know my sentiments respecting the operation of the next campaign before your departure for France, I will

without a tedious display of reasoning, declare in one word, that the advantage of it to America, and the honor and glory of it to the allied arms in these States, must depend absolutely upon the naval force which is employed in these seas, and the time of its appearance next year. No land force can act decisively unless it is accompanied by a maritime superiority; nor can more than negative advantages be expected without it. For proof of this, we have only to recur to the instances of the ease and facility with which the British shifted their ground, as advantages were to be obtained at either extremity of the continent, and to their late heavy loss the moment they failed in their naval superiority. To point out the further advantages which might have been obtained in the course of this year, if Count de Grasse could have waited, and would have ordered further operations to the southward, is unnecessary; because a doubt did not exist, nor does it at this moment, in any man's mind, of the total extirpation of the British force in the Carolinas and Georgia, if he could have extended his cooperation two months longer.

It follows then, as certain as night succeeds the day, that without a decisive naval force we can do nothing defensive, and with it every thing honorable and glorious. A constant naval superiority would terminate the war speedily; without it, I do not know that it will ever be terminated honorably. If this force should appear early, we shall have the whole campaign before us. The months from June to September, inclusive, are well adapted for operating in any of the States to the northward of this; and the remaining months are equally suited to those south; in which time, with such means, I think much, I will add every thing, might be expected.

How far the policy of Congress may carry them towards filling the continental battalions does not lie with me to determine. This measure, before and since the capitulation, has been strongly recommended by me. Should it be adopted by that body, and executed with energy in the several States, I think our force, comprehending the auxiliary troops now here, will be fully competent to all purposes of the American war, provided the British force on this continent

remains nearly as it now is. But this is a contingency which depends very much upon political manœuvres in Europe; and, as it is uncertain how far we may be in a state of preparation at the opening of the next campaign, the propriety of augmenting the present army under the command of Count de Rochambeau is a question worthy of consideration; but as it lies with Congress to determine, I shall be silent on the subject.

If I should be deprived of the pleasure of a personal interview with you before your departure, permit me to adopt this method of making you a tender of my ardent vows for a propitious voyage, a gracious reception from your prince, an honorable reward for your services, a happy meeting with your lady and friends, and a safe return in the spring to, my dear Marquis, your affectionate friend, etc.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Marquis de Lafayette

P. S. I beg you to present my best respects to the Viscount de Noailles, and let him know that my warmest wishes attend him.

29th November, 1781

My dear General

Inclosed you will find some numbers, a copy of which I have kept, and which contain some names that may probably occur in our correspondence. I need not tell you, my dear General, that I shall be happy in giving you every intelligence in my power, and reminding you of the most affectionate friend you can ever have. The goodness you had to take upon yourself the communicating to the Virginia army the approbation of Congress, appears much better to me than my writing to the scattered parts of the body I had the honor to command. Give me leave, my dear General, to recall to your memory the peculiar situation of the troops, who, being already in Virginia, were deprived of the month's pay given to the others. Should it be permitted to do something for them, it would give them great satisfaction.

I will have the honor to write to you from Boston, my dear General, and should be sorry to think this is my last letter. Accept, however,

once more, the homage of the respect and of the affection that render me forever

Your most obedient servant and tender friend,

LAFAYETTE

To General George Washington

P. S. I beg you will present my respects to Mrs. Washington, and my compliments to George and the family. Will you be so kind, my dear general, as to remember me to Mr. and Mrs. Morris

Alliance, off Boston, 21st Dec., 1781

My dear General

I am sorry to think we are not yet gone, and there remain still some doubts of our going to-morrow. This delay I lament, not so much on private accounts, as I do on account of our next campaign, in the planning of which your opinion, as I shall deliver it, must be of the greatest use to the common cause. As to the department of Foreign Affairs, I shall be happy to justify the confidence of the Congress, by giving my opinion to the best of my ability, whenever it is asked for. But the affairs of finances will, I fear, be a difficult point for the American minister, in which, however, I shall be happy to help him with my utmost exertion. The moment I arrive in France I will write to you minutely how things stand, and give you the best accounts in my power.

I have received every mark of affection in Boston, and am much attached to this town, to which I owe so many obligations; but, from public considerations, I have been impatient to leave it and go on board the frigate, where I receive all possible civilities, but where I had rather be under sail than at anchor.

I beg your pardon, my dear General, for giving you so much trouble in reading my scrawls; but we are going to sail, and my last adieu I must dedicate to my beloved General. I know your heart so well that I am sure that no distance can alter your attachment to me. With the same candor, I assure you that my love, my respect, my gratitude for you, are above expression; that at the moment of leaving you, I felt more than ever the strength of those friendly ties that forever bind me to you, and that I anticipate the pleasure, the most wished for pleasure, to be

again with you, and by my zeal and services to gratify the feelings of my respect and affection. Will you be pleased to present my compliments and respects to Mrs. Washington, and to remember me to General Knox and General Lincoln. Adieu, my dear General.

Your respectful and tender friend

LAFAYETTE

To General George Washington

### III

#### CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON AND ROCHAMBEAU

Williamsburg, 5th February, 1782

Sir

The legion of Lauzun had begun to march when very cold weather came on, and the ground was covered with snow six inches deep. As, by the intelligence I had from your excellency, and those I got from the flag, it appears that the reinforcements from New York for Charleston does not exceed thirteen hundred men, I have not judged this rapid movement of the legion quite necessary, when, in these melted snows, all its equipments, both of horse and foot, would have utterly spoiled; and therefore have ordered it into quarters again, until the weather be milder. In the meantime, I hope I shall receive your Excellency's answer.

The news I had from New York by the flag are, that all the men-of-war under sixty-four are gone, a month since, to join Admiral Hood; that there remain only at New York the Lion, commanded by Digby, some fifty and forty gun ships, and several frigates. That is quite sufficient to keep the Romulus in awe. They brag, likewise, at New York, of an immediate large reinforcement from Ireland, with the same particulars of two regiments of dismounted dragoons. Though I have not the least faith in it, I believe it would be necessary before we come to any resolution, to know whether this storm will take its direction to the northward or towards the south. It is the same report which was spread in Charleston, and which has alarmed General Greene.

As your Excellency's answer might be long coming, by reason of the rivers being full of

floating ice, and of our not having had any intercourse with the Northern States this fortnight past, I have resolved to send back to New York all the convalescents which it will be possible to assemble, that they may be exchanged against our convalescents of the West India brigade taken in the Bonetta. I believe it will be better for both to return among their countrymen there to receive the assistance they stand in need of. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir, Your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency, George Washington

Philadelphia, 9th February, 1782

Sir

I have been honored with your excellency's favor of the 12th and 22d ultimo, the latter enclosing copies of General Greene's letter to you and your answer. After informing you that I concur with you in opinion that it would be politic at this moment to move a detachment from your main body to the southward, permit me to assure you that I very sensibly feel your goodness in determining to advance the legion as soon as possible to the frontiers of North Carolina. I have only to request that the commanding officer may have orders to proceed further or not as circumstances may require. The move of the legion will be perplexing to the enemy; and, as it has been heretofore the advance corps of your army, you may, I think, give out, and it will carry with it strong marks of probability, that your whole army is to follow as soon as the weather will admit of the march. Supposing the enemy should receive the reinforcements from Ireland, I do not imagine that they will, after the many severe blows they have felt from plunging themselves into the country, march to any great distance from Charleston; especially if they consider that, while France has a naval superiority in the West Indian or American seas, a body of troops might be easily thrown in between them and the town, whereby their ruin would be inevitable.

It would certainly be our true interest, if it could be done, to give General Greene such a force, that he should be able under all circumstances to keep the enemy confined to their posts



upon the coasts of South Carolina and Georgia ; but should your excellent and valuable body of men be made use of for that purpose, it might possibly interfere with the plan of campaign, which we may shortly expect from your court. Those States, whose troops compose the southern army, will be pressed to send forward reinforcements to General Greene as early and as expeditiously as possible.

I am apprehensive that your Excellency will think me unmindful of a most agreeable piece of duty which I have been directed to perform by Congress. It is the presentation of two of the field pieces taken at York, with an inscription on them expressive of the occasion. I find a difficulty in getting the engraving properly executed. When finished I shall with peculiar pleasure put the cannon into your possession.

In an address which I have lately received from the Senate of the State of Virginia, on account of the surrender of York and Gloucester, I am desired to make their most grateful acknowledgments to your Excellency and to the officers and men under your command, for your eminent services upon that occasion, and to assure you that they see with pleasure the harmony which subsists between the inhabitants of the State and their generous allies. I take the first opportunity of making this agreeable communication.

In my letter of the 14th of January, I requested that Lord Rawdon might be exchanged for Brigadier General Moultrie of South Carolina, in preference to any of the colonels mentioned by Sir Henry Clinton; it being more conformable to our practice than to make exchanges by composition. I now take the liberty of confirming that request. I am, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Williamsburg, 27 February, 1782

Sir

I have received your Excellency's letter of the 9th instant, brought by Colonel Robert Dillon. The Legion de Lauzun by this time must be arrived at Charlotte Court-House. It will be needful that it stay there some time, because the men are almost quite naked, and I shall forward

them their clothing which I expect from Boston, as well as that of all the army, as soon as possibly can be done after its arrival. In these circumstances I have not thought fit to empower M. de Choisy to proceed further, because on one part I feared that the requests for that movement might not be absolutely necessary, and on the other part, I knew too well the ardor and desire of going forward, and to be detached from the main body, which is natural to our nation. I am here at hand to send them orders relative to the intelligence which they will send me from General Greene's army, if the circumstances were so urgent as to render their march absolutely necessary. About eight days ago several detachments of different southern regiments, amounting to five hundred men, marched towards that army. In a little excursion I made in the heart of the State, I have seen Colonel Armand's legion at Charlottesville. It will be ready in a month, if sixty horses, which he expects from Philadelphia, arrive. If your Excellency does not hurry the assembling of the reinforcements, which this State is to furnish to General Greene's army, I think I ought to let you know that the Assembly has broken up without resolving anything, or furnishing the means of recruiting ; so that it should seem that Virginia, for the present moment, looks on itself as in possession of peace.

The privateers have become very bold since the loss of the Diligente ; some have entered the Bay. The Sybille has gone out to chase them. I presume that before long we shall receive from France a plan of next campaign. In that case I think it would be very necessary that we should have a conference together. I am confident your Excellency would not be against seeing Mount Vernon, your agreeable seat. If convenient, it should be our place of rendezvous as the most suitable place.

I am very sensible to your Excellency's attention about the engraving of the field-pieces which you destine for me. I do not look upon them as very urgent to be delivered, and I think it would be most suitable to keep them at Philadelphia, whence Mr. Morris might send them to France when peace is made. They might be transported to Nantes, whence, by going up the

river as far as Tours, I would get them carried to Rochambeau, which is only twelve leagues distant from that city. I am with respect and personal attachment, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient  
humble servant

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

General George Washington

P. S. I think the Chevalier de la Luzerne must, by this time, be on the road to come here; if he is not, I beg you would tell him to have no uneasiness about the privateers, because M. de Villebrune will take care to see him carried safely over.

Philadelphia, 19 March, 1782

Sir

Under present appearances, I think General de Choisy should not move beyond Charlotte Court-House. There are several reasons to induce a belief that the enemy mean to evacuate South Carolina and Georgia. If such an event is to take place, we must soon know it. I requested the Minister of Finance to inform you, that whenever it became necessary I would meet you at this place. Mount Vernon, exclusive of the happiness of entertaining you at my own house, would be very agreeable to me, but I could not at the opening of the campaign go so far away from the army. I congratulate your Excellency upon the total surrender of the Islands of St. Kitts' and Nevis which is fully confirmed. Montserrat must, I think, fall of course. I have also the pleasure to inform you that the Marquis de Lafayette, and the gentlemen who went with him, all arrived safe in France, after a passage of twenty-two days. I shall set out for the army to-morrow.

I am, &c. GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Head Quarters, 5th May, 1782

Sir

If the enemy ever had any intention to evacuate Charleston, that idea, I believe, is now given up. Great revolutions in the British councils have lately taken place. The particulars brought by the March packet will be conveyed to you in the enclosed New York Gazette, which I send for your perusal. General Robertson, who has

for some time past been governor of New York, is lately appointed Commander-in-Chief in America. This information I have from his own letter.

Port Mahon and the whole island of Minorca are certainly surrendered to his Catholic Majesty's arms. This event is declared in New York; but I am possessed of but few particulars concerning the capitulation. My most cordial congratulations attend your Excellency and the officers of your army upon the favors which you inform me have, with so much justice, been conferred by his Most Christian Majesty. Be assured, Sir, I shall ever feel a most lively interest and pleasure in every event which bestows honor or emolument on such deserving characters. The favorable mention, which the King is pleased to make of me, demands my warmest and most particular acknowledgments. This honor done me will form an additional tie to the gratitude which already binds me to the person and interests of his Majesty.

Convinced that the works at Newport would be of no use to us, and that they might be of infinite importance to the enemy, should they have an intention to establish a post there, from a bare apprehension of such an event, I have requested the Governor of Rhode Island to have them levelled; pointing him at the same time to the necessity of preserving Butts's Hill if possible. The plans for the campaign depending entirely upon the succours, which will be sent by his Most Christian Majesty, I can do nothing more than form opinions upon certain hypotheses. If we should have a naval superiority, and a force sufficient to attempt New York, and you have not secure means of transporting your troops by water, for their greater ease, to the Head of Elk, the route you propose for their march by land is, I am persuaded, the best that can be. It is to be feared that the manœuvre your Excellency suggests will hardly have its intended effect, as it will be performed in so short a space as to give no time for its operation before the deception you propose would be disclosed.

If your march should take place before our intended interview, the time of its commencement must be determined absolutely by your Excellency, in consequence of the advice you

may receive from your court, and of knowing the time at which the succours may be expected on this coast. To delay it beyond this point would waste the campaign; and to commence at an earlier period would disclose our plans and prepare the enemy for an approach. Every attention, consistent with my means, has been bestowed on the boats, and I hope to be tolerably provided with them.

I shall, by this opportunity, communicate your request for militia to Governor Harrison. I persuade myself that, knowing how expensive the militia are, and with what difficulty they are drawn out, you will be as moderate as possible in your requisition, and that you will leave nothing, when it can be well avoided, to their protection.

I am, &c.,           GEORGE WASHINGTON  
The Count de Rochambeau

Williamsburg, 8th June, 1782

Sir

In the moment I was writing to your excellency I received a confirmation of the result of the engagement on the 12th of April, which, by all the reports from the Cape, Port au Prince, and all the intelligence from New York and Jamaica, seems very bad for us.

I was proposing to you that, as there was not as yet any plan for the campaign decided at our Court, and as I waited with the greatest impatience for the arrival of the Duke de Lauzun, I thought that it was suitable to march the corps towards New York, that, jointly with your army, we might hinder the enemy from sending any forces to the aid of Jamaica. These bad news quite overthrow that military expectation, so that I see no more reason for that march of the French corps to join you, unless there be political ones, which I must submit to your reflection and to your order.

The Captain of a flag, arrived yesterday from New York, assures that he had sailed with thirty-six transports, escorted by three ships of war, going to Charleston and Savannah. They are empty, and it is believed they are going to evacuate those places. If that be the case, all their forces being assembled there, there is nothing more for us to do. If the army moves that way we must assure a protection to York and

West Point, where will stay our navy and heavy artillery, by a body of militia which Virginia must furnish, to which I would add five [regiments of] French troops; and, considering the resolution of the British Parliament not to carry on an offensive war on the Continent, I cannot see any good proceeding from the march of the French troops on New York. On the contrary, I think it might engage Carleton to send a detachment and make some undertaking against our ships, when the army would be at a great distance, as he might undertake against the French without deviating from the resolution not to carry on any longer an offensive war on the Continent, to endeavor to reduce America by force. Such Sir, are my observations. I communicate them to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, and submit them to the reflections and orders of your excellency. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir, your excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency George Washington

Newburg, 24th June, 1782

My dear Count

I have looked with anxious impatience for those dispatches from your Court, the arrival of which was to be the basis of our interview at Philadelphia. I have been in such daily expectation of this event, that I have not ventured more than fifteen miles from this place lest your summons should arrive here in my absence.

The season for operating in this quarter is flying away rapidly; and I am more and more embarrassed in determining on the measures, which are proper to be pursued. If the aids, which are designed for us by your generous nation, are sufficiently powerful, and arrive in season to warrant the enterprise against New York, not a moment should be lost in commencing your march this way. On the other hand, if the naval superiority, destined by his Most Christian Majesty for this coast, should be late in coming, or if, when it does arrive, our force should be judged inadequate to the siege of New York, and our arms are to be turned against Charleston, as the next object of importance, every step,

which the French army under your excellency's command might make this way, would not only serve to fatigue them, but the baggage, teams, and artillery horses which are provided for the service of the campaign, would, by such a movement, be rendered unfit to perform a march to South Carolina, and every other expense incident to this manoeuvre would be needlessly increased.

In this state of uncertainty which may also be accompanied by unexpected embarrassments occasioned by the late events in the West Indies, I find myself at a loss to determine upon any thing, and could wish our interview to take place even under these circumstances, that we might by a free intercourse of sentiments upon certain hypotheses, mature matters in such a manner as to facilitate any operations to which our force shall be adjudged competent (having regard to the season), when the plans of your court are announced to us. If you approve of such a meeting before you receive your dispatches, you have only to inform me of it, and I shall attend to your time at Philadelphia, or any other place, at the shortest notice.

I am at this moment on the point of setting out for Albany, on a visit to my posts in the vicinity of that place. My stay will not exceed eight or ten days, and will be shortened if any dispatches should be received from you in the mean time. I have the honor to be, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Philadelphia, 17th July, 1782

Sir

I had the honor to write to your excellency that at my departure from York, in Virginia, I would leave in that place a detachment of four hundred French troops, which were to be joined by a corps of the Virginia militia, to assure the possession of that harbor to the French navy now there, and that may arrive in future. At the moment of my leaving that place the American militia were just beginning to arrive; and I have left M. de Lavalette, Brigadier General, with four hundred French troops. I have expressly recommended to him the American artillery, which remained there after the siege of York, with orders to place it upon West Point,

to join it to our siege artillery in case superior land and sea forces should oblige him to retreat on West Point with the King's navy. I think that the quantity of American artillery left at York is much greater than is necessary for the conservation of that post, and that at least one half may be taken away whenever your Excellency shall think fit.

One battery of eight pieces at York and one other of six at Gloucester, will be sufficient to protect the harbor; and I am of opinion that General Lincoln will do very well to send his orders that the rest, amounting to thirty pieces and upwards, according to the best of my knowledge, may be removed. This is my opinion, Sir, in answer to the letter which you did me the honor to write me on that object yesterday. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant,

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency General Washington

P. S. I send to your Excellency my answer to Sir Guy Carleton, which I beg you would read and send by the first occasion to New York.

Newburg, 16th August, 1782

Sir

Were we certain that a pacification had advanced so far as your Excellency thinks it has, or could be assured that the British ministry were really sincere in their offers which have been communicated through their Commander-in-chief Sir Guy Carleton, I should think you might, without any inconvenience or danger await the orders of your court where you now are, and dismiss all your wagons. But when we consider that negotiations are sometimes set on foot merely to gain time, that there are yet no offers on the part of the enemy for a general cessation of hostilities, and that although their commandery in this country are in a manner tied down by the resolves of their House of Commons to a defensive war only, yet they may be at liberty to transport part of their force to the West Indies, I think it highly necessary for the good of the common cause and especially to prevent the measure which I have last mentioned, to unite our force upon the North River; and in this

opinion I am impressed by the sentiments contained in a letter from the Minister of France to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, which he has been good enough to leave open for my inspection.

"From the different accounts I can collect," says he, "it seems to be the design of England to make a general peace; but the demands on the one side and the other will render a conclusion extremely difficult; and in such a case that power will share nothing to effectuate a peace with the United States, and turn all their efforts against us. As to a separate peace with the United States it will not take place. I am certain they will not make peace except in concert with us." The minister also says to me, "You will judge better than I can whether it is proper to march the French army or not. It is certain, that it will be necessary, if the English show any disposition to detach a considerable force to the West Indies." What are the intentions of the enemy in this respect, it is impossible for me precisely to determine. Accounts from New York, but not on very good authority, still continue to mention an embarkation for the West Indies. The garrison of Savannah has arrived at New York, and there are some grounds for believing that Charleston will be evacuated should that event take place, and the garrison also come to New York, they might without danger detach considerably should our force continue divided

Upon the whole, Sir, I hardly imagine you will think it prudent to dismiss your carriages under present appearances and circumstances; and, if you do not, the cattle will be as easily subsisted upon a march as in a settled camp. Should an accommodation take place, and should the orders of your court call you from the continent, your embarkation might be as easily made upon the Delaware or the Hudson, as upon the Chesapeake. I am of opinion, therefore, that no good consequences can result from your remaining at Baltimore, but that many advantages may attend your marching forward, and forming a junction with this army. Actuated by no motives, but those which tend to the general good, I have taken the liberty of giving my sentiments with that freedom, with which I am convinced you would ever wish me to deliver them. I beg

leave to return my thanks for the attention you have paid to the exchange, not only of Colonel Laumoy, but of several others of our officers. I am, etc.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Princeton, 7th September, 1782

Sir

I have the honor to send to your Excellency a letter which the Chevalier de la Luzerne begs you would send by the dragoons established on the road to Boston for carrying on the correspondence. It contains a generous offer, made by Congress to the king, of a seventy-four gun ship.\*

The news which I have here of the British fleet, are that Admiral Pigot is put into New York with very few ships, himself in a bad state of health, and that Admiral Hood, with the greatest part of the fleet, has sailed for Halifax. If your Excellency has the same intelligence confirmed, I beg you would send my letter to M. de Vaudreuil. It is however certain that M. Dumas, Deputy Quartermaster-General, has seen yesterday a great part of the fleet under sail before the Hook. I expect that I shall arrive with the first division on the 14th at Haverstraw. The second division will arrive on the 15th; and I promise myself a great pleasure in embracing your excellency. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir, your Excellency's

Most obedient and humble servant

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency, George Washington

\* In Congress September 3d, "whereas the Magnifique, seventy-four gun ship, belonging to the fleet of his Most Christian Majesty, commanded by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, has been lately lost by accident in the harbor of Boston, and Congress are desirous of testifying on this occasion to his majesty the sense they entertain of his generous exertion in behalf of the United States.

"Resolved, that the agent of marine be, and he is hereby instructed to present the America, a seventy-four gun ship, in the name of the United States, to the Chevalier de la Luzerne, for the service of his Most Christian Majesty."

Hartford, 30th October, 1782

Sir

At the moment of my departure for Boston this morning, I received a letter from M. de Vaudreuil, saying that he is sorry to have ap-

pointed the 8th of next month for my arrival with my troops at Boston, because the men-of-war at Portsmouth are not yet ready, and he does not believe that he will be in readiness to set sail before the 20th of November. In consequence of which, I have resolved to stay here four days longer; then to go as far as Providence by very short journeys, where I shall stay until the fleet be ready. By these means I shall have more time to receive intelligence from your Excellency concerning the motions of the enemy, and to know, first, if Admiral Pigot is really gone with a part of the fleet to the West Indies; secondly, if the counter order for the non evacuation of Charleston has really been sent as it is reported; thirdly, if this counter order is arrived timely enough to hinder the evacuation; in which three objects I beg of your excellency to inform me, as you know that on these objects depend the embarkation of the troops or their not embarking.

I shall leave two hussars at Boston and two at Voluntown, to bring me your Excellency's letters at Providence. I am, with respect and personal attachment, sir,  
Your Excellency's most obedient humble servant

COMTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

His Excellency, George Washington

Newburg, 14th December, 1782

I cannot, my dear general, permit you to depart from this country without repeating to you the high sense I entertain of the services you have rendered to America by the constant attention which you have paid to the interest of it, by the exact order and discipline of the corps under your command, and by your readiness, at all times, to give facility to every measure, which the force of the combined armies was competent to.

To this testimony of your public character, I should be wanting to the feelings of my heart, were I not to add expressions of the happiness I have enjoyed in your private friendship, the remembrance of which will be one of the most pleasant circumstances of my life. My best wishes will accompany you to France, where I sincerely hope, and have no doubt, you will meet with the smiles and rewards of a generous prince,

and the warmest embraces of affectionate friends. Adieu. I have the honor to be, with great personal attachment, respect, and regard, your obedient and most humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

Newburg, December 29, 1782

Sir

It is with infinite satisfaction, that I embrace the earliest opportunity of sending to Philadelphia the cannon, which Congress were pleased to present to your Excellency, in testimony of their sense of the illustrious part you bore in the capture of the British army under Lord Cornwallis at York, in Virginia. The carriages will follow by another conveyance. But, as they were not quite ready, I could not resist the pleasure, on that account, of forwarding these pieces to you previous to your departure, in hopes the inscription and devices, as well as the execution, may be agreeable to your wishes.

I am sir, etc.

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Count de Rochambeau

#### IV

#### CORRESPONDENCE OF WASHINGTON AND THE FRENCH OFFICERS

Headquarters, 7th December, 1782

Sir

The Count de Rochambeau, who arrived here this morning, did me the honor to deliver to me your letter of the 29th of November. As your destination was not public, when I last had the pleasure of seeing you, I could not embrace the opportunity to express to you the very great regret I felt at the prospect of our separation. I must therefore beg you to accept this testimony of that regret, as well as the gratitude I feel in common with every virtuous citizen, for the essential services you have assisted in rendering to this country. At the same time I must entreat you to believe, that the many great and amiable qualities which you possess, have inspired me with the highest sentiments of esteem for your character, and that, wherever you may be, nothing will add to my happiness more, than to hear from you, and to communicate to you any thing

that may occur in this part of the world worthy of your notice.

I have only now to assure you of my sincere wishes for your safe and speedy arrival at the place of your destination, and for your success and personal glory in whatever you may undertake.

— 12th December

The reason which prevented me taking a public leave of your Excellency, operated equally against my signifying to the army now under your command not only the reluctance with which I parted with them, but the grateful sense which I entertain of the very essential services they have rendered to America. Your destination being no longer a secret, permit me to request the favor of your Excellency to make the necessary apologies for me; to express to both the officers and men how warmly I feel myself interested in whatever concerns their honor and glory; and to assure them it is my ardent wish, that victory may attend them wherever the orders or their sovereign may direct their arms. Accept my thanks for the very many polite marks of attention I have received from you, and believe me to be merely sincerely your Excellency's obedient servant, GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Baron de Vioménil

Sir

Boston, December 18, 1782

The veneration with which this army was penetrated, from the first moment they had the honor of being presented to your Excellency by Count de Rochambeau, their confidence in your talents and the wisdom of your orders, the remembrance of your kindness and attention, and the example you set them in every critical circumstance, the approbation, regret and wishes you have honored them with at their departure; these are the considerations, by which you may be assured there is not an individual officer in this army who is not as sensibly touched as he is flattered by your approbation; or who does not exceedingly regret that the secret of our destination deprived them of the pleasure of being again presented by Count de Rochambeau, to pay their respects to your Excellency, and to express their feelings on the occasion.

Having thus interpreted their sentiments to your Excellency, allow me, Sir, to embrace this

opportunity to assure you that the sentiments you have already permitted me to express to you will be as durable as the profound respect, with which I have the honor to be, &c.,

BARON DE VIOMÉNIL

His Excellency George Washington

Newburg, 14 December, 1782

My Dear Chevalier

I felt too much to express any thing the day I parted from you. A sense of your public services to this country, and gratitude for your private friendship, quite overcame me at the moment of our separation. But I should do violence to my feelings and inclination, were I to suffer you to leave this country without the warmest assurances of an affectionate regard for your person and character.

Our good friend, the Marquis de Lafayette, prepared me, long before I had the honor to see you, for those impressions of esteem, which opportunities and your own benevolent mind have since engraved with a deep and lasting friendship; a friendship which neither time nor distance can eradicate. I can truly say, that never in my life have I parted with a man to whom my soul clung more sincerely than it did to you. My warmest wishes will attend you on your voyage across the Atlantic, to the rewards of a generous prince, the arms of affectionate friends; and be assured that it will be one of my highest gratifications to keep up a regular intercourse with you by letter.

I regret exceedingly, that circumstances should withdraw you from this country before the final accomplishment of that independence and peace which the arms of our good ally have assisted in placing before us in so agreeable a point of view. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to accompany you in a tour through the Continent of North America at the close of the war in search of the natural curiosities with which it abounds, and to view the foundation of the rising empire. I have the honor to be, &c.,

GEORGE WASHINGTON

The Chevalier de Chastellux

Sir

Head Quarters, 10 May, 1783

I had not the honor of receiving your favor of the 1st instant until the 7th. Being at that time at

Orangetown on a conference with Sir Guy Carleton, it had a circuitous route to make before it reached me. This circumstance you will be so good as to admit as an apology for my not giving an earlier reply.

I have now the honor to mention to you, as I did some time ago to the Minister of France, that, viewing the peace so near a final conclusion, I could not hold myself justified in a desire to detain the troops under your command from the expectations of their sovereign or to prevent their own wishes of a return to their native country and friends.

Nor can I omit, on this occasion to express to you, Sir, and to all the brave officers and soldiers of your corps, the high esteem I have for them, and the regard I shall ever entertain for their services in the cause of the United States, to whose independence and establishment as a nation they have contributed a noble share.

Your particular services, Sir, with the politeness, zeal and attention, which I have ever experienced from you, have made a deep and lasting impression on my mind, and will serve to endear you to my remembrance. It would have been a great satisfaction to me to have had further opportunity to give you, in person, the assurance of my regard, could your orders have admitted your longer continuance in the country. But my regret at parting with you will be somewhat softened by the flattering hope you are pleased to give me, that I may have the satisfaction of embracing you again in America; when you may be assured I shall ever most heartily rejoice in an opportunity of having it in my power to convince you of the very particular esteem and attachment, with which I have the honor to be, &c. GEORGE WASHINGTON

To the Duke de Lauzun

# V

## ADDRESSES TO THE FRENCH OFFICERS

THE MERCHANTS OF BALTIMORE TO ROCHAMBEAU

*From the Pennsylvania Packet, Aug. 31, 1782*

Sir Baltimore, August 22, 1782  
The merchants of Baltimore are too sensible

of the harmony which has subsisted between the troops which your excellency commands and all orders of the inhabitants, not to feel anxious to make known their satisfaction before your departure. We do not pretend to be judges of the discipline of armies; but from the brilliant and signal services which your army has rendered to this country; from the watchful attention which your soldiery have had over every species of our property—from the decorum and order which they have uniformly preserved, both in their camps and in the town—and from the great politeness of the officers, on every occasion, we cannot but acknowledge ourselves deeply impressed with the most lively ideas of its perfection, and with a gratitude which, from its nature, must be perpetual. And we are happy in this opportunity to declare, that had the prejudice against the French nation been real, which the English have so pertinaciously attributed to the Americans, the residence of your excellency and the army in this place must have convinced us how little credit ought to be given to the popular maxims of \* a people who have ever been sincerely our friends.

Permit us, Sir, to assure you, that the only regret which we experience is on the prospect of the removal of your army, and our incapacity to make a proper return for its great services and distinguished care of the privileges of citizens.

In behalf of the merchants, we have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Your excellency's most obedient servants,

WILLIAM SMITH

SAMUEL SMITH

THOROWGOOD SMITH

\* *Of seems to mean concerning.*

# REPLY

Baltimore, August 22, 1782

Gentlemen

It cannot but be very agreeable to me and the troops under my command to perceive that the discipline observed by them has been the means of keeping between them and the inhabitants of this city the harmony and good understanding which we have always been anxious to maintain with our allies.

Your willingness to receive us in your houses,



your attentive politeness to us, have been a sufficient return for the services which we have been so happy as to render you. We have our full reward in fulfilling, to our mutual satisfaction, the intentions of our Sovereign.

THE COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU

To the Merchants of the City of Baltimore

THE LEGISLATURE OF RHODE ISLAND TO  
ROCHAMBEAU

*From the Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 4, 1783*

The governor, council and representatives of the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, in general assembly convened, being excited by the sincerest attachment and respect, present their most affectionate and cordial acknowledgments to your excellency and the officers and troops composing the army under your command, for the great and eminent services rendered since your first arrival in this state.

Nothing can equal our admiration at the manner in which you have participated with the army of the United States in the fatigues, the toils and glory that have attended the allied arms, but [that for] the magnanimity of the father of his people, and the protector of the rights of mankind.

Our inquietude at the prospect of your removal would be inexpressible, but from the fullest conviction of the wisdom that directs the councils of his most christian majesty.

May Heaven reward your exertions in the cause of humanity, and the particular regard you have paid to the rights of the citizens. And may your laurels be crowned by the smiles of the best of kings, and the grateful feelings of the most grateful people.

Done in general assembly, at East-Greenwich, this 27th day of November, A. D. 1782, and in the seventh year of independence.

I have the honor to be, in behalf of the council and representatives, with great esteem and respect, your excellency's most obedient and very humble servant,  
W. GREENE, GOVERNOR

By order.

Samuel Ward, D. Sec.

To his Excellency Count de Rochambeau, Commander of the army of his Most Christian Majesty in the United States

REPLY

Providence, Nov. 28, 1782

Gentlemen

It is with an inexpressible pleasure that I and the troops under my command have received the marks of esteem and of acknowledgment, which you are so good as to give to the services which we have been happy enough to render to the United States, jointly with the American army, under the orders of General Washington.

This state is the first we have been acquainted with. The friendly behaviour of its inhabitants now, and at our arrival here, will give them always the right to our gratitude.

The confidence you have in the wisdom of the views of our sovereign, as to the disposition and march of his troops, must likewise assure you that on no occasion whatever he will separate his interest from those of his faithful allies.

LE CTE DE ROCHAMBEAU

To the Governor, Council and Representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations.

The above are true copies

Witness Henry Ward, Sec.

THE CITIZENS OF BOSTON TO THE BARON DE  
VIOMÉNIL

*From the Pennsylvania Packet, Jan. 8, 1783*

Sir

The freeholders and other inhabitants of the town of Boston, legally assembled in Faneuil-Hall, congratulate your Excellency on your safe arrival in the capital of this commonwealth. It is with particular pleasure that we embrace this opportunity, of testifying the singular respect with which we regard your Excellency and the gallant army under your command, sent by His Most Christian Majesty, the illustrious ally of the United States, to their succor, and crowned in this service with the most brilliant success and permanent honours.

We can assure your Excellency, that no part of the United States can be impressed more deeply with every sentiment becoming the most faithful allies towards the King, your Sovereign, and the nation which he governs with so much glory; or can entertain a higher sense of the great merits of his land and naval forces in

America, than the inhabitants of Boston. Our whole country attests the perfect discipline, the uncommon good order and civility which these forces have constantly preserved; a circumstance, among many others, which, while it leaves the most agreeable impressions on the minds of the inhabitants in every quarter, and must be extremely favorable to the publick friendship, cannot but at the same time heighten our regret at their departure. Wherever these forces may still be employed, may Heaven defend their persons, prosper their valour, and add new glories to their names and to that of their nation.

Your Excellency we are sure will be pleased, that upon this occasion we do not forget to mention, with the utmost respect, the name of Count ROCHAMBEAU, your predecessor in this important command; whose distinguished services in America can never be forgotten, and to whom also we ardently wish every felicity.

May the happy alliance with France never be dissolved or impaired! In the support of which such expenses have been incurred—such toils endured—such valuable lives exposed—such great actions displayed, and such generous blood offered! And may the reciprocal fruits of it to both nations be perpetually augmented.

To His Excellency, the Baron Vioménil,  
General and Commander of the forces of  
His most Christian Majesty in the United  
States of America.

## REPLY

Gentlemen

It belonged to the Count de Rochambeau much more than to myself to receive those distinguished and flattering testimonies which you have been pleased to give to the conduct of the troops, placed by the choice and confidence of the King in his hands, in order to serve the cause of your liberty. It is by pursuing the intentions of his Majesty, and the orders, the particular instructions, and the example of the General which he gave us, that we have been able to inspire you with those sentiments of esteem and attachment, of which you now assure us in expressions that do us the greatest honor.

All the principal officers of this army are, as well as myself, gentlemen, extremely touched

with your suffrage in their favor; it in a manner insures to them the approbation of the King, and is a very flattering recompence for the care they have taken to maintain discipline in the regiments which they command. The other officers by whom they have been perfectly seconded, will also be penetrated with the same sentiments; and the whole army sees with satisfaction, how thoroughly you are persuaded, that it is to the perfect union that has reigned between the American troops, the marine of the King, and the French corps under the orders of the Count de Rochambeau, that France and the United States are indebted for that success you so kindly applaud.

Permit me also, gentlemen, to seize the present moment for declaring to you our admiration of the virtues, the talents, and the accomplishments which so particularly distinguish His Excellency General WASHINGTON. We all desire that the homage of our respects and of our warm wishes for his preservation and happiness, may be agreeable to him as a testimony of the satisfaction we have had in serving under his orders.

I may venture to assure you beforehand, gentlemen, that the King will very sensibly feel the good wishes which the inhabitants of the town of Boston have so ardently made for the glory of his reign, and the prosperity of the nation which he governs. The disinterestedness and the wisdom of the views of his Majesty in all that he has done for the support of the independence of America, do not admit a doubt that the next destination of this army will still contribute with efficacy to the complete establishment of that object: To whatever part of the earth his orders may send it, all who compose this corps, will ever remember, with much sensibility, the pleasing wishes you have expressed for us on our departure.

The assurances of your affection, and the expression of your desires for the maintenance of an alliance, which his majesty regards as one of those happy events that have marked his reign, leave not the least room to doubt of the duration of this union, or of the great advantages that will result from it to the two nations in all times to come.

For myself nothing, gentlemen, could flatter

me more than the particular marks you have been pleased to give me of your esteem. I beg you to accept, together with all the thanks I owe to you, my most sincere respects and assurances, that I shall ever form the warmest wishes for the prosperity of the United States in general, and for the happiness of the citizens of Boston in particular.

## VI

## MISCELLANEOUS DOCUMENTS

TE DEUM ORDERED BY THE KING

*From the Pennsylvania Packet, May 7, 1782*

M. the Count de Rochambeau

The success of my armies will never be pleasing to me, but as they furnish the means of obtaining a speedy peace. Under that hope I review with pleasure the happy events of the campaign. My naval force, commanded by the Count de Grasse, Lieutenant General, after having defeated that of the British, near the leeward islands, and in their presence captured the island of Tobago, sailed afterwards for the coast of Virginia to compel them to evacuate that State; the enemy's fleet, which arrives on that coast, to attack my naval force, is beaten and obliged to return into port; and at length a whole British army, shut up in the town of York, besieged by my troops, in conjunction with those of the United States of America, under the command of General Washington and yourself, have been forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

In calling these events to the mind, and acknowledging how much the abilities of General Washington, your talents, those of the general officers employed under the orders of you both, and the valor of the troops have rendered this campaign glorious, my chief design is to inspire the hearts of all as well as mine, with the deepest gratitude towards the author of all prosperity, and in the intention of addressing my supplications to him for the continuation of his divine protection, I have written to the archbishops and bishops of my kingdom to cause Te Deum to be sung in the churches of their dioceses, and I address this letter to you to inform you, that I desire it may be likewise sung in the town or

camp where you may be with the corps of troops, the command of which has been entrusted to you, and that you would give orders that the ceremony be performed with all the public rejoicings used in similar cases, in which I beg of God to keep you in his holy protection.

Done at Versailles, the 26th of November, 1781.

LOUIS

## THE WRECK OF THE FRIGATE L'AIGLE

Extract of a letter from the Baron de Vioménil to the Marquis de Ségur, dated September 17, 1782

*From the Courier de l'Europe, Nov. 22, 1782*

The officers, passengers in the two frigates l'Aigle and la Gloire were landed on the starboard shore of the Delaware. Being at the distance of three leagues from these frigates, the baron de Vioménil sent back the boats, with an invitation to send the treasure contained in the two frigates to him. Notwithstanding they were in greater danger than before, yet by the activity of Monsieur de la Touche, and de Vallongue this business was effected, though attended with great difficulties. Two boats of refugees, containing 100 armed men each, attempted to take those who had the money in charge, and had it nearly in their power, but by the gallantry of the officers and the intrepidity of lieutenant le Sieur Gourgues, who came up with the boats of l'Aigle, struck such a damp to the enemy, who, though they had not twenty men to engage, sheered off with precipitation. The money was sent to Philadelphia under the care of the aids-de-camp and six officers of the royal regiment of artillery, and the legion de Lauzun, commanded by le Sieur Sheldon, who acquitted himself in this service with zeal and integrity. Les Sieurs de Erbanes, Montesquieu, Loménie and Melfort were of the greatest service in the most critical hour of distress. Les Sieurs de Brentano, Rice, Talleyrand, Lameth, Fleury, Vaudreuil, Frederick de Chabannes, Montmort and de Vioménil's son, have demonstrated the most distinguished ardor on this occasion, having done duty as private centinels every night; les Sieurs de Laval, Tisseul and Brentano have exerted themselves in a most extraordinary manner in recovering the

500,000 livres which were thrown overboard at the time of the refugees' attack on our boats— Les Sieurs de Ségur and de Broglie, after having from the beginning acquitted themselves in every instance with great zeal and honour in the service, being entrusted with dispatches from the Ministry to les Sieurs de la Luzerne, Rochambeau and de Vaudreuil, have carried them to Philadelphia. The Duc de Lauzun, who had been ill of a fever about 20 days at sea, and is but just beginning to recover, never quitted the Baron de Vioménil in any of these great difficulties, and it was entirely owing to his address that some militia of the country were assembled, who assisted in saving the money.—*Pennsylvania Packet*, March 1, 1783.

RECEPTION OF THE FRENCH TROOPS BY THE  
AMERICAN ARMY

Translation of a letter from a French officer  
to a friend

*From the Pennsylvania Packet*, Oct. 24, 1782

Camp at Verplank, September 21, 1782

We joined the American army some days ago. Yesterday the French army was reviewed by his excellency General Washington. You are acquainted with our troops, and I need not inform you that, after a long and fatiguing march in a sultry season and climate, they made such a splendid appearance as would have been admired in our camps of peace in Europe.

This day the Americans were under arms. It was a military festival in honour of their allies. Their camp was covered with garlands and pyramids, as so many trophies gratefully raised by the hands of liberty. The army was drawn up at the head of their camp. Twenty-four battalions of the States of New Jersey, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York formed a line of two miles extent. The most exact uniformity, the neat dress of the men, the glittering of their arms, their martial look, and a kind of military luxury, gave a most magnifi-

cent appearance to this assemblage of citizens armed in defence of their country.

Never did a more august sight strike my eyes. I imagined that I saw in their officers the Tells and Stawsackers of old in their great man, their chief (whom America can never sufficiently compensate), all the heroes united, whose names have been celebrated in the annals of glory and liberty.

My admiration rose to enthusiasm when I reflected, that not one of these soldiers was a mercenary; that many had spilled their blood and sacrificed their fortunes for their country, in expectation of no other reward than the esteem of their fellow citizens, and a firm persuasion of the justice of their cause.

A discharge of cannon was the signal for manœuvring. That exactness, order and silence which distinguish veteran armies was here displayed; they changed their front, formed and deployed columns with admirable regularity.

The day was terminated with an entertainment of more than ninety covers, served with true military magnificence in the pretorium of the consul (for I rather express myself thus than by saying in the tent of the general). In fact, everything in this army bears a particular character; and things uncommon ought not to be described by common expressions. A band of American music which played during the dinner added to the gaiety of the company.

Affection, esteem and cordiality were equally visible in the countenances of the French officers and of the Americans, their companions in war and glory. Never were two nations better formed for allies. Never did a generous nation exercise their virtue towards allies more grateful or reputable.

May my wishes prove ominous of the event. May mutual services cement an alliance which does honour to humanity, and may we in our return to the bosom of peace enjoy the pleasing satisfaction of having known, admired and assisted the worthy allies of France. Adieu.

## THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

1781

### FROM GUILFORD COURT HOUSE TO THE SIEGE OF YORK

*Narrated in the letters from Judge St. George Tucker to his wife*

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#### GUILFORD COURT HOUSE

The approaching centennial celebration of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown renders every thing connected with that event, and indeed with the whole revolutionary period, of paramount interest. It was with this feeling that I turned the moth-eaten leaves upon which these letters were written. The paper is coarse, and in many instances the merest scraps were called into service—some only containing messages of love for the wife waiting at home, whose trembling hand could scarcely break the seal when she recognized the writing of her soldier husband. But, again, these little missives told of incidents, some great, some small, each of which added its quota to decide the fate of a glorious republic. Not intended for the public eye, but only for the yearning heart of a wife, these letters are in many cases rough and unpolished. They simply gush with the occurrences and rumors of the moment, as they were written in haste under innumerable difficulties—in the rain and on the saddle, amid the voices of men, the neighing of horses, and the general babel of a mighty and, to a great extent, undisciplined army. In one there is a report of an occurrence as a mere rumor which has since become established fact; in another, an account of a just enacted battle with all the gloss and glamour that shroud alike the remotest antiquity and the immediate present. But in the next is found a calmer survey of the field; and what appeared a mighty engagement on the day of the battle proved a paltry fray when the smoke disappeared like a mountain mist. But as the testimony of an eye witness these letters are invaluable. Of such annals the history of nations is to a great extent composed.

St. George Tucker, the writer of these letters, was born in Bermuda July 10th, 1752. He was the youngest of four sons, three of whom filled positions of trust in this country and under the English government. The eldest, Henry, was President of his Majesty's Council and

Commander-in-chief of the Islands of Bermuda. His descendants went to England and became closely connected with the East India Company in which they have filled important posts. Charlotte M. Tucker, better known as A. L. O. E. and a missionary to India, where some of her nearest and dearest fell in the notorious massacre of Cawnpore, is his grand-daughter; and a worthy descendant of a worthy man. The second son, Tudor, was made Treasurer of the United States by General Washington, and retained the place until his death, during the administration of the younger Adams. The third son, Nathaniel, was attending the College of Medicine at Edinburgh at the outbreak of the revolution, and on that account was prevented from returning to America, though ardently attached to its interests. He finally settled, married, and died in England. He was the author of the Bermudian and other poems of some merit, which, however, are little known. An epic, originally intended to extend to *twelve books*, on the American Revolution, was begun by him. A portion of this poem still exists in manuscript. St. George, the subject of our sketch, came to Virginia in 1771, and entered William and Mary College, where he remained one year. He then commenced the study of the law under George Wythe, afterwards one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In 1775 he obtained a license and was admitted at the bar of the General Court. In the same year, however, at the desire of his father, he returned to Bermuda, where he remained until after the independence of the colonies was declared. But his devotion to the colonies was so great that, while banished from them by obedience to the wish of his parent, he engaged personally in a successful but dangerous attack upon a royal magazine containing supplies for the British forces. He married in 1778 Frances Bland, the widow of John Randolph, and the mother of John Randolph, of Roanoke. From this lady his gifted and eccentric son is said to have inherited his talents, but not his bitterness. The subject of our sketch then entered the army first as a private, but became secretary and aide-de-camp to General Nelson in May, 1779. An extract from a letter written by him at that time will give an idea of the favor that the British met with in his eyes.

"As to the business of fighting it would appear that the enemy will not trouble us with it. They are still at Portsmouth, and from every circumstance will not venture into these parts, as there are now a sufficient number of men at Hampton, York, and Williamsburg to oppose them with probabilities of success. From late accounts by deserters they seem preparing to depart in a week or two. May the devil be their escort, and Pandemonium their headquarters! May the flames they kindled at Suffolk be ordained for their own special use at that place; and may they retain the sense of hunger, and be doomed to feed on the ashes and soot occasioned by the provis-

ions they destroyed there! These are my hearty benedictions on such benefactors—and all the people shall cry *Amen*."

Then in 1781 he was present at the battle of Guilford Court House as a militia major in General Lawson's brigade; and at the siege of Yorktown as a lieutenant-colonel. It is the period which elapsed between these two memorable events that these highly entertaining letters cover.

The first letter of this series was written when he was on his way with the Virginia militia to reinforce Gen. Greene in his southern campaign, and to carry supplies to his destitute troops. It is dated March 4th, 1781.

"The lark is up, the morning grey; and I am seated by a smoky fire to let my dearest Fanny know that her soldier is as blithe as the mocking bird which is at this moment tuning his pipe within a dozen yards of me. If the fatigues of the remainder of the campaign sit as well upon my limbs as those which I have hitherto experienced, you may be assured that I shall return to Cumberland the most portly, genteel fellow that the country will be able to boast of. \* \* \* It is now time to tell you that we are two miles beyond the Roanoke, having crossed at Taylor's Ferry last night; and that we know nothing certain either of the enemy or Gen. Greene, except that the latter will probably be ten thousand strong in a few days. Allow one half for his and he will still have a pretty considerable army. 400 men under Col. Mumford; 400 regulars from Chesterfield Court House, and 300 with us, make above one thousand of the number. General Caswell has a strong army in the Newbern road—in case Cornwallis should take that route—consisting, it is said, of 5,000 or upwards. Allow one half, and there still remains a pretty little detachment. Cornwallis is said to be at Hillsborough still. He is also said to have marched from thence on the Salisbury road. Gen. Greene is said to be about twenty miles this side of Hillsborough. Lee has had one or two successful skirmishes, which are so variously reported that there is no telling what is the truth. We are undoubtedly much superior in cavalry at present, which constitutes an immense advantage on our side."

Three days later he writes:

"Though I can let you know nothing more than I did three days ago, except that we are now within eighteen miles of Hillsborough, where we expect to get to-night; yet I can by no means suffer an opportunity of letting you hear that I still retain the same health and spirits as when I wrote last to slip me. Our march for the last three days has been, from want of variety, somewhat disagreeable, for

'The tedious way through lonely forests lies,  
Where length'ning vistas tire expecting eyes.'

The day after to-morrow we hope to join Gen. Greene. I wish for that event very impatiently, for we have such bad intelligence that we scarcely know where he or the enemy may now be; though by a letter from him to Gen. Lawson, he was some distance above Hillsborough, and Lord Cornwallis about twenty miles advanced from thence on the Salisbury road. The express who brought the letter mentioned that later intelligence informed that Cornwallis was moving back again towards Hillsborough. Col. Skipworth joined us last night. I have just spilt all my ink. God knows when you will get another letter from me."

The next letter was dated "somewhere about Haw River, Guilford County, North Carolina, March 13th, 1781." After various expressions and messages of affection for the wife and young ones at home, he proceeds:

"Now for news. We marched yesterday to look for Lord Cornwallis, who probably marched a different route because he did not choose to fight us. We are now strong enough, I hope, to cope with him to advantage. Our army in point of strength is rather better than I expected; in respect to numbers, less than what is probably represented in your part of the world; for one half is much too small to allow for lies now-a-days. Were I to form a judgment I should conclude that we had about six thousand men, of which, I believe, fifteen hundred are regulars. But this is all conjecture, for we little folks walk about with a bandage over our eyes, and with wool in our ears. Lee and Washington (Colonel William), took twenty prisoners on yesterday and the day before. Tarleton is evidently afraid of these two formidable partisan officers. We are in momentary expectation of marching again to-day. I presume we wait only for intelligence of the enemy's position, which, I believe, may be ten or twelve miles from us. We dined with Gen. Greene the day we came to camp. He has an aspect which commands respect—something of the Washington about him. \* \* \* Beverley (Col. Beverly Randolph, afterward Gov. of Virginia) has taken advantage of a small lameness in one of my toes the other day to write to his wife that I have the gout. I do not intend to be placed so nearly on a par with him these thirty years. Skipwith frets, cocks his eyes, and wishes for some good bread from *Hors du Monde*. Copeland—who joined us at Gen. Lawson's in an old rug coat with a double tier of pockets—swears he has eaten a peck of dirt since he came from home. Such a figure as he cut at that time is not easily to be produced. He has since gotten his parson's suit and goes generally by the name of chaplain to our regiment. \* \* \* Enclosed are letters from your brother (Col. Theodrick Bland, then a member of Congress) to myself and the boys. I dare say they will be proud of such a distinction as to have a separate letter each from a member of Congress. A militia major, after such an honor, would cut no more figure as a correspondent than he does in a camp with a large army. They will, therefore, excuse me from writing to them at present, even if time would permit it. Hob (his horse) desires his service to you."

The next letter is very concise, and was evidently written in great haste.

"My dearest Fanny, We joined Gen. Greene last night, and are *this moment* marching to attack Lord Cornwallis with a force which I am in hopes is full able to cope with him. Pay no regard to any terrible stories Bernard Gaines may tell you of a camp life. It agrees with me perfectly. God bless you, my love. Remember me to the girls and kiss our children.

Yours ever most affectionately,

ST. GEORGE TUCKER.

Camp Highrock Ford, March 14th, 1781."

This letter was written the day before the battle of Guilford Court House, while the writer was already in his saddle, as the words "this moment marching" testify. The words are run together and the letters ill formed. The address is much blotted and smeared from the hastiness of the whole transaction. Every sentence is replete with sadness and longing, yet cheerful for the sake of the woman who loved him dearer than life.

"God bless you, my love!" "Kiss *our* children!" Who could tell



that these words might not be the last, and the wife and little ones at home be widow and orphans before another day was done? He felt this keenly, yet he bade her not be troubled, for a camp life suited him perfectly. But the woman who could send her husband to the wars without a murmur because it was his duty to go, could not be blinded by a few cheerful syllables. She detected the vein of weariness buried beneath his hopeful sentences; so she pressed his letter against her heart, and prayed to the God of battles to protect her husband for her sake, and for the sake of those who bore his name. The battle was fought and the victory won by the enemy ere the wife received another token of a husband's love. But what a victory! When the fact was announced in the House of Commons, one of England's most gifted sons exclaimed, "Another such victory will ruin the British army!" But I will not anticipate. An eye witness can tell the tale much better than I can do.

"LAURA TOWN, March 18th, 1781.

"My ever dear Fanny: Col. Mumford, being on his return, is kind enough to promise me that he will, if possible, forward this letter to you. You will readily suppose that at such a juncture I could by no means omit an opportunity of relieving that anxiety which I am sure you must feel at hearing that we had a general action on Thursday last at Guilford Court House. I flatter myself that the moment which informs you of the battle will convey to you the information of my safety. You may perhaps expect that I can give you some account of the battle. I must candidly acknowledge myself totally incapable of doing so. I will only tell you that Lawson's brigade composed a line near the centre of which my post was. A cannonade of half an hour ushered in the battle. Our friend Skipwith was posted in the express direction of the shot, and, with his battalion, maintained his post during a most tremendous fire with a firmness that does him much honor. Col. Holcombe's regiment was on the right of him and on my left, so that I was in perfect security during the whole time, except from a few shot which came in my direction. Beverley was still further on the right. When the cannonade ceased, orders were given for Holcombe's regiment and the regiment on the right of him to advance and annoy the enemy's left flank. While we were advancing to execute this order, the British had advanced, and, having turned the flank of Col. Mumford's regiment—in which Skipwith commanded as major, we discovered them in our rear. This threw the militia into such confusion, that, without attending in the least to their officers who endeavored to halt them, and make them face about and engage the enemy, Holcombe's regiment and ours instantly broke off without firing a single gun, and dispersed like a flock of sheep frightened by dogs. With infinite labor Beverley and myself rallied about sixty or seventy of our men, and brought them to the charge. Holcombe was not so successful. He could not rally a man though assisted by John Woodson, who acted very gallantly. With the few men which we had collected we at several times sustained an irregular kind of skirmishing with the British, and were once successful enough to drive a party for a very small distance. On the ground we passed over I think I saw about eight or ten men killed and wounded. During the battle I was forced to ride over a British officer lying at the root of a tree. One of our soldiers gave him a dram as he was expiring, and bade him die like a brave man. How different this conduct from that of the barbarians he had commanded!

"In attempting to rally a party of regular troops I received a wound in the small of my leg from a soldier, who, either from design or accident held his bayonet in such a direction that I could not

possibly avoid it as I rode up to stop him from running away. The bayonet penetrated about an inch and a half between the bones of my leg. I felt no inconvenience from it for some hours, but have since been obliged to hobble with the assistance of a stick, or with some one to lead me. After this our militia joined the Virginia regulars under Col. Campbell, and sustained a good smart fire for some minutes. We were soon after ordered to retreat. Whilst we were doing so, Tarleton advanced to attack us with his horse; but a party of continentals, who were fortunately close behind us, gave him so warm a reception that he retreated with some degree of precipitation. A few minutes after we halted by the side of an old field fence, and observed him surveying us at the distance of two or three hundred yards. He did not think it proper to attack us again, as we were advantageously posted; and the continentals, who had encountered him just before, were still in our rear. After this, the whole army retreated in good order to the iron works, fifteen miles from the field of battle, having lost the field and our artillery. But how these things happened I cannot tell, for during the whole of the battle I knew nothing of what passed in any quarter than on the ground where our regiment was engaged. Cornwallis undoubtedly gained a dear bought victory. He lost between six and seven hundred men, as Gen. Greene yesterday told me, provided the officers who were engaged in the different parts of the field of battle have not misrepresented the numbers they saw spread over the places they crossed over. Our lost in killed, wounded, and missing is somewhat short of two hundred. One hundred of the wounded are at this place. Of all these there are but three broken bones, the rest being flesh wounds—chiefly in the legs and thighs. Gen. Stevens is wounded in the thigh.

"The Virginia militia had the honor to receive Gen. Greene's thanks for their conduct. Some were undoubtedly entitled to them, while others ought to blush that they were undeservedly included in the number of those who were supposed to have behaved well. Capt. Ballew, Capt. Ogilvy, Capt. Overstreet, Lieut. Mosely, Lieut. Anderson, Lieut. Mayrit, Ensign Sam Williams, and some others of our regiment, whose names I am not well enough acquainted with to call to mind now, are among the number of those to whom the compliment from the general was most justly due. I can say nothing of those officers who were not under my own eyes; for, as I before observed, I know nothing of the battle but what related to our own regiment, having been the greater part of the time wholly by ourselves. I believe the rest of the Virginia militia behaved better than Holcombe's regiment and ours. The surprise at finding the enemy in their rear I believe contributed to the disgraceful manner in which they fled at first. But it is not a little to the honor of those who rallied that they fired away fifteen or eighteen rounds—and some twenty rounds—a man, after being put into such disorder. Such instances of the militia rallying and fighting well are not very common, I am told. Perhaps it is more honorable than making a good stand at first, and then quitting the field in disorder. Our friend Beverley (Randolph) showed by his conduct that his character is uniform. He was himself—I need say no more. Major Hubbard, of Col. Mumford's regiment, had the skirt of his surtout shot away by a cannon ball, and his horse slightly wounded by the same. There were not, however, above ten men killed and wounded during the whole cannonade, in which, I believe, six pieces of artillery were constantly employed for half an hour.

"Beverley sustained no other injury during the action than the loss of his blankets, which were on his horse. Lawson, Skipwith, Mumford, Holcombe, and every other officer of your acquaintance sustained none at all. When I got to the iron works, Dr. Armstrong and Copeland very kindly assisted me, looking out for a house to lodge in where I might not be inconvenienced by numbers or distressed by the groans of the wounded. I yesterday obtained leave of absence from camp for a few days for the recovery of strength in my leg. I expect in five or six days to be able to return to my duty, which I am anxious to discharge in such a manner as not to subject me to any ill-natured reflections. Here let me take notice that I am much obliged to Gen. Lawson for a particular kind of attention which he has paid me ever since I have been with him. As my acquaintance with him was very slight, and I am conscious that my inexperience in military matters must make me sometimes act improperly, I think this acknowledgment due to a man, who is in general remarkable for

a vigorous exaction of duty. Gen. Greene is also very polite and attentive to the Virginia officers. We are as happy in these respects as our most sanguine wishes could make us. Should Cornwallis attack us again I think he would purchase a second victory full as dearly as the first. Our troops are now somewhat used to the noise of guns, of which many had no idea before."

The account given in this letter of the behaviour of the Virginia militia in the battle of Guilford Court House does not exactly agree with the accounts of this battle given in various histories. In Johnson's life of Gen. Greene we find it stated that a panic seized the *North Carolina* militia when they saw the British approaching, and that they fled without firing more than once; but, that "the Virginians stood firm, notwithstanding the abject example set them; and opening their files, passed the retreating troops into the rear, with taunts and ridicule." However, when the British left began to press with great ardor on the American right, Lawson's brigade began to yield, and, finally, its retreat became general and determinate." Again, we find in the life of Gen. Greene, written by his grandson, the following: "And now (i. e. after the flight of the North Carolina militia) it was that the battle began; for the Virginia militia, undismayed by the shameful flight of their companions, faced the enemy with perfect coolness, and, aiming their pieces with the precision of practiced marksmen, so opened many a fatal gap in their files." Gen. Greene, in his letter to the President of Congress giving an account of the battle, said, "The Virginia militia gave the enemy a warm reception, and kept up a heavy fire for a long time; but being beat back, the action became general almost everywhere." Now Major Tucker would very naturally feel great humiliation at the slightest demonstration of fear on the part of the men under his special charge; and any token of their cowardice would be of the first magnitude in his eyes. Moreover he did not attempt to give an account of the whole engagement, but only of the part in which he was active; and in writing to his wife he was very apt to give vent to the bitterness of his feelings. However, Col. Randolph and himself were successful in rallying a number of the scattered men, who returned boldly to the fight and retrieved their lost honor.

The exact date of the next letter is not known, as it is torn from the letter.

#### CAMP AT GUILFORD COURT HOUSE.

"I wrote to you from the Laura Town on last Sunday by Col. Munford, who promised if possible to convey my letter to you, and to let you know that I am in safety, notwithstanding the formidable battle we had with my lord on the 15th. I gave you in my last as good an account as I was capable of that part of the action in which I was concerned. Our opinions respecting Lord Cornwallis' loss are confirmed by his leaving upwards of seventy of his wounded to the clemency of

Gen. Greene. Our own wounded, amounting to nearly the same number, were also left at Guilford Court House. But for these Gen. Greene took a receipt as prisoners exchanged. \* \* \* I wrote you in my last that our loss did not amount to more than two hundred—I believe I was rather below the mark. Cornwallis must have lost near seven hundred in killed and wounded. His horse was killed under him. Tarleton had two fingers cut off his right hand, as we hear. His lordship is, I believe, moving southward. Whether we shall bring him to another engagement is a doubtful point. I think if my lord should be disposed for a second battle we shall give a good account of him, for our men are much more reconciled to the din of battle than they were heretofore. We are now following his lordship, but I fear we shall not soon overtake him. You will readily suppose from receiving a letter from me in camp that my leg has gotten better. The inflammation has entirely subsided, and I can now walk without even limping. I got to camp again this morning."

" March 24th, 1781.

" Gen. Greene, from whom I have received every polite attention, has just added to the number of his civilities by desiring his respects to be sent to you, as flattering himself he may at a future day have the honor of knowing you. I am in too large a crowd to add more."

Here end the letters relating to the engagement which took place at Guilford Court House; for the militia, overcome by the scantiness of supplies, demanded their discharge, which was granted on the thirtieth of March. This was a great blow to Gen. Greene, for it deprived him of about 1,577 men [see Johnson's life of Greene, Vol. II., p. 18]. The militia had been called out for only six weeks, which time had elapsed, and, most of them being farmers, their presence was necessary at their respective homes. So with a heavy heart, which, however, did not prevent his expressing his warmest thanks to the Virginians for the services they had rendered, Gen. Greene granted them permission to leave the army.

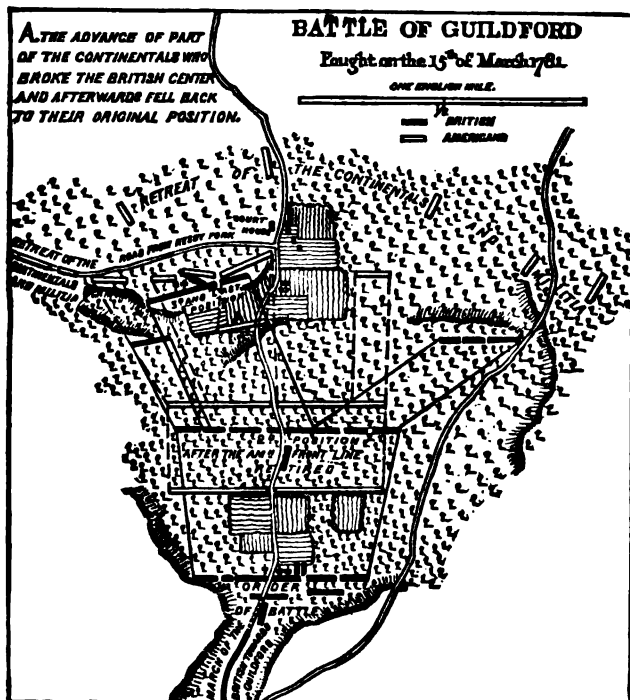
The report given in these letters of the killed, wounded, and missing is exceedingly correct. The official report made two days after the battle might have been a correct one for that time. About one half of the North Carolina militia and many of the Virginia, never halted in their retreat from the field of battle until they reached their own vines and fig-trees; but a great number of them, reported as missing on the roll of March 17th, returned to the army. Johnson in his life of Greene computes the loss as somewhat exceeding two hundred, and this account agrees with that given by Major Tucker. With regard to his statement of the loss on the British side he is sustained by Gen. Greene in a letter written on March 20th to Gen. Morgan; although the official reports of the British estimate the loss in killed, wounded, and missing as 595, which reports are supported by Lieut. Col. Tarleton [see Tarleton's campaigns, p. 276 *et seq.*] In the statement regarding the number of British wounded left to the clemency of the American general, Major Tucker is supported by Gen. Greene in the letter to Gen. Morgan

referred to above, and by Lieut. Col. Tarleton in his entertaining and valuable "Campaigns."

In Johnson's Life of Greene occurs the following passage: "At the time of the rout of the guards (at the battle of Guilford Court House) a number of prisoners were made and secured by the Americans; and the muse of Mr. St. George Tucker, who shared in the honors of this field, has recorded a fact, which proves that more might have been made, had the American army had time to distinguish the real dead from those, who, like Shakespeare's fat knight, thought discretion the better part of valour."

Meeting with this reference to the muse of Mr. Tucker, I was led to examine some old manuscripts in his handwriting, among which I discovered the poem alluded to. It was written in camp five days after the battle, and is a parody on the proclamation issued by Lord Cornwallis a few days previous. It is very amusing.

CHARLES WASHINGTON COLEMAN, JR



FROM TARLETON'S CAMPAIGNS

## APPENDIX

*From Tarleton's Campaigns in the Southern Provinces*

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE CHARLES,  
EARL CORNWALLIS, LIEUTENANT-  
GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES,  
ETC. .

## A PROCLAMATION

"WHEREAS, by the blessing of Almighty God, His Majesty's arms have been crowned with signal success, by the complete victory obtained over the rebel forces on the 15th instant, I have thought proper to issue this proclamation to call upon all loyal subjects to stand forth, and take an active part in restoring good order and government. And whereas, it has been represented to me that many persons in this province who have taken a share in this most unnatural rebellion, but having experienced the oppression and injustice of the rebel government, and having seen the errors into which they have been deluded by falsehoods and misrepresentations, are sincerely desirous of returning to their duty and allegiance, I do hereby notify and promise to all such persons (murderers excepted) that if they will surrender themselves, with their arms and ammunition, at headquarters, or to the officer commanding in the district contiguous to their respective places of residence, on or before the 20th day of April next, they shall be permitted to return to their homes, upon giving a military parole, and shall be protected in their persons and properties from all sorts of violence from the British troops, and will be re-

stored as soon as possible to all the privileges of legal and constitutional government.

"GIVEN under my hand at headquarters, this 18th day of March, A. D. 1781, and in the twenty-fifth year of His Majesty's reign.

CORNWALLIS."

## JUDGE TUCKER'S PARODY

[Written in camp, March 30th, 1781.]

"By Charles, by title Lord Cornwallis,  
The scourge of all rebellious follies,  
Lieutenant-General commanding  
The British forces of long standing,  
With three *et ceteras* at the end,  
Which mean more than you understand,

## A PROCLAMATION

WHEREAS, by providence divine,  
Which on our arms has deign'd to shine,  
On Thursday last we fought a battle  
With lousy, vile, rebellious cattle,  
And, to our everlasting Glory  
(Unaided by a single tory),  
The rebel forces did defeat  
And gain a victory compleat,  
Whereby his Majesty's command  
Is reestablished in the land,  
And loyalty uprears its head,  
While curst rebellion goes to bed.  
I, therefore, willing to uphold  
The weak and to reward the bold,  
Do issue this my Proclamation  
Without regard to sect or station,  
Requiring every loyal tory  
To come to me and share the glory  
And toil of bringing back to reason  
The wretches guilty of high treason,  
Whereby the government benign  
Of Britain's majesty divine,  
With lustre primitive may shine.  
Moreover, since I understand  
That divers persons in the land,  
By vile seducers led astray,  
Have left the true and perfect way  
Which loyal subjects should pursue,  
And join'd with the rebellious crew,  
Grown sorry for their former fault,  
Are anxious now to make a halt,  
And cured of their rebellious pride,  
Would wish to turn of our side,  
To such I hereby notify  
(As God shall judge me when I die)  
That (murderers alone excepted,  
For whom no grace can be expected),

If they will to my quarters run,  
 With their accoutrements and gun,  
 In thirty days, next from this date,  
 They shall eschew a rebel's fate,  
 And be permitted to go back  
 With a parole, like pill of quack  
 To cure the numerous disorders  
 That rage upon our army's borders ;  
 Or, like a talisman to charm  
 Our soldiery from doing harm.  
 Though truth obliges us to own  
 They will not cure a broken bone,  
 Nor 'gainst the rebels yield resistance,  
 Or keep their army at a distance ;  
 If such effects they could produce,  
 We'd keep them for our army's use.  
 But this is only by the by—  
 On their effects you may rely.  
 Let no ill-natured imputation  
 Be cast on this our proclamation,  
 Because from hence, with God's permission,  
 I mean to march with expedition ;  
 Though I confess we do not mean  
 To go in quest of Mr. Greene,

Who ten miles distant—it is said—  
 Weeps o'er his wounds and broken head.  
 Humanity, the soldier's glory,  
 Which dignifies each loyal tory,  
 Which fills each generous Briton's breast,  
 In all my actions stands confess'd.  
 Her voice forbade me to pursue  
 The frightened, naked, rebel crew,  
 Who fled an half mile or more  
 Before their panic they got o'er.  
 Humanity alike commands  
 Of bloody deeds to wash our hands,  
 And should we follow Mr. Greene,  
 Much blood might then be spilt I ween.  
 Humanity commands to yield  
 The wounded whom we won in field !  
 Nay more, she bids us leave behind  
 The maim'd, the halt, the sick, the blind  
 Among our soldiers, who might prove  
 A hindrance as we backward move.  
 Her high behests we then obey.  
 Now strike our tents and march away.  
 March the eighteenth, eighty-one,  
 At Guilford Court House this is done.

NOTE.—At the foot of the page in the original manuscript is added, in the handwriting of Judge Tucker, the following note: "This doggerel was written in camp March the 30th, 1781."

C. W. C., JR.







A very family se-  
 cret, as a ding  
 in Virginia  
 house, would  
 be possessed a society  
 to invest it with a  
 the promoter of the  
 enished to the tradi-  
 tions and Scotch Nelson  
 is born January 20th, 1716, and en-  
 dhood. He settled as a merchant in  
 the sea-port of Virginia where he  
 married twice: first, Martha Reed, and  
 Tucker, née Courtenay. He had issue, by the  
 daughter, and by the last a daughter. Some of the  
 is essential to our narrative. The first, William, was born  
 and November 19th, 1771. He followed in the footsteps  
 father as a merchant, adding largely by his honest gains to the  
 which he inherited. It is claimed in evidence of his enter-  
 he imported goods to supply the then incipient market of Baltimore  
 Philadelphia, as well as for Virginia consumption. He was long  
 member of the Council of Virginia and often its presiding officer. He was  
 designation of President Nelson, by which he was commonly  
 named. On the death of Lord Botetourt in October, 1770, President  
 Nelson, in virtue of his office, was invested with the government of the  
 colony, which he administered until the arrival of Lord Dunmore early  
 in the year 1772. He married, in February, 1737, Elizabeth, daughter of  
 Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Carter) Barwell, and had issue five sons and  
 one daughter. Three of these sons, one of whom was General Thomas  
 Nelson, distinguished themselves in the revolution.

The second son of Scotch Tom, the emigrant, Thomas Nel-  
 son, who subscribed himself, was born in 1716, and died at York  
 1736. He occupied a seat in the Virginia Council for thirty years,  
 during which protracted period he also acted as its Secretary. His

pure and lofty-minded  
 architecture of the an-  
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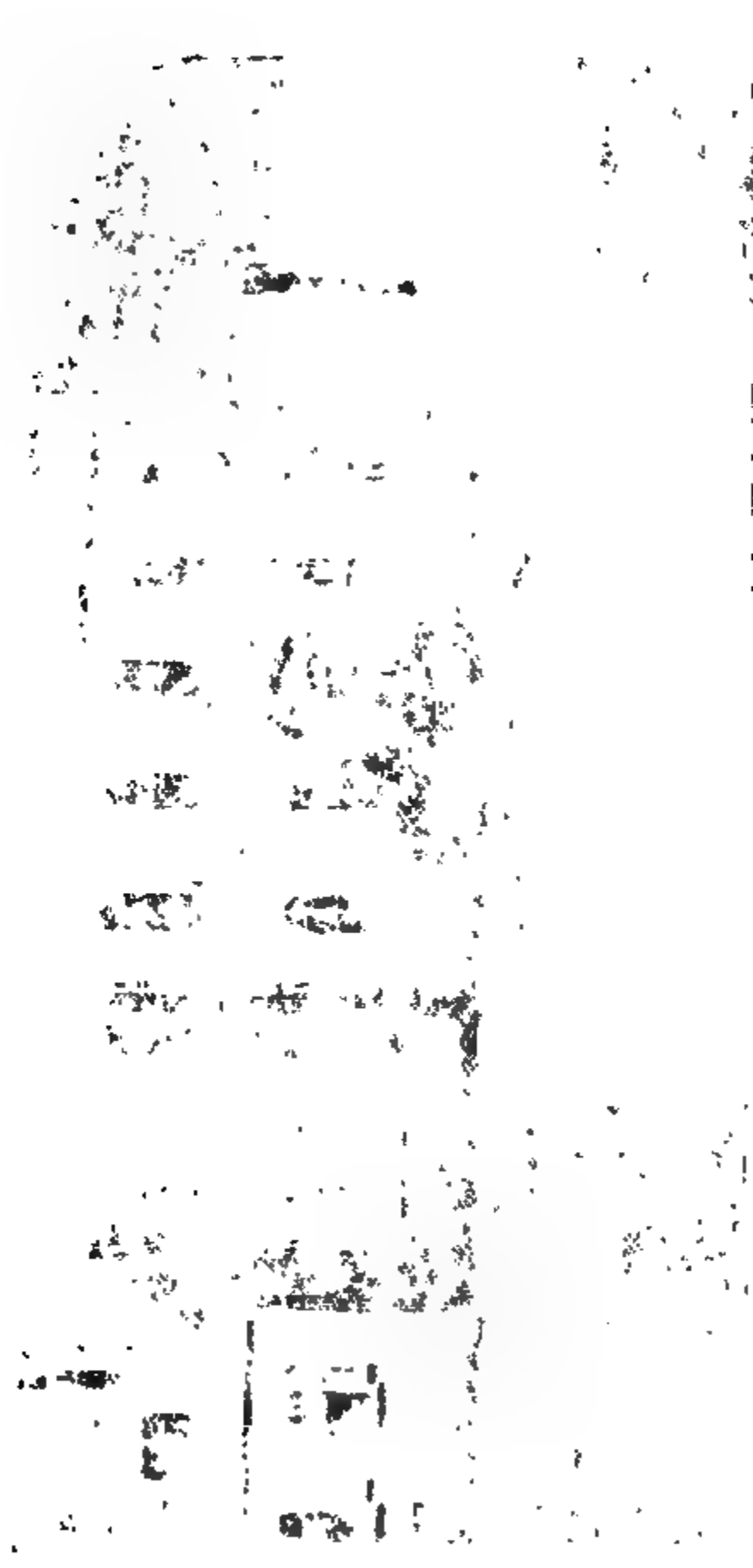
## THE SCOTCH HOUSE

CHAPTER II.

As the family seat for the Scotch Tom family and its kindred is a dingy dingy old building, the architecture of the *Waverley* in Virginia, the Scotch Tom family's seat, known as the Scotch House, would not be a creditable or honorable object, did not the presence of a association of the Scotch Tom family of the American Revolution invest it with a certain amount of interest.

The progenitor of the Scotch Tom family in Virginia was Thomas Nelson, the grandfather of the family, who came from Scotch Tom, the son of John and Sarah Nelson of North Carolina, County, England, who was born in 1701, and came to the Colony in early childhood. He settled as a merchant in the city of Baltimore, then the chief sea-port of Virginia, where he died on October 7th, 1745. He married twice: first, Elizabeth, daughter of Mrs. Frances Tucker, née Cartwright, and had issue three sons and a daughter, and by the last a daughter. Some of each of the sons is essential to our narrative. The first, Walter, was born in 1711, and died November 10th, 1771. He followed in the respected career of his father as a merchant, adding largely by his own genius to the ample estate which he inherited. He claimed in evidence of his enterprise that he imported goods to supply the then incipient ports of Baltimore and Philadelphia, as well as for Virginia consumption. He was long a member of the Council of Virginia and often its president. He was, by designation of President Nelson, which he was generously named. On the death of Lord Botetourt in October, 1770, President Nelson, in virtue of his office, was invested with the government of the Colony, which he administered until the arrival of Lord Dunmore early in the year 1772. He married, in February, 1737, Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Carter) Barwell, and had issue five sons and a daughter. Three of these sons, one of whom was General Thomas Nelson, distinguished themselves in the revolution.

The second son of Scotch Tom, the grandfather, Thomas Nelson, as he subscribed himself, was born in 1716, and died at York in 1756. He occupied a seat in the Virginia Council for thirty years, during which protracted period he also acted as its Secretary.



## THE NELSON HOUSE

### YORKTOWN—VIRGINIA

As the family seat for nearly two centuries, of a pure and lofty-minded race, and as a lingering example of the domestic architecture of the *ancien regime* in Virginia, the historic building at Yorktown, known as the Nelson House, would arrest attention as a memorable object, did not its impressive association with the decisive event of the American Revolution invest it with a more significant interest.

The progenitor of the Nelson family in Virginia was Thomas (distinguished in the traditions of the family as Scotch Tom), the son of Hugh and Sarah Nelson of Penrith, Cumberland county, England, who was born February 20th, 1677, and emigrated to the Colony in early manhood. He settled as an importing merchant at Yorktown, then the chief sea-port of Virginia. Here he died, October 7th, 1745. He married twice; first, Margaret Reed, and secondly, Mrs. Frances Tucker, née Courtenay. He had issue, by his first wife, two sons and a daughter, and by the last a daughter. Some notice of each of the sons is essential to our narrative. The first, William, was born in 1711, and died November 19th, 1772. He followed in the respected career of his father as a merchant, adding largely by his honest gains to the ample estate which he inherited. It is claimed in evidence of his enterprise that he imported goods to supply the then incipient marts of Baltimore and Philadelphia, as well as for Virginia consumption. He was long a member of the Council of Virginia and often its presiding officer. Hence, the designation of President Nelson by which he was commonly called. On the death of Lord Botetourt in October, 1770, President Nelson, in virtue of his office, was invested with the government of the colony, which he administered until the arrival of Lord Dunmore early in the year 1772. He married, in February, 1737, Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel and Elizabeth (Carter) Burwell, and had issue five sons and one daughter. Three of these sons, one of whom was General Thomas Nelson, distinguished themselves in the revolution.

The second son of Scotch Tom, the emigrant, Thomas Nelson, Jr., as he subscribed himself, was born in 1716, and died at Yorktown in 1786. He occupied a seat in the Virginia Council for thirty years, during which protracted period he also acted as its Secretary. This was

an office of important trust and of emolument, it being charged with the preservation of the records of all public acts and of the land office. Secretary Nelson, as he was known in virtue of his office, married Lucy, daughter of John and Martha (Burwell) Armistead, by whom he had issue ten children, among whom were three sons, who served with distinction in the army of the revolution. He is described by a vivacious traveler, the Marquis de Chastellux, who saw him at Offley, in Hanover County, the country seat of his nephew, General Thomas Nelson, in 1782, as "an old magistrate, whose white locks, noble figure and stature, which was above the common size, commanded respect and veneration."

The Nelson House, a large two-storied brick structure with corners of hewn stone, "built on the old English model," stands on the main street of Yorktown, fronting the river. The time of its erection, according to the gentle annalist Bishop Meade, may be fixed at 1712, since he narrates that, "the corner stone of it was laid by old President Nelson (born 1711), when an infant, as it was designed for him. He was held by his nurse and the brick in his apron was passed through his little hand." The good bishop, whose ancestors were among the occupants of its spacious halls, thus enthusiastically apostrophizes the old mansion: "It was long the abode of love, friendship and hospitality.

Farewell, a prouder mansion I may see,  
But much must meet in that which equals thee ! "

As one said of modern Italy, "Our memory sees more than our eyes in this place." What Paulding says of Virginia may emphatically be said of York:

" All hail, thou birth-place of the glowing west !  
Thou seem'st like the ruined eagle's nest."

The Nelson mansion descended to the eldest son of President Nelson, the patriot Thomas Nelson, Jr., and was his residence until the threatened dangers of the prospective siege of York prompted the removal of his family to Offley, the seat already mentioned. Through the stirring relation which the Nelson House holds by tradition to the memorable siege, many popular writers have fallen into the error of assigning it as the headquarters of Cornwallis, a mistake in identity which, by repetition, has fixed itself upon the public mind. The residence so occupied was instead, that of Secretary Thomas Nelson, who has been accredited with cherishing sentiments inimical to the cause

of freedom. The following extract from Chastellux, whose opportunities as a participant in the final brilliant scenes of the war, and as a privileged guest of the Nelson family, should render his statement conclusive, vindicates Secretary Nelson, and decides the question as to the location of the headquarters of Cornwallis:

“Too far advanced in age to desire a revolution, too prudent to check the great event, if necessary, and too faithful to his countrymen to separate his interests from theirs, he chose the crisis of this alteration to retire from public affairs. Thus did he opportunely quit the theatre when new pieces demanded fresh actors, and took his seat among the spectators, content to offer up his wishes for the success of the drama, and to applaud those who acted well their part. But in the last campaign chance produced him on the scene and made him unfortunately famous.

“He lived at York, where he had built a very handsome house, from which neither European taste nor luxury was excluded. A chimney-piece and some bas-reliefs of very fine marble, exquisitely sculptured, were particularly admired, when fate conducted Lord Cornwallis to this town to be disarmed as well as his till then victorious troops. Secretary Nelson did not think it necessary to fly from the English, to whom his conduct could not have made him disagreeable, nor have furnished any just motive of suspicion. He was well received by the General, who established his headquarters in his house, which was built on an eminence near the most important fortification, and in the most agreeable situation of the town. It was the first object which struck the sight as you approached the town, but instead of travelers, it soon drew the attention of our bombardiers and cannoniers and was almost entirely destroyed. Mr. Nelson lived in it at the time our batteries tried their first shot and killed one of his negroes at a little distance from him; so that Cornwallis was obliged to seek another asylum. But what asylum could be found for an old man deprived of the use of his legs by the gout? But above all, what asylum could defend him against the cruel anguish a father must feel at being besieged by his own children? for he had two in the American army. So that every shot, whether fired from the town or from the trenches, might prove equally fatal to him; I was witness to the cruel anxiety of one of these young men, when, after the flag was sent to demand his father, he kept his eyes fixed upon the gate of the town, by which it was to come out, and seemed to expect his own sentence in the answer. Lord Cornwallis had too much humanity to refuse a request so just, nor can I recollect



without emotion, the moment in which I saw this old gentleman alight at General Washington's. He was seated, the fit of the gout not having yet left him ; and whilst we stood around him, he related to us, with a serene countenance, what had been the effect of our batteries, and how much his house had suffered from the first shot."

This account is corroborated by Campbell and Howe, and by a descendant of Secretary Nelson [his great grandson, William N. Nelson, of Millwood, Clarke County, Va.], in a recent letter, who adds, that his ancestor was permitted by Lord Cornwallis to take with him, on leaving his mansion, such of his personal effects as himself and companions could convey, and that the family plate was thus saved by a negro servant, Louis, who brought it out wrapped in a blanket.

The Nelson House, which has endured, though it was not the headquarters of Cornwallis, has a no less notable connection with the siege, in the lofty patriotism exemplified by its owner, General Thomas Nelson, Jr., who, rightly supposing that it was occupied by some of the British officers, and having command of the first battery which opened upon the town, he pointed the first gun against his own dwelling, and offered to the gunner a reward of five guineas for every bomb-shell that should be fired into it. The marks of their effects are visible to this day. Driven from his quarters in the town by the devastating iron hail from the American artillery, Cornwallis retired for conference with his officers to a cave which had been constructed in the bank of the river, which was lined with green baize. No traces of this council chamber are left, though another cavern a quarter of a mile nearer the town, which was made by some of the inhabitants of York, in which to hide their valuables, is pointed out as Cornwallis' Cave.

Of the eminent patriot, to whose possession, through incidental association, the Nelson House owes its chief distinction, some account is due here:

Thomas, the eldest son of President William and Elizabeth (Carter) Nelson, was born December 26th, 1738. After having been under the tuition of Rev. William Yates, of Gloucester, afterwards President of William and Mary College, he was sent at the age of fourteen to England to finish his education, remaining seven years. He enjoyed there the superintending care of the celebrated Dr. Beilby Porteus, afterwards Bishop of London, who later sent to his former ward in Virginia a volume of his sermons in token of remembrance. Thomas was first at the school of Dr. Newcome, at Hackny; then at Eaton. Graduated with distinction from Trinity College, Cambridge,

he returned to Virginia in his twenty-second year. Whilst on the voyage, from respect to his father, he was elected a member of the House of Burgesses. He married in 1762, Lucy Grymes, of Middlesex, the eldest daughter of Philip and Mary (Randolph) Grymes, the elder, of Brandon. He was associated in business with his father, from whom, at the death of the latter, he received a portion of £40,000 sterling. Thomas Nelson was a member of the Virginia conventions of 1774 and 1775, and displayed extraordinary boldness in resisting British tyranny. He was elected by the Convention in July, 1775, colonel of the Second Virginia regiment, which post he resigned on being elected to the Continental Congress the same year. He was a conspicuous member of the Convention of 1776, which framed the constitution of Virginia. He was a member of the Committee on Articles of Confederation, and July 5, 1776, signed the Declaration of Independence. Restless for active service in the field, he resigned his seat in Congress in May, 1777, and in August following was appointed commander-in-chief of the State forces of Virginia. He soon after raised a troop of cavalry with which he repaired to Philadelphia. Resuming his duties in the Virginia Legislature he strongly opposed the proposition to sequester British property, on the ground that it would be an unjust retaliation of public wrongs on private individuals. He was again elected to Congress in February, 1779, but was obliged by indisposition to resign his seat. In May he was called upon to organize the State militia and repel an invading expedition of the enemy. A loan of \$2,000,000 being called for by Virginia in June, 1780, and in that period of despondency and distrust being difficult to obtain, General Nelson, by strenuous endeavors, and on his own personal security, raised a large portion of the amount. He also advanced money to pay two Virginia regiments ordered to the south, which refused to march until arrearages due them were paid. In the then critical aspect of affairs, upon the resignation of Governor Jefferson, a military executive being deemed a necessity, General Nelson was, June 12, 1781, elected to succeed him, opposing in person, with what militia he could command, with sleepless vigilance and untiring energy, the enemy who were ravaging the State; anticipating the wants of the service with remarkable comprehensive forecast, and a provision wonderful, in view of the difficulties which beset him. He died at his seat, Offley, in Hanover County, January 4, 1789, leaving as a legacy to his family naught but an imperishable record—sublime in its lofty aims and disinterested patriotism; for his advances for Virginia had impoverished him, and the claims of his remaining creditors literally

begged them. An effort was made in 1822 by the late St. George Tucker before the Virginia Assembly for indemnity to the heirs of General Nelson for advances made by the latter during the revolution, which, after various contemptuous delays, was at last referred to a select committee, who rendered an "eloquent report setting forth in glowing language" the merits, etc., of General Nelson, and concluding with the words, "that a just regard for the character of the State requires that some compensation should be made to his representatives for the losses sustained." The report was adopted by the House of Delegates, and on motion the committee discharged from the duty of bringing in a bill in conformity thereto. The matter remained dormant until 1831, when, being again brought up, it was referred to the First and Second Auditors of the State, who reported against the claim. The heirs finally petitioned Congress on the 10th December, 1833, when, after vexatious delays, it was finally reported on, and unfavorably. Never before in the history of nations have patriotic services so eminent and so essentially vital, and sacrifices personally so absolute, been more ungratefully requited. The disease which carried off General Nelson was apthia, occasioned by the exposure incident to his military services. His remains were conveyed to Yorktown and buried at the foot of the grave of his father. No stone marks the spot. His grandson, Philip Nelson, presented, December 7, 1839, a petition to the General Assembly of Virginia for the payment of the claims of General Nelson, which, after various delays, in sheer hopelessness of success, was withdrawn in September, 1840. A fort built at Louisville, Ky., in 1782, was named Fort Nelson in honor of General Nelson, as was also Nelson County, Va. His statue in bronze is one of the six which adorn the Washington monument in the public square at Richmond, Va. The only portrait of him for which he ever sat is preserved in the State Library of Virginia. It was painted by Chamberlain in London, in 1754, whilst the subject was a student in Eaton. It represents him as a handsome, ruddy-cheeked, brown-haired youth, with oval contour of face and a most engaging expression of countenance.

During the last visit to this country, in 1824, of the generous Lafayette, the benefactor and life-long friend of America, a brilliant commemorative pageant was held in his honor at Yorktown. The headquarters assigned him on this interesting occasion was the Nelson House. General Lafayette, accompanied by his son, George Washington Lafayette; his private secretary, M. Le Vasseur; the Hon. John C. Calhoun, Secretary of War, and several distinguished officers

of the army and navy of the United States, left Washington on the morning of Monday, the 18th of October, in the steamboat Petersburg, followed by the steamboats Potomac and Richmond, the former from Alexandria and the latter from Norfolk. The steamboat Virginia left York the same day at 11 o'clock, and proceeded down the river, followed by the steamboats United States, from Baltimore, and the Virginia, from Richmond, and met the convoy of Lafayette at the mouth of the river. The General, according to previous arrangement, then debarked from the Petersburg to the Virginia, upon which he was received by the committee of arrangements, Col. Bassett Burwell, chairman, with a salute of fifteen guns. The committee was accompanied by Chief Justice Marshall and other distinguished citizens of Virginia, and a number of ladies. Lafayette was greeted most eloquently in an address of welcome by the Hon. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, in behalf of the State, and responded as follows: "I am happy, sir, to find myself again, after a long absence, and to be so kindly welcomed by your Excellency, on the beloved soil of the State of Virginia, that State to which I am bound by so many old ties of gratitude, devotion and mutual confidence. It is to the patriotic support I found in the civil authorities of this State, whose generous spirit had already shone from the beginning of the Revolutionary contest; it is to the zeal, the courage, the perseverance of the Virginia militia, in conjunction with our small, gallant Continental army, that we have been indebted for the success of a campaign, arduous in its beginning, fruitful in its happy issue. Nothing can be more gratifying to my feelings than the testimony I receive of my living still in the hearts of the Virginians; and I beg you, sir, to be pleased to accept and transmit to the citizens of this State the cordial tribute of my grateful, constant and affectionate regard." Upon the conclusion of these remarks, a sumptuous cold collation was served, the band struck up Washington's March, and repeated salutes were fired from the approaching vessels. The water scene soon became highly picturesque, the river being crowded with various sails, which had brought visitors from other waters in the State, and the beach and adjacent heights were thronged with eager spectators. The Virginia then returned to York, followed by the Petersburg and the Richmond on the larboard side, and the Potomac and the United States on the starboard; the Virginia following in the rear in the centre.

General Lafayette, upon landing at Yorktown, was supported by Colonels Bassett, Harvis, Peyton and Jones, who introduced him to the Governor of the State (Pleasants), who received him in a warm address

of welcome, which was feelingly responded to by the General. The procession then formed, and the Nation's Guest, in an elegant barouche, drawn by four beautiful gray horses, moved up into the town to the allotted quarters of Lafayette in the Nelson House. Here he dined with a select company of some twenty or thirty, consisting of the Governor, the committee and surviving officers of the Revolution. At night the mansion and the Richmond marquee, with its three wings, upon a commanding spot in front, were illuminated and decked with transparencies with appropriate devices. On Monday, the 18th, the reception was purely civic, not a soldier appearing under arms, but on the following day, the 19th, the military spectacle was brilliant and imposing. The memorable ground of Yorktown was converted into a camp; and the harbor was filled with vessels. A few yards beyond the town, to the east, were to be seen the remains of the nearest British lines, the mounds of the embankment and the ditch. In the midst of the camp the tent of Washington (loaned for the occasion by George Washington Parke Custis) was conspicuously located near the house in which its illustrious owner had his headquarters. To this, soon after breakfast, Lafayette repaired on foot, surrounded by the Committee of Arrangements and others. Numbers were there introduced to him—many ladies, veteran soldiers of the Revolution, and citizens from every section of Virginia and from other States of the Union—after which he was introduced to Colonel Wm. I. Lewis, of Campbell County, who, in behalf of his fellow-survivors of the Revolution there present, delivered an address suitable to the occasion. Upon its conclusion Lafayette, in the equipage already mentioned, accompanied by the Governor of Virginia, Chief Justice Marshall, and Mr. Secretary Calhoun, proceeded to the grand triumphal arch which had been erected on the spot where once stood the redoubt which he had stormed, and which covered a span of forty feet. The basement story was constructed of rustic work, and the arch sprung to a height of twenty-four feet, the abutments of which were ornamented with figures of Fame and Victory. The keystones were thirteen in number, each bearing a star, to denote the thirteen original States. Wings on each side were formed with niches, which accommodated various symbols; those in the basement story presenting the Fasces (emblematical of unity), with helmets, battle-axes and other implements of war; those above contained the statue of Liberty trampling on tyranny, and the figure of Justice, over which were placed the names of Laurens and Hamilton, the aids of Lafayette at the time of his storming the redoubt. The whole was surmounted by an entabla-

ture forty feet from the ground, on which was supported, by four pilasters of the Tuscan order, an altar, flight of steps in the centre, upon which rested an eagle, carved of wood and painted in imitation of white marble, six feet in height, supporting "a large civic wreath after the manner of the one at St. Stephen's Chapel at Rome." The whole front was painted of a light brown stone color; the pilasters, entablature, figures and other ornaments being painted to represent white marble, presented an imposing and highly pleasing effect. There were also two obelisks, each twenty-six feet in height, erected, one at the spot which was stormed by Vioménil, bearing on each side of its pedestals the names of Vioménil, Dumas, Deux Ponts and De Noailles, with appropriate ornaments at the top; and the other on the spot where the sword of Cornwallis was surrendered. Its pedestal on the side fronting to the north bore the name "Washington," on the west the inscription, "First in War," on the south, "First in Peace," and on the east, "First in the Hearts of his Countrymen;" a symbolic figure of carved wood painted white being placed above each portion of the inscription. The shaft was inscribed with the names of "Nelson, Rochambeau, St. Simon and De Grasse." (See Richmond Enquirer, October 22, 1824.)

The assembled concourse numbered several thousands. The military present represented volunteer organizations from the several sections of the State, and included some five hundred troops from the regular army. General Robert B. Taylor, who commanded on the occasion, received Lafayette under the triumphal arch with an eloquent address, replete with stirring allusions. In connection with a concluding tribute, he strove to place upon the brow of Lafayette a chaplet formed of the leaves of the laurel and oak, symbolically intermingled with those of the cypress, expressive of his heroism and commemoration of the lamented dead, his compatriots. Lafayette was deeply affected. There was a solemn earnestness in his manner, a touching sensibility in his countenance which deeply impressed every observer. As the hovering wreath approached his brow, he caught it with his right hand and, respectfully bowing, dropped it to his side, and replied: "I most cordially thank you, my dear General, and your companions in arms, for your affectionate welcome, your kind recollections, and the flattering expressions of your friendship. Happy I am to receive them on these already ancient lines, where the united arms of America and France have been gloriously engaged in a holy alliance, to support the rights of American Independence, and the sacred principle of the sovereignty of the people. Happy, also, to be so welcomed on the particular spot where my dear

Light Infantry comrades acquired one of their honorable claims to public love and esteem. You know, sir, that in this business of storming redoubts, with unloaded arms and fixed bayonets, the merit of the deed is in the soldiers who execute it; and to each of them I am anxious to acknowledge their equal share of honor. Let me, however, with affection and gratitude, pay a special tribute to the gallant name of Hamilton, who commanded the attack, to the three field officers who seconded him, Gimat, Laurens and Fish, the only surviving one, my friend now near me. In their name, my dear General, in the name of the Light Infantry, those who have lost, as well as those who survive, and only in common with them, I accept the crown with which you are pleased to honor us, and I offer you the return of the most grateful acknowledgments." The General was not apprized of the intended address or of the offering, and his readiness in the emergency was most happy. Upon the conclusion of his response, he turned, and drawing Colonel Fish to the front, said, "*Here, half of this wreath belongs to you.*" "No, sir," replied the Colonel, "it is all your own." "Then," rejoined Lafayette, putting it into the Colonel's hand, "*take it, and preserve it as our common property.*" The whole scene was sublimely impressive. After this ceremony, the line passed and paid the guest military honors, and the General then resumed his barouche, and the military, in line of march, took up the escort. On a platform and gallery erected on the field were seated nearly twelve hundred ladies, who, by their presence, gave additional delight and brilliancy to the scene. The attention of the General was early arrested by this fair assemblage, and requesting the escort to halt, he directed the barouche to leave the line and drive up to the platform, where, stopping at intervals, he expressed the gratification and pleasure these marks of attention were peculiarly calculated to afford. He resumed his place in the line, amidst the cheerings of the citizens and strangers, and the waving of handkerchiefs, and the procession then escorted him to his quarters in town. A sumptuous dinner followed, enlivened with appropriate toasts. In the evening there was a splendid display of fireworks. On Wednesday, the 20th October, Lafayette partook of a military breakfast in the tent of Washington, where all the officers and soldiers in the field were introduced. After a short time he went forth to salute the crowd of citizens who stood in the street. He stationed himself at the gate, and the long line of spectators passed by him. Each person seized his hand as he passed him. To all, Lafayette extended some mark of tenderness and consideration. The spectacle was deeply impressive. Lafayette

proceeded on the same day to Williamsburg, and visited in succession, by special invitations, Norfolk, Petersburg and Richmond, being received everywhere with the enthusiasm and grateful welcome which marked the whole progress of his tour from his first landing upon the shores of America. (See *Life of Lafayette and tour through United States*, Hartford, 1851).

In the early months of our late civil war, the "Nelson House" was occupied as quarters by the Confederate soldiers, then stationed on the Peninsula, and we are informed that a large number of family papers, covering a period of a century and a half, stored in its attics, were utilized by some Louisiana Zouaves as bedding. They were gathered up by permission of General Geo. W. Randolph, then in command of the Confederates, by a visitor from Richmond, and brought thither, but we know not their fate. After the battle of Bethel, June 10, 1861, the Nelson House did service as a hospital for the accommodation of the Federal soldiers wounded in that engagement, who fell into the hands of the Confederates.

R. A. BROCK





## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

## FAMILY OF THOMAS NELSON

His tomb in the old church-yard at Yorktown—a handsome altar of white marble, elaborately carved—is inscribed as follows :

[Arms—Per pale, argent, and sable, a chevron between 3 fleurs de lis counter-changed. Crest—a fleur de lis.]

Hic jacet

THOMAS NELSON Generosus

Filius Hugonis et Sarai Nelson,

de Penrith, in Comitatu Cambrine

Natus 20 mo. die Februarie, Anno Domini 1677.

Vitæ bone gestæ finem implevit

7 mo. die Octobris, 1745. Aetatis suæ 68.

He married, first, Margaret Reed, by whom he had issue.

I. WILLIAM [President], of whom in the text. His tomb, located near that of his father, of brick, with a handsomely wrought marble slab, bears the following inscription :

[Nelson Arms.]

Here lies the body of the Honorable William Nelson, Esquire.

late President of his Majesty's Council in this Dominion. In whom the love of man and the love of God so restrained and enforced each other and so invigorated the mental powers in general as not only to defend him from the vices and follies of his country, but also to render it a matter of difficult decision in what part of laudable conduct he most excelled. Whether in the tender and endearing accomplishments of domestic life or in the more active duties of a wider circuit.

As a neighbour, a gentleman, or a magistrate, whether in the graces of hospitality, or in the — of charity or of piety. Reader, if you feel the spirit of that excellent ardour, which aspires to the felicity of conscious virtue animated by those consolations and divine admonitions, perform the task and expect the distinction of the righteous man.

He died the 19th of November, Anno Domini 1779; aged 61.

II. THOMAS NELSON, JR. [Secretary], of whom in the text.

III. Mary, married to Colonel Edmund Berkeley of Barn Elms, Middlesex county.

Married, second, Mrs. Frances Tucker, nee Courtenay, by whom he had issue.

IV. SARAH, daughter by second wife, Frances Courtenay, married to Colonel Robert Carter Burwell, the brother of the wife of her brother William.

## FAMILY OF PRESIDENT WILLIAM NELSON

He married Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Burwell in 1737, by whom he had issue.

I. Thomas—General—(of whom in the text.

II. Hugh, born 1750, lived at Yorktown, and died there October 3, 1800; married Judith, daughter of Hon. John and Jane (Byrd, daughter of Col. William of Westover) Page of North River.

III. Robert, subaltern in the Revolutionary army, of Malvern Hills, Charles City Co.; married 1st Mary, daughter of Philip Grymes, and sister of the wife of his brother, General Thomas; he married, secondly, Susan, daughter of Hon. John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, whose wife was Lucy, daughter of Augustine Moore of Chelsea, King William Co.

IV. Nathaniel, married Jane, daughter of Hon. John Page, the sister of the wife of his brother Hugh. He died in Bermuda.

V. William, Major in the Revolution, Chancellor of Virginia and Professor of Law in William and Mary College; died 1833; married, first, — Taliaferro of James City Co.; secondly, Abby, daughter of Col. William Byrd of Westover, the second of the name and title in Virginia.

VI. Elizabeth married Capt. — Thompson, of his Majesty's ship Ripon, which brought Lord Botetourt over to Virginia.

Nathaniel Burwell was the son of Major Lewis and Lucy (Higginson) Burwell of Fairfield, on Carter's Creek, Gloucester county—the first of the name in Virginia—who died in 1658. His wife Elizabeth was the daughter of Robert (from his extensive landed possessions, known as King) Carter.

## FAMILY OF SECRETARY THOMAS NELSON, JR.

He married Lucy, daughter of John Armistead, by whom he had issue, ten children.

Of these, Colonel William was engaged at Monmouth, Brandywine, and in other battles in the army of Washington, and was also at the siege of York; Captain Thomas and Major John Nelson also served in the army of the revolution. The descendants of Secretary Nelson have intermarried with the Chiswell, Cary, Carter, Meux, Page, Spotswood, Wellford and other prominent families of Virginia.

John Armistead was second in descent from William Armistead, or D'Armstad, who, according to tradition, emigrated to Virginia from Hesse Darmstadt, in or about 1636, and settled in Elizabeth City county.

NOTE.—See the Richmond (Va.) Standard of June 7, 1879, for sketch of Thomas Nelson, Jr., the issue of December 13, 1779, for Petitions of the Heirs of Thomas Nelson, Jr., to Virginia and the General Government for Relief, and that of September 25th, 1880, for a genealogy of The Nelson Family of Virginia, by the present writer.

R. A. B

# THE MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

## BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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### INVITATION TO CONTRIBUTORS

Under this heading we propose to publish articles on Historical Bibliography, special reference lists on American subjects, suggestions to book collectors, calendars of manuscripts and analytical remarks on these sources of History. Mere literal transcriptions of titles will be avoided, not only on account of the space they occupy, but as unnecessary in the preparation of reference lists for students or scholars. Many of these transcriptions would involve the copying of whole folio pages, that cannot be correctly printed, and are of value to bookdealers only. Collectors and compilers of narratives delight in such verbose titles, which are well known to all who read them. The title pages of Ramusius, Hakluyt, Purchas, etc., would alone occupy a large amount of valuable space.

A short and clear reference to books or pamphlets is enough for our purpose, provided the proper edition, date and page are correctly indicated. A few remarks on the value of the book as an original work, or as a compilation, abridgement, etc., and, if possible, an indication of the sources whence it is derived, the author's status, his prejudices, veracity, etc., may be given as a guide to those for whom such lists are prepared.

We now suggest a few subjects that could be thus treated by those familiar with them, and invite cooperation in the work. Several such lists on one subject will be gladly received, and so printed as to present one uniform chronological sequence of titles. Hardly any one of our American scholars or collectors can boast of the possession of all that has appeared on a given subject, but if each will kindly contribute what he can, a very desirable end will be accomplished.

Here are a few of the special headings to which we invite attention, requesting suggestions for others and contributions for all of them :

BIBLIOGRAPHIES ; reference to articles on.	FLORIDA, Louisiana and Mexican purchases.
STATE AND TOWN HISTORIES.	ANNEXATIONS by conquest or treaty.
BOUNDARIES of the United States and Territories.	NORTHWEST Territory.
	RED RIVER Settlement.
BOUNDARIES of States.	HUDSON'S Bay Company.

- NORTH AMERICAN** and other Fur Companies.
- EARLY MAPS** of North America and of the Provinces of N. A.
- GAZETTEERS** of America or portions of it.
- HOLLAND** purchase.
- SUSQUEHANNA** title.
- LEWIS** and Clark's Expedition.
- UNITED STATES** expeditions in the Territories.
- THE** seven years war in America.
- THE** battles of the war for Independence, or of single subjects relating thereto ; plans and maps illustrating them ; the navy of that time, its officers, etc. The German auxiliaries of the British. The dealings with the French Republic ; with Napoleon Bonaparte.
- THE WAR** of 1813 with Great Britain, Battles and plans. Naval conflicts relating to it.
- AMERICAN** aid to Greek Independence.
- WAR** with the Barbary States.
- INDIAN** wars, treaties, land purchases. Ethnography, monuments, etc. Missions, Spanish, French, etc. Biographies. Tribes, taken separately.
- FRENCH COLONIES** in America : Canada, Louisiana, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, West Indies, South America, etc.
- SPANISH COLONIES** and Dominions in America, North and South.
- PORTUGUESE COLONIES** in South America, West Indian Islands.
- SPECIAL** subjects of American History.
- A field is open to subjects such as :  
The different sects established in America. The history of steam navigation in the United States. The Erie and other canals.

We shall be glad to hear from any person interested in this class of study. Articles should not exceed four pages, or say two thousand words.

EDITOR

## NOTES

THE CHESAPEAKE AND SHANNON —  
The following hand-bill printed on one sheet of quarto size, with a wood engraving on the left upper corner, of two men of war in action, was issued as an Extra in commemoration of the naval battle. It was found carefully preserved in the one school book of my father, Samuel P. Hawes, then a Dorchester boy of fourteen years, entitled, *The Only True Guide to Learning*, in which it has remained to this day.

ALMERIA MILLER

*Keytesville, Maryland.*

THE BATTLE BETWEEN THE CHESAPEAKE AND  
SHANNON

'Twas in the morning, the first day of June,  
We weighed our anchors, and sailed about noon,  
To meet a bold ship that hovered quite nigh,  
The force of our ship she seem'd to defy.

Our Captain was brave, a man of high fame,  
For taking the Peacock \* he'd a great name.  
We scarcely had pass'd Boston harbour's light,  
Before the Shannon was plain to our sight.

On seeing our ship she stood from the shore,  
After her we sail'd for two hours, or more;  
The weather was fine—a westerly breeze,  
No clouds to be seen, and still were the seas.

Prepare for the conflict, without delay,  
Men, see that you do my orders obey—  
We'll fight till we die, our crew then reply'd,  
We'll conquer, or else we'll die by your side.

Men quickly for action, our ship was clear'd—  
"All hands to your quarters," was loudly hear'd;  
"Not from his station, let no man give way."  
These were the words our brave Captain did say.

The action commenc'd by the roar of cannon,  
We pour'd a broadside into the Shannon;  
The Shannon she then returned the same,  
And both were envelop'd in an ocean of flame.

The cannons did then incessantly roar;  
And the decks all o'er encrimsoned with gore;  
Yet our brave sailors they were not dismay'd,  
No foes to our country can make them afraid.

Our brave commander a wound did receive,  
For which all our crew did very much grieve;  
Forty-eight brave seamen lay dead in their gore—  
Ninety-seven were wounded—their fate we deplore.

Being o'erpowered, our ship could not save,  
For fortune won't always favour the brave.  
The death of our Captain we have to relate,  
Brave Captain LAURENCE, we mourn his sad fate.

To Columbia's bold seamen, then draw near,  
Over your slain mess-mates, let fall a tear;  
The Fair of our country some gratitude show,  
To those brave lads who are fighting the foe.

To brave seamen all who so nobly fight,  
For his dear country, and for his own rights;  
Tars, the British as yet, nothing have won,  
Three frigates they've lost, and only took one.

Our cause truly noble, and honour our guide,  
The defence of our country shall be our pride,  
Our fathers who gain'd the freedom we hold,  
We swear that the purchase shall ne'er be sold.

Our glorious freedom we drew with our breath,  
The boon we'll keep unsullied till death.  
If wounded—'tis our country's intention,  
For all that's disabl'd to give a good pension.

\* Captain Laurence, in the *Hornet*, of 16 guns, took and sunk, after an action of 15 minutes, his *Brittanic Majesty's* brig *Peacock*, of 19 guns.

BRITISH STANDARDS CAPTURED AT  
YORKTOWN—*Philadelphia, Nov. 7.* On Saturday afternoon last, between the hours of three and four, arrived 24 regimental standards, taken with the British and German forces under Lord Cornwallis. They were received by the volunteer calvary of this city at Schuylkill and conducted into town, displayed in a long procession, preceded by the American and French colours at a proper distance. They were paraded through the principal streets of the city, amidst the joyful acclamations of surrounding multitudes, to the state-house; the hostile standards were then laid at the feet of Congress and his Excellency the Ambassador of France—a noble exalted memorial of the victory gained by the allied forces over the slaves of tyranny and oppression.—*The Connecticut Gazette, Nov. 23, 1781*

IULUS

PROMOTIONS OF FRENCH OFFICERS WHO SERVED IN AMERICA—*Extract of a letter from Paris, December 14, 1781*—“The Marquis de Ségur, Minister for the War Department, having lately been closeted with the King, it is presumed, that the promotion of General Officers is settled, but that his Majesty will not declare it until the end of the year. We, only, know at present that the first of the great Governments that shall be vacant is promised to Count de Rochambeau; that in the mean time his Majesty has granted him a pension of 30,000 Livres; that the King's Regiment of Dragoons, which the Marquis de la Fayette had, is given to the Viscount de Noailles; that the Chevalier de Chastellux has obtained, as a reward for his Campaign in America, the Government of Rochelle; that M. de Charlus, son of the Marquis de Castries, is appointed Mayor-General of the Gendarmerie. Marshal de Broglie has demanded of the King, as a reward of his services, that the Prince de Broglie, his son, might be sent to America to replace M. de Charlus; which being granted, he is to go over with the rank of Colonel-en-second; as is also the Viscount de Ségur, youngest son of the Minister of War.” — *Newport Mercury, July 6, 1782.*

D. K.

*Newport, R. I.*

NEWTOWN PIPPINS—In a Dialogue between Orators Puff and Peter Easy on the Proposed Plan or frame of Government, printed in the Pennsylvania Evening Post, October 10th, 1776, occurs this compliment to the famous Long Island apple :

*Peter* : “Why, does it differ so much from the other Constitutions that have lately been formed by several of the American States?”

*Orator* : “Differ! why it differs as much from them as a crab apple from Newtown pippins. But it is no wonder.”

POMONA

A LONG ISLAND CELEBRATION — *Jamaica, on Long Island, July 20.* The good news of the Surrender of Cape Breton coming to us in the Middle of our Harvest, obliged us to defer the Time of publick Rejoicing till Yesterday; when the Magistrates, Military Officers, and many other Gentlemen, &c., of this County, met at this Place, feasted together, and at Night gave a Tub of Punch at a fine Bonfire, drank the Publick Healths, and especially of the valiant Commander immediately concern'd in this great Action, and joined in chorus to the following song :

Let all true Subjects now rejoice  
The sev'nteenth Day of June.  
On Monday Morning in a Trice,  
We sung the French a Tune.

A glorious Peace we shall have soon  
For we have conquer'd Cape Breton,  
With a fa la la.

Brave Warren and Bold Pepperell,  
Stout Wolcot, and the rest  
Of British Heroes, with Good Will,  
Enter'd the Hornet's Nest.

A glorious Peace, &c.

A Health, lets to King George advance,  
That he may long remain  
To curb the Arrogance of France,  
And Haughtiness of Spain.

A glorious Peace, &c.

*N. Y. Weekly Post Boy, July 29, 1745*

PETERSFIELD

**LAURENS' DISPATCHES**—*London Letter*, Sept. 30, 1780. The taking of the letter box of Mr. Laurens will, it is thought, lead to more discoveries, and afford a matter of entertainment to the public and superior to the *Cassette Verte* of Mons. Sartine, many of whose ideal representations we may find exaggerated to a degree, that may lead to the discovery of many important points, that we might not suppose the enemies of this country could be acquainted with.—*Livingston's Royal Gazette*, Dec. 6, 1780

IULUS

**WILLIAM PEARTREE SMITH**—I have in my possession a copy of "Reports and Cases" collected by Wm. Noq,\* 1656, that belonged to William P. Smith, and contains the following note :

"N York May 16. 1750, I do for the consideration of 15/ Transfer the property of this Book to William Livingston  
WM. P. SMITH "

There is also a book plate similar in most respects to the one appended to the sketch of Smith in the April number of the Magazine, *Thomas Johnston, sculpt.*, but the motto is : "Deus nobis hæc otia fecit," and below the coat of arms is printed "William P. Smith, A.M." The margin of this old book is enriched by notes, doubtless added by William Livingston.  
C. E. V. C.

\* The Judge who condemned Prynne.

**PRINCE WILLIAM HENRY IN NEW YORK**—It is observable that the arrival of Prince William Henry at New York filled the British and loyalists with "joy ineffable and universal;" the very chimney-sweeps, smitten with the poetic flame, composed odes in his praise, some

of which were inscribed in the Royal Gazette ; yet not a word is said about his departure. Many are at a loss to account for this ; some suppose they were tired of the lad ; others with more probability that they were afraid to let the time of his departure be known, lest Count de Grasse, after the surrender of Mr. Cornwallis, should have thought him an object worthy of his attention.—*The New Jersey Journal*, January 30, 1782  
IULUS

**ROUTE OF ANDRE**—M. A. in the April number writes of the party in charge of André :

"They would eventually come out into the New York post road at Cortlandsville, two miles above Peekskill. That they did so is proven by the fact that here again we meet with a tradition of them." Gen. Pierre Van Cortlandt often told the writer that he took his sister Ann, afterwards Mrs. Philip I. Van Rensselaer, of Albany, over to the old house near his father's to see André. This old house, nearly opposite the mansion of Lt. Gov. Van Cortlandt, was, I think, later known as the Mandeville House, and was the stopping place for years of the stages running between New York and Albany. C. E. V. C.

## QUERIES

**FRACTIONAL DIVISIONS OF THE DOLLAR**—Why was the currency reckoned in Dollars and *ninetieth* parts of a Dollar in 1781 ? I have before me an order on John Pierce, Jr., Esq., Pay-Master General of the forces of the United States of America, for six thou-

sand nine hundred and ninety dollars and sixty-ninetieth parts of a dollar.

J. H. McH.

**BLUE NOSES**—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me why the name of Blue Noses was given to the inhabitants of the province of Nova Scotia?

IULUS

**ROUTE OF THE FRENCH THROUGH NEW YORK**—What was the route, in detail, of the French army under Rochambeau in August, 1781, on the march from the Hudson to Yorktown, in Virginia, referring especially to that part between the Hudson and Philadelphia? Was it not on the North of Sugar Loaf Mountain, in Orange County, New York? Or by what particular route did it reach Warwick Valley? Did it pass through the village of Warwick?

J. B. B.

**MANOR OF DIGGES CHOICE**—Where was the Manor or Grant of Digges's Choice in Northern Maryland?

J. B. B.

**MAJOR JOSEPH STRANG**—In Mr. Cumming's interesting article in the December number of the Magazine, mention is made of this officer, though, by a misprint, the name is spelled STRONG. May I ask what is the date of Major STRANG's death, and where is he buried? His son, Dr. Samuel STRANG, died at Peekskill in 1831, and lies buried in the churchyard on South Street, in that village. Most of the other members of his family are interred in the cemetery attached to the Presbyterian church, at Yorktown, and have monuments erected to their memories; but there is no stone

there bearing the name of Major Joseph STRANG.

What was the exact site of his residence at Crumpond? He seems to have had a house there of his own, and did not live in the old homestead of the family, still standing on the Pine's Bridge road.

Major Strang is said to have been the captor of Palmer the Spy. If I remember rightly, I was told this by Major STRANG's nephew, the late John Hazard STRANG, who died Sept. 20th, 1878, in his 94th year.

There was a Daniel STRANG hanged as a spy at Peekskill, on an oak tree still standing in the grounds of the Academy there, who was probably of this family; though his name does not appear in their genealogical chart.

At the risk of being irrelevant, I must add that in no section of the country have I found it so difficult to glean any authentic traditions of the Revolution, or reliable facts concerning the local actors in the strife, as among the inhabitants of northern Westchester County. M. A.

**DUEL AT FORT PITT**—A duel was fought at Fort Pitt between the 20th of July, 1768, and the 1st of February, 1769, in which Ensign Tracy was killed. Can any one furnish the particulars?

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

**SCANARIS**—In the examination of Joseph Fortiner, one of the four English traders arrested by the French, before the Marquis de la Jonquiere, on the 19th of June, 1751, as published in the French Memorial, he testifies: "That he was

born in the Jerseys, and lived the most part of the time in the woods, but in the winter he commonly retired to a village in the Province of Pennsylvania, called Scanaris." Where was Scanaris?

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

kind action is entirely forgotten. The lady was Mistress Beckie Coxe. She was buried in the churchyard of St. Michaels, at Trenton, and her funeral was attended by members of the family of the lad whom she had rescued in his extremity.

ANTIQUARY

*Trenton*

## REPLIES

CAPTURED CANNON AT YORKTOWN, VA.—[VI. 157] Mr. Archibald Forbes, the English War correspondent, will find in Simcoe's Journal, p. 223, a satisfactory explanation of the presence of French howitzers among the pieces taken by the Americans at Yorktown. They were part of Simcoe's spoils at Point of Forks, Va., in June previous. "There were taken off" writes this officer, "a thirteen-inch mortar, five brass eight-inch howitzers, and four long brass nine pounders, mounted afterward at Yorktown; all French pieces and in excellent order." Without much doubt the howitzer at Newburg is one of the these. Cornwallis in his report to Clinton, June 30, 1781, refers to the same capture; "all French," he says.

One six-pounder, probably included in the surrender, had been taken by Stark's men at Bennington and retaken by Cornwallis in the Green Springs action near Jamestown, Va., July 6, 1781.

H. P. J.

SMITH-LIVINGSTON—[Vol. VI. p. 277] It is here stated that the name of the lady who took young Robert James Livingston to her house after he had been wounded at the battle of Trenton, was unfortunately not preserved. No

DUEL OF GATES AND WILKINSON—[VI. 60] General Wilkinson recites in his Memoirs the arrangements made for a hostile meeting between himself and Gen. Gates on the morning of Feb. 24, 1778, behind the English church at Yorktown, Westchester Co., N. Y., which was prevented by a satisfactory explanation on the part of Gates, the challenged party. His volume, however, contains no notice of an actual meeting that took place between them seven months later at the same place.

On Friday, Sept. 4, 1778, the duel took place, Col Kosciusko acting for Gates, and John Carter, son-in-law of Gen. Schuyler, as second to Wilkinson. At the first fire Gates' pistol flashed in the pan, on which Wilkinson fired in the air. They charged again, and Wilkinson fired, on which Gates refused to fire. On the word being given the third time Wilkinson's pistol fired and Gates's flashed in the pan. The seconds then interfered and the principals shook hands.

W. K.

PETER VAN WINKLE—[VI. 150] This is no doubt the same person alluded to in Dewees' Life and Services, 12mo. Balto., 1844: "When we lay four or five miles from (I think it must have been the) Passaic Falls in Jersey, the soldiers



went frequently to see a great curiosity which was not far from the Falls. There was a poor family that had a son, who was said to be upwards of thirty years old \* \* his body was 'chunky,' and about the size of a healthy boy of ten or twelve years old, and he laid in a cradle, but his head (although shaped like a human head) was like a flour-barrel in size \* \* it had to be lifted about (the body could not support it) whenever moved. His senses appeared to be good, and it was usual for us to say, 'He can talk like a lawyer.' He would talk to every person that visited him. All the soldiers that visited him and that had any money, would always give him some. It was said that Gen. Washington, when he went to see him, gave his father four or five hundred dollars to aid in his support."

C.

MRS. STOCKTON—[V. 119] This lady, whose complimentary Pastoral, addressed to Gen. Washington, "on the subject of Lord Cornwallis's surrender," is here acknowledged by him, was Mrs. Annis Stockton, wife of the Hon. Richard Stockton, of Princeton, N. J., the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and the daughter of Elias Boudinot, of Elizabeth Town, N. J. The Hon. Elias Boudinot, one of the Presidents of the First Congress, and the first President of the American Bible Society, was her brother. Mrs. Stockton was quite a poetess, and left some ms. pieces, now in the possession of a grandson of another brother, Judge Elisha Boudinot, of Newark!

In a number of the Christians', Scholars' and Farmers' Magazine, pub-

lished at Elizabeth Town, N. J., by Shepard Kolloch, in 1789, we find some verses over her initials, on Exodus 30, 18, not without merit. W. H.

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REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTERS—*Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Barber*—[VI. 60] In the closing years of the Revolutionary war the army was encamped about four miles southwest of Newburgh, on a ridge of land the general course of which is from north to south. A party of soldiers were engaged in felling trees, Col. Barber, on horseback, superintending the operation. A large tree in its descent was caught by the branches of the standing trees and arrested in its fall. In opposition to the remonstrances of those present, Col. Barber undertook to pass beneath the tree to the other side. When directly underneath, it suddenly started again on its downward course; the horse, seemingly paralyzed with fear, refused to move. Both horse and rider were instantly killed. Such was the manner of his death beyond a doubt. My father has repeatedly told me that he had seen the stump on which the tree grew that killed Col. Barber in its fall. He was buried in the churchyard at Bethlehem, General Washington and Staff being present at the burial. No monument marks the spot. I can give no information as to the Division House. At the foot of the ridge on which the army were encamped, the foundations of quite a number of the structures built by them are still visible, and one or more of larger size than the majority and subdivided, I have noticed; and it is not unlikely that here was the Division

House referred to. Bethlehem church, the place of Col. Barber's burial, is about two miles from the camp ground, and a mile or more east of Salisbury Mills. Rev. Joel T. Benedict, the father of Erastus C. Benedict, ministered to this church before going to Franklin, Delaware County.

D. C. CHANDLER

*Vail's Gate, Orange Co., N. Y.*

THE ROGER MORRIS HOUSE—[VI. 100]. In my paper under this heading I inadvertently stated that the letter written by Greene under November 17, 1776, in which he describes the passage of the North River by Washington and his officers was addressed to General Putnam. This is an error; the letter was addressed to Colonel Knox. Putnam was in the boat with Washington and Greene.

WILSON CARY SMITH

ORIGIN OF THE NAME TEXAS—[VI., 223] In the first number of the Galveston Historical Society Series, the Hon. Ashbel Smith says, that Texas is marked on Gov. Pownall's map, 1777, as "Ticas," but, whether the name is of Indian or Spanish origin, he does not know. In a note, he quotes from Dr. Shea's translation of Charlevoix, New France, as follows: "Father Morfi includes under the name of Texas, which he explains as *Texia, friends*, the Texas, Asinais, &c., &c.

H. E. H.

*Wilkes Barre, Pa.*

STATUE TO WILLIAM PITT—[VI., 222]. An answer to this query may be found in Stevens' Progress of New York in a Century, 1776-1876, an address delivered before the New York Historical

Society, December 5th, 1876, and published for it:

At the intersection of Wall and Smith (now William Street), stood the pedestrian statue erected to William Pitt "for the services he rendered America in promoting the Repeal of the Stamp Act"—a peaceful victory as dear to the Colonies as ever conquest celebrated by triumphal pageant or memorial arches in the streets of ancient Rome. The statue is described in the journals of the day as "of fine white marble, the habit Roman, the right hand holds a scroll partly open, whereupon we read: *Articuli Magna-Charta Libertatum*; the left hand is extended, the figure being in the attitude of one delivering an oration." On the south side of the pedestal there was a Latin inscription, cut on a tablet of white marble. This statue (like that of George III, the workmanship of Wilton), was erected on the 7th September, 1770, by the Assembly of the Colony "amid the acclamations of a great number of the inhabitants, and in compliance with a request of a public meeting of the citizens held 23d June, 1766," when the news of the Repeal of the Stamp Act reached the city. This statue stood in its original position until 1787, when it was removed by city ordinance on the "petition of a majority of the Proprietors of the Lots of Ground in Wall Street, as an obstruction to the city." It was then a deformity, having been beheaded and otherwise disfigured during the British occupation. It lay for many years in the corporation yard, then in that of the arsenal, after which it stood for a long period in front of Riley's Museum or Fifth Ward Hotel, corner of West Broadway and Franklin Street. It was later purchased by Mr. Samuel F. Mackie, one of our members, and by him presented to this Society (New York Historical Society), in the refectory of which it may now be seen. It is hoped that some liberal member will restore it to its original beauty, as its counterpart, which may serve as a model, is still in existence in Charleston."

Some account of the Charleston replica and its present condition will be gratefully received.

EDITOR.

### EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

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THE New England Historic Genealogical Society met on the 4th May at the Society's house in Somerset Street. The paper of the day was by the Rev. Henry W. Foote, and entitled "Passages in the History of King's Chapel, Boston," of which he is the present pastor. Mr. Foote narrated the difficulty with which, after nearly two generations of struggle, the Church of England effected a lodgment in the community, which was originally organized by those who fled from its persecutions at home. The reverend Robert Ratcliffe was the first pastor, and read the service of the Church of England for the first time in Boston in the library room of the Town Hall, June 15, 1686.

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THE New York Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting Tuesday, May 3, at its hall. The paper of the evening was by the Rev. Charles W. Baird, of Rye, N. Y., on the First Settlers of New Amsterdam. Mr. Baird is our recognized authority on matters pertaining to the Huguenots in America. In the course of his investigations he discovered in the State Paper Office, at London, a curious document in the form of a round robin, which contained the names of the Walloons, who petitioned to settle Virginia. As it is well known that the majority of these petitioners were the first colonists of the New Netherlands, this paper seems to identify the individuals. Among these occurs the names of de la Montagne, from whom tradition has it that Hudson's river took its first name.

The Rev. B. F. De Costa took issue with some of the statements of Mr. Baird. He claimed that the Hudson River was known as the Rivière de la Montagne many years before John Mennier de la Montagne left Leyden and embarked for America in the ship *New Netherlands*, and further that the river was familiar to navigators many years before Hendrick Hudson explored it in 1609. And he held also that the name River of the Mountain was given to it from natural reasons long before John de la Montagne settled on its banks; and of this he promises to produce certain evidence. The

curious on this subject may find an interesting paper on the Hudson River and its early names from the pen of Susan Fenimore Cooper, in the June, 1880, number of this Magazine, IV., 401.

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THE American Ethnological Society held a meeting at the residence of Professor Charles Short, in New York, Tuesday, 10th May, when a brief sketch of the late Rev. Samuel Osgood was read by Mr. Short.

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THE Rhode Island Historical Society held its regular fortnightly meeting in the Historical Cabinet on the evening of the 19th April, when its venerable President, Mr. Zachariah Allen, read a paper on the Dorr War, and the memorable incidents of that curious struggle which took place on the 17th and 18th May, 1842. An excellent report of the paper appeared in the Providence Press of the 2d May. On the 3d May, the Rev. J. C. Stockbridge read a paper before the Society "Showing the effect on England of the news of the defeat and capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown." The John Carter Brown Library in Providence abounds in curious tracts, relating to this period, with which Mr. Stockbridge has made himself thoroughly familiar. A motion was made in parliament on the 30th May, 1781, by Col. Hartley, looking to peace, and during the summer and fall the military movements were eagerly watched. The surrender of Cornwallis was not immediately conclusive, and on the vote of February 23d, the House of Commons stood 194 in favor of carrying on the war to 193 against. This paper of Mr. Stockbridge is a valuable contribution to this subject of present absorbing interest.

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THE Westchester County N. Y. Historical Society met at Mt. Kisco in April. The paper of the evening was by Josiah S. Mitchell, of White Plains, upon Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Driven from New England by the persecution of the Puritans, she settled on the banks of a stream which still bears the name of Hutchinson's river, near Pelham, in Westchester County, where she and her family were massacred by Indians in 1643; a brutality terribly avenged by Capt. John Underhill, who slew a large number

of them near Bedford. Underhill was her adherent in Boston and had taken service under the Dutch. After his victory he retired to Oyster Bay, Long Island, and became a peaceful Quaker. His descendants are still to be found in the village of White Plains.

THE Executive Committee of the Virginia Historical Society met at its rooms in the Westmoreland Club House, Richmond, on the 3d April and passed resolutions of respect to the memory of the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, late President of the Society. This distinguished gentleman, whose contributions to the history and literature of his native State of Virginia are well known, died at Edgehill, his residence, in the County of Charlotte, on the 28th April last. He was buried in accordance with his dying wish, at Norfolk. At the regular meeting of the 2d May, gentlemen were appointed to represent the Society at the unveiling of the statue raised in commemoration of the victory at Cowpens. The work of this Society has not been properly appreciated by the people of the State, and we are glad to notice an earnest appeal in the Richmond Standard for the support to which it is entitled, and which the State, rich as she is in historic memories, can ill afford to withhold. Only thus can the materials for true history be gathered and preserved. That others than her own sons are interested in the subject appears from the appropriate gift recently made by S. L. M. Barlow, of New York, to the library of the Society of two early and curious maps entitled, "*Virginiae partis australis et Floridæ partis interjacet gentiumq regionum Nova Descriptio, 1761.*" and "*Nova Virginie Tabula, 1671.*" Both of these maps give the names and respective territories of the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the sections indicated, and also many topographical Indian names which have long since disappeared from later maps.

THE Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia met on the 5th May, when Charles Henry Hart, the historiographer of the institution, read a memoir of the late William Beach Lawrence, Vice-President of the Society for Rhode Island. An invitation was presented

from the Society of Finnish Literature at Helsingfors, inviting the presence of a delegate at its semi-centennial celebration in June next. A communication was read from Dr. D. G. Brinton, concerning some Aztec ruins on the San Juan river, not hitherto described. These rocks are near the village of San Estevan and Valencia, and are about twenty feet in height with a regular and plain surface inclining at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the road. The substance is chiefly of mica granite and felspar. The figures upon them, which until 1848 received no special attention from scientific observers, are sculptured to a depth of about half an inch, and are seemingly in groups, each character being an ideograph. No known traditions attach to them. A copy was shown of Instructions in Spelling published in Philadelphia by Renier Jansen in 1702. Renier Jansen was the father of Tiberius Johnson, a unique imprint of whose almanac for the year 1705 was noticed in our May chronicle.

THE Licking County Pioneer Historical and Antiquarian Society published its transactions during the month of April in the Newark American for May 6, 1881. They were of merely local interest, chiefly consisting of memorial sketches of the early residents.

THE Bangor Historical Society met in the Common Council room Tuesday, May 10th, when a large number of new members were elected. The President, Hon. John E. Godfrey, delivered an address explaining the origin and purposes of the institution, which was organized May 3, 1864. Papers were read by Harry Merrill on the local Ornithology; by Adams H. Merrill, of Williamsburg, on Slate quarrying in Maine; by Capt. Henry N. Fairbanks on Arnold's expedition of the Kennebeck river and assault upon Quebec; by the President, on Reminiscences of Bangor, and by E. F. Duren, on the History of Penobscot County. A manuscript found in the old Knox mansion was presented to the society and referred to J. W. Porter for examination. The interest manifested in the session was great, and there is promise that the society may soon become active to good purpose.

THE Long Island Historical Society has been made the repository of the tattered remnants of the banners of the Forty-eighth Regiment of Brooklyn. This organization was raised in that city, and commanded by the Rev. Dr. James H. Perry, at that time pastor of the Hanson Place Methodist Church. A graduate of West Point, he abandoned the cloth for the sword, at the call of the government. The regiment took part in the assault on Fort Wagner, on the earth works of which its colors were planted by Major Dandy, who fell dead. The flags, two in number, were presented in the name of the regiment by the Rev. D. C. Knowles, Captain of Company D, and received in the name of the society by the Rev. Dr. Richard S. Storrs, in a stirring address.

THE Union Society at Bethesda, Georgia, celebrated its one hundred and thirty-first anniversary on the 5th May, when the Rev. Robert B. Kerr made an eloquent address. The history of the society begins with George Whitfield, to whose memory an appropriate tribute was paid.

THE Woman Suffrage Convention met at Portland, Maine, on the 11th May. The audience was small but intelligent. Mrs. Lucy Stone was the chief spokesman on the occasion, and made a strong point of the success of woman suffrage in Wyoming territory. She stated that for twelve years women have been allowed to vote in municipal elections in England. The Isle of Man now gives full and impartial suffrage to all women who own copyholds of £4. This is the first instance where woman has been accorded free suffrage in modern times. It can not be denied that the right to hold property involves the right to vote for those who legislate for its taxation.

OSCAR THOMAS GILBERT DU MOTIER DE LAFAYETTE, son of Georges Washington Lafayette, and grandson of the illustrious general of the armies of the United States, died at Paris on the 27th March. He was born at Paris in 1816, and after pursuing his military studies at the Ecole Polytechnique, and subsequently at Metz, he was appointed in 1840 a captain of artillery. True

to the traditions of his family, he took the liberal side in the agitation which preceded the flight of Louis Philippe, and made one of the most striking of the speeches at the famous banquet which precipitated the revolution. He was elected a representative in the Constituent Assembly, later of the Legislative Assembly, and was one of those arrested by the traitor President, Napoleon, on the 2d December, 1851. Withdrawing from public life during the empire, he was again chosen a representative in 1871, and became a member of the Republican Left. In 1875 he was chosen Senator for life, and took his seat with the left. He left no children. His brother, Edmond de Lafayette, now represents this distinguished family. He will be present at the Yorktown centennial in October.

JOHN GORHAM PALFREY, the historian of Massachusetts, died in Boston on the 26th April, in the 85th year of his age. His *History of New England* still stands at the head of all the histories of the cluster of the early commonwealths of this section. Four volumes were published which bear witness to his great research and careful examination of original authorities in England and America. The fifth volume, which carries the narrative to the revolutionary war, is well advanced, and it is hoped may be published. But like Broadhead's unfinished volume on New York, it should wait for competent hands. Of the brilliant band, which included these two honored men, Irving, Prescott, Ticknor, Motley and Bancroft, only the last remains; the work of his life completed, in the full possession of his remarkable faculties, at the pinnacle of his fame, and in the serenity of peaceful and happy age.

JAMES T. FIELDS, the well-known publisher, author and lecturer, died at his residence in Charles street, Boston, Monday, April 24. In him American authors lose an adviser and a friend. Since 1834 he had been connected with literature, book-stores and publishing houses. Among his conspicuous publications were the *North American Review*, the *Atlantic Monthly* and *Our Young Folks*, and the works of many of the most brilliant of American authors have

passed through his hands. His name will remain as indissolubly attached to American as that of the Constables to the literature of Scotland, or of Bentley and Pickering to that of England. That a publisher should pass away, not only respected and honored, but beloved by authors, is a sign that harmony is possible between these two important classes of the community.

TUNIS G. BERGEN, a local historian and genealogist of Long Island, New York State, died on the 24th April, 1881, at his residence at Bay Ridge, near the Narrows. The old Bergen farm-house is one of the ancient Dutch landmarks of the island, and the plot at Greenwood, where he was buried, and which has been the last resting place of five generations of his name, was a part of the property. Mr. Bergen was descended from Hans Hansen Bergen, one of the early Dutch settlers of the New Netherland colony. He was the author of the Bergen Family Genealogy and of the genealogies of the Leferts and Van Brunt families. His last work, *Early Settlers of Kings County*, is now in press, and he also left studies for a History of New Utrecht.

THE preparations for the Yorktown Centennial are progressing rapidly. The commissioners visited the battle-field the first week in May to devise plans for landing the nation's guests and those who will take part in the ceremonies. Four thousand Masons are expected to take part, making an encampment for three days. Ten thousand troops have engaged to be present, and all the thirteen original States will be represented by their governors and militia. The Yorktown Centennial Committee held a meeting in the Governor's room in the City Hall, New York, on the 3d May, and presented a programme on an extensive scale, which has not yet been finally decided upon. The meeting was largely attended. In the evening a mass meeting was held in front of Madison Square; Frederick P. Coudert presided. Addresses were made by Governor Holliday and Hon. John Goode of Virginia, Professor Charlier, John Austin Stevens, Judges Woodbridge and Joseph Christian. A detachment from the Garde Lafayette sur-

rounded the platform. A notable feature of this interesting occasion was the use of the new electric light. On the 29th April Mr. Outrey, the French Minister at Washington, presented the reply of the French Government to the invitation of the United States to participate in the ceremonies. The following is a translation:

"JULES GREVY, President of the French Republic, to the President of the United States of America:

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND.—I have just received a letter, whereby your honorable predecessor, his Excellency Rutherford B. Hayes, announced to me that, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, he invited the government and people of France to unite with the government and people of the United States, on the 19th of next October, in celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Yorktown. I have accepted this invitation in the name of the government of the republic and in that of the whole French people. This solemn testimony of remembrance, which has been preserved by your fellow citizens, of the part taken by eminent individuals of France in the glorious struggle which secured independence and liberty to the United States, has called forth a feeling of deep emotion in France, of which it has afforded me pleasure to be the interpreter by informing General Noyes, your worthy representative, that, 'having taken part in the toil, we would participate in the honor.' The American nation, which has become so powerful and prosperous, by inviting a fraternal co-operation on the occasion of this anniversary, forever consecrated the union which was created by noble and liberal aspirations, and by our alliance on the battlefield, and which our institutions, which are now of the same character, must draw closer and develop for the welfare of both nations. Offering the assurance of my high esteem for yourself, personally, and my best wishes for the glory of the United States, I desire also to convey my sincere thanks to Mr. Hayes for the cordial feelings which he expressed to me and for his good wishes for the prosperity of the French Republic. Your good friend, JULES GREVY. *Countersigned, B. N. HILAIRE.*"

The arrangements of the French Government for representation at Yorktown will not be definitely settled until the arrival of Mr. Outrey at Paris. He sailed on the 18th May. At the opening of the headquarters of the Yorktown Centennial Association, at the Exchange Hotel in Richmond, an interesting incident occurred. The Star Spangled Banner and Yankee Doodle were played for the first time since the war, and were hailed with vociferous cheers. It must not be forgotten in the arrangements for the celebration that the Yorktown peninsula is not exempt from malaria even in

the fall. Every possible sanitary precaution should be taken.

THE statue of Admiral Farragut in Farragut Square, Washington, was unveiled on the 25th April with imposing ceremonies, civil, naval and military. The widow of the Admiral and his son, Mr. Loyall Farragut, were present. All of the high dignitaries of the nation were assembled. The statue was presented by Mr. Hunt, Secretary of the Navy, and received by the President of the United States in the name of the nation. Addresses were made by Horace Maynard, late Postmaster-General, and Senator Voorhees. The metal of which the bronze statue was cast formed the propeller of the Hartford, the Admiral's flagship. The figure is of heroic size. The pedestal is twelve feet in height, square, and formed of smooth granite. The base of the monument is of three tiers of uncut granite, the lower tier twenty feet square. The entire structure, including the statue, is thirty feet. The artist is Vinnie Ream, now Mrs. Hoxie, wife of the Engineer, Commissioner of the District of Columbia. The military and naval procession which marched past the Executive Mansion, and was reviewed by President Garfield, was remarkable for the number of navy officers and sailors who took part in it.

THE committee of Boston gentlemen appointed to erect a statue of Leif the Norseman, son of Eric, propose to place the monument on the triangle of land owned by the Museum of Fine Arts in front of that building. The artist selected is J. Q. A. Ward. Mr. Thomas G. Appleton is chairman of the committee. Of the funds necessary to complete the work—twenty thousand dollars—about forty-five hundred dollars have been secured. The pedestal is to be of granite; the statue of bronze; the head helmeted and the figure clothed in mail; the pedestal eight feet high, and the statue of heroic size.

THE ceremonies of dedicating the tomb of the Association of the Army of Northern Virginia at Metairie Cemetery, New Orleans, and of unveiling the statue of Stonewall Jackson, took place May 15th in the presence of a vast concourse of people. The widow and daughter of

General Jackson were present. The address was delivered by General Fitzhugh Lee. At the conclusion of the ceremonies, Jefferson Davis was called upon and made a brief speech. The fame of Jackson needs no eulogium. He will stand in history side by side with the stern covenanters whom he resembled as much in moral character as in physical determination. His was the sword of the Lord and of Gideon. His fame is the common heritage of the American nation.

THE battle of Cowpens was fought on the 17th January, 1781. The celebration of its centennial anniversary, intended for that day in the present year, was unavoidably delayed. It was held at Spartansburg, South Carolina, on the 11th May, with success and enthusiasm. The Governor of the State was present with his staff, and descendants of the officers of Morgan and numerous distinguished guests from all parts of the country. The monument was presented and accepted by the Governor. Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson, of Massachusetts, delivered the oration for New England. Hon. William H. Francis, of New Jersey, spoke for the Middle States, and expressed the pride of his State in General Morgan, who was born on her soil. Senator Hampton announced the regrets of the President, General Garfield, that he could not be present. The statue of General Morgan was then unveiled. This fine piece of bronze, of a golden tint, is the work of J. Q. A. Ward, our best American sculptor, and was cast at the foundry of Bureau Bros. & Heaton, at Philadelphia. Its height is nine feet, and its weight about two thousand pounds. The head is covered with a high cap of fur, having on its left a pompon of feathers. The dress is a loose frock, ornamented with fringes on both shoulders down the front, and on the lower edge all round, and meeting the pantaloons of apparently the same material, ornamented and fringed in corresponding style. The feet are in moccasins. A sheath on the left hip, a sash around the waist, and belts partially hidden by the sash, indicate the rank of the wearer. A powder-horn is slung on the right side of the body. The figure is in act of motion, and is of extreme

dignity, grace and lightness, the usual characteristics of Mr. Ward's work. The movement for the erection of a memorial to the heroes of Cowpens originated in 1856, with the Washington Light Infantry of Charleston; in October, 1880, the corner-stone was laid, with imposing Masonic ceremonies, on a design furnished by Col. Edward B. White, of New York. The base is twelve feet square. On the four bronze panels are inscribed the names of Morgan, Howard, William Washington and Pickens, the heroes of the fight. Long may it stand.

LIEUTENANT A. W. GREELEY, of the Fifth Cavalry is making preparations for the expedition to Lady Franklin Bay, which he is to command. The party, which is to consist of twenty-five persons in all, propose to be absent two years. Steam whalers carry the expedition, which is expected to leave the first of June. Lieutenant Kislisbury, of the Eleventh Infantry, will be second in command, and all the men are enlisted men of the army and under military discipline.

THE attention of historical students and of purchasers of rare Americana is invited to the sale of the historical collections of Henry Stevens, of Vermont, resident at London, and well known for his contributions to American historical bibliography. An elegantly printed and carefully annotated catalogue has just been published by Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, of London. The sale of the first part of the collections covered by the catalogue will take place on five days, between the 11th and 15th days of July of the present year. A catalogue of a second five days sale to take place before Christmas is in course of preparation. Of particular interest among the numerous rare papers are The original manuscript records or Entry Books of the Colony of Virginia, 1752-1757, during the administration of Lieut.-Governor Robert Dinwiddie, containing upwards of 950 separate documents and letters; The transactions of the trustees for the establishment of the Colony of Georgia in America, being the original manuscript records, never yet printed, of their meetings in London from 1738 to 1747, mostly in the handwriting of Sir John Perceval, the first

Earl of Egmont, President of the Board of Trustees, and Mr. Stevens' famous Franklin collection of manuscripts and printed books relating to Benjamin Franklin, comprising nearly three thousand different manuscripts, a large portion autographic, the whole of which are offered in one lot, if not previously disposed of, at the upset price of seven thousand pounds. The catalogue note upon these papers is of rare interest. It is of the utmost consequence that these three collections should be secured for America.

THE Alumni of Harvard College have invited President Rutherford B. Hayes to sit for his portrait to William M. Chase, of New York. Two Presidents of the United States have been regularly graduated from Harvard; John Adams in 1775, and John Quincy Adams in 1787. Full length portraits of these are in Memorial Hall, that of John Adams, by Copley, and of John Quincy Adams, the head by Stuart, and the figure by Sully. President Hayes passed through the Law School and received the degree of Bachelor of Laws in 1845. The committee of the Alumni, William Amory, Chairman, are ready to receive contributions.

THE Quebec Morning Chronicle for April 23, 1881, contains a correspondence between Mr. J. M. Le Moine, the Canadian historian, and of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, and Gen. Horatio Rogers, of Providence, R. I., who is engaged in the editing and annotation of the Journal of Lieutenant Hadden, afterwards Major General, who made the Canadian Campaign of 1776 to 1777 with Burgoyne. The names of the officers concerning whom General Rogers seeks information, are La Corne de St. Luc, Major Campbell, his son-in-law; La Naudière; Captain Boucherville; Captain Monier; Lieut. Samuel McKay; Major St. George Dupret; Lieut. Hetherington or Etherington; Richard Huntley; Dr. Kennedy; Dr. Robert Knox; Rev. Edward Brudenel; M. Landrief; Captain Littlejohn; M. Rousseau, Quartermaster; Commissioners McLean, Weir, and Schaw; Captain Biscerne; Surgeon Weir, Brigadiers General Patrick Gordon, and Nisbet; as to where buried.



(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

**HISTORY OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAVEN TO ITS ABSORPTION INTO CONNECTICUT.** By EDWARD E. ATWATER. 12mo, pp. 611. Printed for the author. New Haven, 1881.

The first Puritan settlement in New England was made under the reign of James, but its founders had been for many years exiles from the mother country. The Salem colony was established by Endicott and emigrants from the mother country in 1628. The project which resulted in the New Haven settlement was begun in 1636. The impulse to it was given by the persecution of the non-conforming clergymen by Laud in 1633. The leader of the colony was John Davenport, a London curate, who, becoming obnoxious to the church dignitaries by his strong Calvinistic theology and great popularity with the middle classes, was compelled to withdraw from preaching, then to lie in concealment, and finally to escape to Holland. Laud seems to have set him down permanently on his black list, and years after his emigration to New England said, "my arm shall reach him even there." Two other non-conforming clergymen, Samuel Eaton and John Lathrop, who had been imprisoned by the High Commission for holding conventicles, found means to obtain release. These three clergymen, with some London tradesmen and their families, formed the nucleus of the company, which, strengthened by others from the rural districts, notably from Kent and Hereford, left London in April, 1637, in the *Hector*, and a consort vessel whose name has not been preserved, and landed in Boston on the 26th June following. They were warmly received in Boston, and urged to remain in the commonwealth, Charlestown and Newbury making them tempting offers, but the new settlers were not content with the state of religious opinion in and about the Puritan capital, and resolved to remove to a distance. A tour of exploration was undertaken by a party under Theophilus Eaton, one of their number, and Quinipiac was selected for the new plantation. Seven men were left at this point, where they were joined by the rest of their comrades and numerous others in the spring of 1638. The narrative of the causes which led to the settlement, and the account of the persons engaged in it, are written in an agreeable style, and abound in philosophic thought.

The foundations laid in church and state by the colony are next treated. Among the settlers there were some who had never separated from the Church of England, and resisted the attempt to conform to the Plymouth model. Samuel

Eaton, their leader, insisted on the maintenance of the right to the freeholders in general to resume delegated authority, while Davenport, though never a separatist, defended the Plymouth idea, that the law-making power should be vested in church members. Ultimately Davenport's views prevailed, and the elective franchise was limited to this class.

The lover of local history will find much entertaining matter in the review of the personnel of the plantation, with its portraits of the old worthies and descriptions of their habits and homes. The towns of Milford, Guilford and Stamford were all outgrowths from the New Haven colony or founded under its auspices. Southold, on Long Island, was settled by a company which emigrated from Norfolkshire, England, under the guidance of the Rev. John Youngs, and sailed direct for New Haven.

The first institution of colonial government at New Haven Mr. Atwater finds to be in the order of court of 6th April, 1642, for a General Court for the plantation in combination with New Haven. The union of Guilford and Milford with the other three under one jurisdiction, formed the body of people which afterwards united with other colonies in a confederation which they called the United Colonies of New England. This political form has a chapter of its own. So have learning and military affairs, domestic and social life. An account is given of the aborigines, and the Stuarts and the Regicides are a theme of interest, romantic as well as historic, in its story of the concealment and occasional reappearance at critical moments of Whalley and of Goffe.

Connecticut procured a charter which covered the territory of New Haven, the jurisdiction of which she claimed in 1660, and it was publicly declared at the General Assembly held at Hartford, Oct. 9, 1662. A controversy ensued, New Haven refusing to come in, and it was not until after a stout resistance that she surrendered her autonomy. On the determination of the royal commissioners of the boundary between Connecticut and New York, New Haven formally submitted on the 14th Dec., 1664. Here this interesting narrative is brought to a close. In the copious appendix are found I., the autobiography of Michael Wigglesworth; II., letter of Nathanael Rowe to John Winthrop; III., an account of the loss of Lamberton's ship and the atmospheric phenomenon which was said to have attended it; IV., seating of the Meeting House; V., Hopkins Grammar School; VI., New Haven's remonstrance to the General Assembly of Connecticut colony; VII., New Haven's case stated. A satisfactory index closes the volume which we most heartily commend.

**THE HISTORY OF BRISTOL, R. I.** The story of the Mount Hope lands from the visit of the Northmen to the present time. By **WILFRED H. MUNRO**. Illustrated, 8vo, pp. 396. J. A. & R. A. REID. Providence, 1880.

In his preface the author of this creditable volume states the plan upon which it was written to have been the subordination of local details to a general account of the development of the State. Prepared in haste, it does not pretend to be exhaustive in treatment, and it is in fact suggestive of a work on a broader scale, for which the author shows ample capacity of research and style. The narrative begins with the visit of the Northmen in the year 1000, when Leif Ericson sailed up the Pocasset river, and landed upon the shores of Mount Hope Bay, and recites also the voyage of Verrazano in 1542. Next follow chapters upon Massasoit and his relation to the colony, and on King Philip's war.

The Mount Hope lands, which had been the domain of King Philip, were granted to the Plymouth Colony, conditioned upon a quit rent of seven beaver skins, or in default fourteen marks annually, upon the estimated seven thousand acres being reserved to the king, the 4th December, 1679, and the patent was confirmed by the king by special grant 12th January, 1680. In 1669 the colony had granted one hundred acres of land to John Gorham on condition of purchase from the Indians. This was effected, and Gorham was confirmed in his grant in 1677. He must therefore be regarded as the first white settler in Bristol. The first minister, Benjamin Woodbridge, was settled in 1680, and a meeting house was erected in 1683. Bristol soon became the most important and flourishing town in the Plymouth colony, which remained in the jurisdiction of Massachusetts until January, 1746, when the five towns of Bristol, Warren, Tiverton, Little Compton, and Cumberland became a part of Rhode Island.

Rhode Island had its romance and its heroes. Colonel Benjamin Church, whose energy and bravery are familiar to every household in the Narraganset territory, lived in Bristol for many years, and held repeated offices of trust. Many of his children were born in it. Later he removed to Fall River, and finally went back to Little Compton, where he died in 1778. The editor of this Magazine and writer of these lines is descended from him in direct line by the mother's side through the Welds of Roxbury. Bristol men were concerned in the destruction of the British armed schooner *Gaspee* in 1772, one of the boldest acts of resistance to the insolent usurpation of British officials, though not the occasion, when the first British blood was shed in the contest which resulted in the independence of America, as Mr. Munro rashly as-

serts. British blood was shed in the streets of New York in the fight on Golden Hill between a party of the 16th British regulars and the Liberty boys in defence of their liberty pole in January, 1770; and the Boston massacre followed in March, 1770. Either of these cities have a better claim to "first blood" in the preliminary scrimmages. Due attention is paid to the conflicts between recognized denominations and the Church of England party.

In common with all the maritime towns on the coast, Bristol was largely engaged in privateering enterprises, for the history of which these pages afford much material; but the slave trade, which was the source from which many of her magnates originally derived their fortunes, is treated with a discretion which the declaration of the author, that this is not a complete history, alone excuses. Occasional biographical sketches are scattered through this entertaining volume, and it is appropriately illustrated with portraits and views. The student will be glad to see the Roll of Honor of Bristol in the late war, and also the roll of her representatives in official stations.

**PENNSYLVANIA IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, BATTALIONS AND LINE, 1775-1783.** Volume I. Edited by **JOHN BLAIR LINN** and **WILLIAM H. EGLE**. 8vo, pp. 794. **LANE S. HART**, State Printer. Harrisburg, 1880.

Pennsylvania is fortunate in the excellent preservation of the important documents which record her service in the war of the revolution, and not less so in the selection of the diligent, capable and thorough scholars whose names, well known in a variety of fields of historic investigation, are attached to this volume. No class of work requires more patient and discriminating labor than the editing of rolls in which names are misspelled and confused to a degree which is beyond the comprehension of those who are not familiar with the minute details of the service to which they refer. The thoroughness with which this task has been accomplished can only be recognized by historical investigators, and we put on record our own gratitude for the elegance and completeness of the editorial work in this volume.

The rolls begin with that of Col. William Thompson's battalion of riflemen, so styled in Washington's general orders, which was enlisted in the latter part of June and the beginning of July, 1775, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress dated June 14th, for raising six companies of expert riflemen in Pennsylvania. The commissions in Thompson's battalion were issued by Congress itself June 25, 1775. Then follow rolls of the battalions numbered first to sixth, of the

Pennsylvania rifle regiment, of the Pennsylvania musketry battalion, and of the State regiment of foot, after which those of the Pennsylvania line, July 1, 1776, to November 3, 1783, first to thirteenth, and of the two additional regiments, Hartley's and Patton's. Each of these rolls is prefaced by a steel portrait of the colonel commanding, and a concise history of its service, including marches and engagements, biographical notices and reminiscences.

In cases where no official rolls have been found, a list has been made from pension records and kindred sources of information. All of the portraits have been engraved for this volume. In addition, there are numerous battle plans. No public or historical library should be without this admirable volume.

# **TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CHAMBER OF COM- MERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEAR 1880-81.** In two parts. Compiled by GEORGE WILSON, Secretary. 8vo, pp. 192- 244. PRESS OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE. New York, 1881.

This admirable annual presents the best statistical view of the progress of the United States in every branch of commerce and in many of the important industries. From the preface we extract some reflections which are worthy of general attention.

## **IMMIGRATION**

With the renewed prosperity of the country, the desire of Europeans to partake of its bounties continues to increase. The tide which turned in 1877, when the number had fallen to less than one hundred and fifty thousand, rose to 457,257 in 1880, nearly equalling the extraordinary figure of 1873; of these 327,371 were landed at the port of New York. From present appearances even this startling number will be surpassed this year, and our next report will probably record the landing of a half million of people, seeking homes and subsistence on these shores. What changes this redistribution of population will affect in the conditions of life in this country and abroad, no one can foresee. Of the immigrants who landed in New York, 104,000 were from Germany; 66,000 from Ireland; 35,000 from Sweden, and 34,000 from England. This last named movement is the most notable, having advanced from 21,000 last year. It is probable that in the future this English immigration will continue to increase, and the proportion between the English speaking race and those of other tongues may be hereafter sustained.

## **TRADE SUMMARY**

**FISCAL YEAR**—The total value of foreign imports into the United States, including specie and bullion, in the year ending June 30, 1880, amounted to \$760,989,056, against \$466,073,777 for the previous year.

The total domestic exports of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1880, including specie and bullion, amounted to \$833,294,246, against \$717,093,777 for the previous year.

The total foreign trade, imports and exports (with foreign exports, \$19,487,331 added), amounted to \$1,613,770,633 for the year ending June 30, 1880, against \$1,202,708,600.

**CALENDAR YEAR**—The value of the total imports of

merchandise into the United States for the calendar year 1880, amounted to \$696,805,867, against \$511,602,796, showing an increase in 1880 of \$185,203,071. The value of the total exports, domestic and foreign, for 1880, amounted to \$889,680,149, against \$765,150,825, showing an increase for 1880 of \$124,529,324. The total foreign trade of the United States, imports and exports, *exclusive* of specie and bullion, for 1880, amounted to \$1,586,486,016, against \$1,278,762,621 in 1879, an increase of \$307,723,395.

The total New York trade, imports and exports of merchandise and the precious metals, amounted in 1880 to the sum of \$964,570,875, against \$795,235,732 in 1879, an increase of \$169,344,143.

The year 1880 will be ever memorable as that in which the foreign trade of the commercial metropolis of the country reached the sum of nearly *one thousand millions of dollars*.

## **BALANCE OF TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES**

In our last report the extent of the balance of trade, or the excess of the aggregate value of exports over imports for the two calendar years 1878 and 1879, was shown to be..... \$556,757,105

Added to this the balance for 1880, viz.:

Exports of merchandise..... \$889,680,149

Less imports..... 696,805,867

192,874,282

Balance of trade in favor of the United States for the three years, ending December 31, 1880..... \$749,631,387

This enormous sum of nearly *seven hundred and fifty millions* is represented by the liquidation of the indebtedness of the United States to foreign nations, and by the addition to our stock of the precious metals. The City of New York has already practically become the centre of trade, or, in other words, the point at which exchanges between the United States and Europe must be finally settled with great advantage to our banking houses.

## **CLEARING HOUSE TRANSACTIONS**

The rise and fall in the magnitude of the transactions of the New York Clearing House are the best possible measure of the expansion and contraction of trade. The large increase in our stock of the precious metals has naturally given an enormous impulse to enterprises of every kind, industrial and commercial, and upon it a large expansion of credit has been legitimately based. Our last report noticed the increase in the Clearing House transactions for 1879 as nearly ten thousand millions over the figures of the preceding year.

The official report shows the transactions for the twelve months of 1880 to have been 38 61-100, an increase for the year of nearly ten thousand millions over those of the year 1879—reported at twenty-nine thousand millions.

## **COIN—CURRENCY—BANKS**

There is no economic subject of such vital importance as the relation of coin to currency. The experience of nations has shown, that as they are strong in the precious metals they are exempt from severe or long periods of financial disaster. Gold has always been and will continue to be, in our day and generation at least, and probably for as many centuries in the future, as it has been in the past, the final solvent of mercantile transactions, individual or national. It is impossible to escape the standard of value.

From the foundation of the Government, the United States has sent abroad over *one thousand millions* of the precious metals of its own production. In the fall of 1873, its stock of coin had fallen, according to concurrent estimates, to one hundred and forty millions of dollars. In the year 1877 the scale began to turn, and, for the first time since the outbreak of the Rebellion (1861), the United States retained a part of its metallic product. In 1878 we not only retained our entire product, but large sums were returned to us from Europe.

In 1879, in the words of the Director of the Mint, the United States "*absorbed almost the entire production of the world for the year.*"

**STATEMENT FOR FISCAL YEAR**—Production, as estimated from the deposits and purchases of gold and silver at the Mint, for the year ending June 30, 1880..... \$67,954,462  
Imports during same period..... 93,034,310

Total addition..... \$160,988,772  
Exports and re-exports during same period, deducted..... 17,142,919

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1880..... \$143,845,853

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1877... \$65,145,241

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1878... 72,951,507

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1879... 60,782,993

Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1880... 143,845,853

Increase in fiscal years 1877-1880, (inclusive)..... \$342,725,594

To arrive at the amount of coin in the country, we again, as in previous reports, take, as the point of departure, the estimate of the late Dr. LINDERMAN, the Director of the Mint, of the amount of gold and silver in the fall of 1873, the lowest point reached, the correctness of which has been generally accepted:

Stock of gold and silver in 1873—Dr. LINDERMAN'S estimate..... \$140,000,000  
Production, 1873 to 1880, (inclusive)..... 428,614,225  
Imports of coin, 1873 to 1880, (inclusive)..... 249,218,342

Total..... \$817,832,567  
Less exports, 1873 to 1880 (inclusive)..... 347,311,542

In the country, June 30, 1880..... \$470,521,025

In the country, June 30, 1879... \$326,675,172

Increase to June 30, 1880..... 143,845,853

\$470,521,025

**CALENDAR YEAR.**—To obtain approximately the amount of gold and silver in the country on the 1st January, 1881, an addition must be made of the increase of the last six months of the year, the production being estimated and the importations taken from the official report of the Treasury:

Amount in the country, June 30, 1880..... \$470,521,025

Estimated production to 1st

January, 1880..... \$34,000,000

Imports, July, 1880, to January, 1881..... 76,329,281

\$110,329,281

Less exports and re-exports,

July, 1880, to January, 1881.. 7,971,285

Increase, July, 1880, to January, 1881..... 102,357,996

Amount of gold and silver in the country,

January 1, 1881..... \$572,879,021

The manner in which this amount is distributed appears as follows:

Coin\* in the Treasury, as per statement of the

public debt, Dec. 31, 1880..... \$148,503,615

Coin held by the National Banks, as by the

statement of the Comptroller of the Cur-

rency, Dec. 31, 1880..... 107,172,900

Coin in outside holding..... 317,202,506

Total, Jan. 1, 1881..... \$572,879,021

\*The statement of the public debt, 31st December, 1880,

does not show the amount of coin held by the Treasury,

but gives the sum of cash in the Treasury at \$223,299,739.

Presuming that the sum due for current liabilities is

held in notes of the United States, the cash balance

available is taken as the amount of coin.

This is the largest amount of gold and silver ever re-

ported in the history of the finances of the United States,

and yet a gold coin is but seldom met with in the ordinary

transactions of life. From this it can only be inferred, that the paper currency of the country is amply sufficient to meet the daily wants of the people. The history of all currencies shows, that the one having the least value will circulate, the natural tendency of man being to hold on to that which he most esteems. The only manner, therefore, by which gold can be brought into circulation, is by withdrawing a part of the already sufficient paper currency.

The report of Hon. HORATIO C. BURCHARD, Director of the Mint, for the fiscal year ended June 30, 1880, gives the amount of coinage as eighty-four million dollars. In the last four years over three hundred millions have been coined and are now available for public use.

The same report gives some valuable data concerning the ratio of coin to paper currency in European countries. In Great Britain the amount of gold and silver reaches in dollars, \$773,150,000, while the entire paper circulation is \$216,495,000, a proportion of more than three and a half of specie to one of paper. In France the amount of gold and silver reaches in dollars the enormous sum of \$2,217,529,600, while the paper circulation is only \$441,460,000, a proportion of five of coin to one of paper. In the United States, be it remembered, that as yet our paper exceeds our coin in the ratio of six to five, being \$671,373,787 of paper to \$572,879,021 of coin.

An examination of the condition of the currency of the Government and of the Banks, gives the following result:

By the official statement of the Public Debt, there were outstanding of old demand and legal tender notes and fractional currency, December 31st, 1880..... \$353,880,291

National Bank Notes, as by statement of Comptroller of the Currency, December 31, 1880..... \$317,424,496

Total paper currency in circulation:

Jan. 1, 1881..... \$671,373,787

Jan. 1, 1880..... 684,365,823

Decrease of paper January 1, 1881..... \$12,992,036

Of which United States notes, \$8,527,378

National Bank notes..... 4,464,658

\$12,992,036

Comparing the statement of the Comptroller, showing

the condition of the National Banks, January 1, 1880, with

the similar statement of the previous year, it appears that

their total loans and discounts stood at \$1,071,356,141

January 1, 1881, against \$933,543,661 at the same date in

1880, an increase of \$137,812,480; that their total resources

and liabilities respectively amounted to \$2,241,683,829

against \$1,925,229,617, an increase or expansion of

\$316,454,202; that the legal tender notes held by them

amounted to \$59,216,934, against \$54,725,096, and that

their stock of specie was \$107,172,900, against \$78,568,341,

a notable increase of nearly thirty millions.

#### THE PROMISE OF THE FUTURE.

It is impossible to leave this brief analysis of the industry and trade of the country without a feeling of wonder, at the extent of progress made in a single year; and when we compare its condition after the collapse of 1873, stripped of its coin and distrustful of even its own destinies, with its present almost plethoric prosperity, the change in less than a decade defies comprehension. Yet this immense movement seems to be but the harbinger of an advance yet more rapid and startling. The unsettled condition of Europe is creating alarm even in communities which have been for centuries undisturbed by the dread of revolution, and the desire to escape the inevitable cataclysm which threatens to upheave the entire structure of modern society, grows stronger with each recurring year of our peace and prosperity. Already the present season there is a certainty that a half million of people will land upon our shores, bringing to us their energies, their skill and their hopes. How long this flood will continue, where or when it will be stayed, no eye can foresee. Yet there is no need for alarm. On this vast continent there is room for all, and the basin of the Mississippi alone has the capacity to hold

and supply the entire population of Europe better than it has been fed hitherto. There are those who dread the influence of this constantly increasing new element in our midst. Undoubtedly it modifies and will continue to modify our national characteristics. But we "*were not born for ourselves alone.*" Out of this apparently heterogeneous and unassimilated mass is gradually rising one of the wonders of centuries, a new cosmopolitan race—the American nation. These pages testify to its marvelous elasticity and power. The promise of its future is of an abundance beyond measurement or estimation.

We commend these striking statements, based as they are upon indisputable statistics, to the careful consideration of our readers. They are an epitome of the condition of the country and its future promise. They show the causes of the remarkable development which has followed the increase of our metal reserve, and while they seek to cast no shadow upon our present prosperity, they point conclusively to the only manner by which that prosperity can be maintained and a revulsion be averted; namely, an absorption in the circulation medium of the country of a large amount of the coin now held by corporations or hoarded by the people. This measure is a reduction of paper currency, whether that of government or bank is immaterial, so that it be made.

THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT [Vol. XI], from May, 1757, to March, 1762, inclusive. Transcribed and edited in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly. By CHARLES J. HOADLY, State Librarian. 8vo, pp. 662. Press of the Case Lockwood and Brainard Company. Hartford, 1880.

These sheets are stated in a prefatory note to contain the first four hundred and fifty-six pages of the ninth manuscript volume of the Public Records of the Colony. Neither the Journal of the Governor and Council, nor that of either branch of the General Assembly, during the years embraced in this volume, is known to exist. Many of the pay rolls of the Connecticut troops who served in the French war are also missing from the archives of the State, and consequently numerous officers who received appointments from the General Assembly have no mention. The appendix contains answers to the Heads of Inquiry, sent to the Governor and Company by the Land Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1761–1762. A thorough index adds value to this carefully compiled volume of public documents, which will be welcomed by historical students.

SUFFOLK DEEDS, LIBER I. 8vo. pp. 330. ROCKWELL & CHURCHILL, City Printers. Boston, 1880.

This verbatim transcript from the Suffolk

Registry of Deeds was printed in accordance with a resolution passed in pursuance of a request of the members of the Suffolk Bar by the Board of Aldermen of the city of Boston, at the expense of the city, the deeds of the county being in "a worn, mutilated and illegible condition."

The work was delegated by the Register to the eminent antiquary William Blake Trask, a gentleman thoroughly conversant with the history of the colony, whose name is a guarantee for its accuracy. Mr. Trask copied the entire book with his own hand, and after comparison with the original the volume was printed, the proof sheets being again compared letter by letter with the original record. This is as it should be. Works of this character are valueless unless absolutely free from error. Mr. Trask acknowledges the invaluable assistance of John T. Hassam, the custodian of the records, in his revision and completion of the indexes of grantors and grantees and of places and subjects, which are in full.

A NAVAL ENCYCLOPÆDIA, COMPRISING A DICTIONARY OF NAUTICAL WORDS AND PHRASES, BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES AND RECORDS OF NAVAL OFFICERS; special articles on naval art and science, written expressly for this work by officers and others of recognized authority in the branches treated by them. Together with descriptions of the principal naval stations and seaports of the world. Complete in one volume. Royal 8vo, pp. 1017. L. R. HAMERSLY & Co. Philadelphia, 1881.

In the preface to this volume it is claimed to be unique in its character, and in fact it differs in treatment from any of the naval encyclopædias which have preceded it, while its comparatively low cost brings it within general reach. It embraces first a complete dictionary of marine words and phrases; second, a large number of original articles on special topics; third, a copious fund of biographical data; and fourth, a gazetteer of the principal naval stations and seaports of the world, a combination which no other similar work presents. The title *Yachts and Yachting*, by C. P. Kunhardt, is admirably treated in an extended manner, and of itself is enough to commend the volume to a large class of our seaboard population. It contains a tabulated list of the famous yachts of England as well as of America.

The editorial work has been well performed by Lieutenant T. W. Carlin. Medical Director Edward Shippen, Rear Admiral George Henry Preble, and other well known naval and profes-

sional men have assisted in the biographical sketches, naval definitions and scientific details. The book should be in the library of every well found merchantman and yacht.

**PIERCE'S COLONIAL LISTS.** CIVIL, MILITARY AND PROFESSIONAL LISTS OF PLYMOUTH AND RHODE ISLAND COLONIES, COMPRISING COLONIAL, COUNTY AND TOWN OFFICERS, CLERGYMEN, PHYSICIANS AND LAWYERS, with extracts from the Colonial Laws, defining their duties, 1621-1700. By Ebenezer W. Pierce. 8vo, pp. 156. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1881.

The increasing interest in all that pertains to the history of the Plymouth and Rhode Island colonies prompted the preparation of this compilation, in which may be found in a brief and tabular form: 1. The names, residences and dates of election or of appointment of the civil officers of the colonial government, of the several counties, and of each town under the head of civil lists. 2. The names, residences and dates of command of the officers in the local militia, and those appointed to serve in the expeditions of the colonies, under the head of military lists. 3. The names of clergymen, physicians and lawyers, and of the localities where they were settled, under the head of professional lists; all of these respectively of the two colonies. We wish that Mr. Pierce may be encouraged, by the sale of this volume, to continue his labors in this direction, as he proposes.

**WORDS AND THEIR USES, PAST AND PRESENT.** A study of the English language. By RICHARD GRANT WHITE. Third edition. Revised and corrected. 16mo, pp. 467. RIVERSIDE PRESS. Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Boston, 1880.

"The faith that dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and thy mother Eunice, and I am persuaded that is in thee, also," would be an appropriate motto for this volume. Mr. White believes in the old England and clings to all its traditions of speech. That there is a great deal of instruction in these pages no one will deny; that the instruction intended is overlaid with much that is of no practical value is equally true. Notwithstanding Mr. White's contempt for his native tongue as spoken in America, it is nevertheless spoken with more general correctness here than in England. Indeed, most of its abuses, whether of matter or manner in phrase or pronunciation, are derived from England itself, and may be traced home to the counties in which they originated. So much for the spoken language. In the written as

many abuses may be found in the columns of the leading English newspapers as in our own.

Language is a creature of necessity and of growth. Like the jackknife which, after the change of every blade and hinge and handle, still remained the same old jackknife, so language until it dies passes through perpetual change—only by a post-mortem examination can we determine what it was in its full vigor and prime. New wants arise with the advance in science, in industry, in art; these wants take form in new invention, and after form take name; in the nomenclature of science the Greek vocabulary is being rapidly made an integral part of all civilized tongues. In the study of the English language nothing is more striking than the superior vigor of the terse English root, while, in its application through grammatical forms the superiority of the clear, direct, logical Latin expression is equally evident. Plain words for plain people is our secret of oratory. The English word of northern root expresses but one idea. The Latin is a picturesque language, its compound words expressing form and color. Hence to the unlettered mass the plain mother tongue will always be the readiest avenue to the heart or mind. Fortunate for us it is that we have no such strict limitation to our language, as the purest would enchain it by. Those familiar with the strength of old French, as compared with that prescribed by the academy, will understand the meaning of this phrase. While the English language retains some of the verve of Gower and of Chaucer, the French of Rabelais and Montaigne has been frittered gradually away by the pedantry of the imitators of the classic school. Long may it be before other than good usage, whether of present or past writers limit the freedom of English thought or English speech, and welcome be the word which expresses a new idea or defines more correctly even a common thought.

**A CHARACTER OF THE PROVINCE OF MARYLAND.** By GEORGE ALSOP. 1666. 8vo, pp. 125. Baltimore, 1880.

This ancient tract, with an introduction by John Gilmary Shea, was reprinted by William Gowan, as No. 5 of his *Bibliotheca Americana*, and is now reissued by the Maryland Historical Society as No. 15 of their Fund publications. A London apprentice, and heartily opposed to Cromwell, Alsop seems to have sailed to Baltimore in 1658, probably transported by order of the Commonwealth. The object of the tract was evidently to stimulate emigration to Maryland, and the cost was no doubt defrayed by merchants interested in the redemption system, by which the passages were paid in consideration of an equivalent in service. As an historical tract, its chief value is in its relation of the Susquehanna Indians.

## REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

STEVENS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. Part I. Catalogue of the first portion of the extensive and varied collections of rare books and manuscripts, relating chiefly to the history and literature of America, including voyages and travels to all parts of the world, and English miscellanies in poetry and prose. 8vo, pp. 229. Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, London, 1881.

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CORPORATION OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF the State of New York, for the year 1880-81. In two parts. Compiled by George Wilson, Secretary. 8vo. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, New York, 1881.

THE HISTORY OF SAINT AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, with an introductory account of the early Spanish and French attempts at exploration, &c., and a description of the climate and advantages of Saint Augustine as a health resort. By William W. Dewhurst. 16mo. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1881.

WEYMOUTH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, No 1. The original Journal of General Solomon Lovell, kept during the Penobscot Expedition, 1779, with a sketch of his life. By Gilbert Nash. Together with the Proceedings of the Society for 1879-80. 8vo. Published by the Society, 1881.

SHARPE GENEALOGY AND MISCELLANY. By W. C. Sharpe. 24mo. Record Print, Seymour, Conn., 1880.

EARLY ILLINOIS. Earliest religious history of Chicago, by Jeremiah Porter; Early History of Illinois, by Wm. H. Brown; Early Society in Southern Illinois, by Robert W. Patterson; The Illinois Bar Forty Years Ago, by Isaac N. Arnold; The First Murder Trial in Iroquois county. Pamphlet. 16mo. Fergus' Chicago Publications, 1881.

PERSONAL NARRATIVES OF EVENTS IN THE WAR OF THE REBELLION. No. 8, Second Series. A Recruit before Petersburg. By George B. Peck, Jr. Soldiers and Sailors Historical Society of Rhode Island. Pamphlet 4to. N. Bangs, Williams & Co. Providence, R. I., 1880.

AN ADDRESS delivered before the Confederate Survivors' Association, in Augusta, Georgia, at its third annual meeting, on Memorial Day, April 26, 1881. By Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., President. Pamphlet. 8vo. Augusta, Georgia, 1881.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE WYOMING HISTORICAL SOCIETY, at the annual meeting, held February 11, 1881, at Wilkes-Barre, Pa. Publication No. 2. Pamphlet 8vo. Robt. Baur. Wilkes-Barre Pa., 1881.

THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: Its founders, patrons and friends. Anniversary address delivered in Hodgson Hall, on the 14th of February, 1881. By Charles C. Jones, Jr. Pamphlet 8vo. Savannah, Georgia, 1881.

SUPPLEMENT TO EARLY HISTORY OF GENEVA. By George S. Conover. Single sheet 8vo. Geneva, 1881.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF THE MINT to the Secretary of the Treasury, for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880. Pamphlet 8vo. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1880.

HAWAIIAN ALMANAC AND ANNUAL FOR 1881. A hand book of information on matters relating to the Hawaiian Islands. Seventh year of publication. Pamphlet 8vo. Thomas G. Thrum. Honolulu, 1881.

THE SPANISH EXPEDITION TO MISSOURI IN 1719. John P. Jones, Keytesville, Missouri. Pamphlet. Kansas City Review, 1881.

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS IN THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Compiled by John W. M. Lee, Librarian and Curator. Pamphlet 4to. Reprinted from Mag. of Am. History. 1881.

ABSTRACT OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF WASHINGTON, D. C., with the annual address of the President for the first year, ending January 20, 1880, and for the second year, ending January 18, 1881. Prepared by J. W. Powell. 8vo. National Republican Printing House, Washington, D. C., 1881.

MCCARTY'S ANNUAL STATISTICIAN, 1881. By L. P. McCarty, Editor and Proprietor. 16mo. San Francisco and New York, 1881.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

KING'S MOUNTAIN AND ITS HEROES. History of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780, and the events which led to it. By Lyman C. Draper. With steel portraits, maps and plans. This volume, a large 8vo, of between five and six hundred pages, is now ready and for sale by the publisher, Peter G. Thomson, Cincinnati. The historical reputation of its author is guarantee of its value and fidelity.



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## THE HISTORY OF THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES

THE ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONIES TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY JAMES M. SMITH, LIEUTENANT COLONEL, U. S. ARMY.

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## MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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### WASHINGTON'S MILITARY FAMILY

THE Continental Congress appointed Washington Commander-in-Chief of the American forces, and gave him Horatio Gates, his old friend and companion-in-arms at the time of Braddock's campaign, as Adjutant-General. The selection of the officers, who were to carry the General's orders to his Lieutenants, to attend to his correspondence, to *see things with the General's eyes and act according to his ideas*, was very properly left to Washington himself. In making such a selection, the commander of an army would naturally look about among the younger men in his circle of friends, to whose integrity, patriotism and knowledge of military affairs he might entrust the duties of such positions as Washington had to offer, those of Aide-de-Camp and Secretary. But where could he expect to find such young men? There were numbers, no doubt, who had the first two qualifications, but none of them had ever had a chance of acquiring military experience. He might have fallen back upon his older friends, many of whom had seen service in the French wars or in Europe, had not Congress forestalled him by appointing these men to higher positions. What else could the General do than to choose his future "second eyes" and mouth-pieces upon a general knowledge of their good character and common sense, trusting that life in camp and active service would bring them military experience? It was somewhat like a reliance upon the old German proverb: "Wem Gott gibt ein Amt, dem gibt er auch Verstand" (to whom God vouchsafes an office, He also gives understanding).

The battle of Bunker Hill and the investment of Boston by the provincial forces of New England, together with the appointment of a military staff by Congress, and a call for troops from the Southern Colonies, led, among others, to the organization of three battalions of Pennsylvania Associated Militia, raised in Philadelphia and its liberties. Washington reviewed these new troops on the 12th of June, a few days before setting out for Cambridge. The day after his departure, the

Philadelphia correspondent of the *Maryland Gazette* wrote: "Major Thomas Mifflin (3d Batt.) is appointed Aid-de-Camp to General Washington, and accompanies the General to the camp near Boston. The active and successful part which this gentleman has taken in the civil and military affairs of the Province of Pennsylvania has endeared him so much to his fellow citizens, that few men have ever left us more universally beloved or regretted." In Washington's *Orderly Book* is found the entry under date Cambridge, 4th July, 1775. "Thomas Mifflin, Esq., is appointed by the General one of his Aids-de-Camp; Joseph Reed, Esq., (Major 2d Philadelphia Batt.) is in like manner appointed Secretary, and they are in future to be regarded and considered as such."

Both men had already made themselves conspicuous by their devotion to the cause of the Colonies. Mifflin sat in the Continental Congress as a colleague of Washington, and Reed was President of the Provincial Convention. Washington knew that they were men of ability, whom he could trust. With one of them, Reed, he was also personally acquainted, although when and how they first met socially is apparently not known. Curwen notes in his *Journal*, May 9th, 1775: "Passed the evening at Joseph Reed's in company with Colonel Washington (a fine figure and a most easy and agreeable address), R. H. Lee, and Colonel Harrison, three of the Virginia delegates." We see that the General and his future Secretary were intimate with each other some time before either had any thought of the later relations. Whether Washington held similar relations to Mifflin cannot be ascertained. The subsequent careers of these first two members of Washington's military family, as well as that of most of their successors, give us a shining proof of Washington's ability to read character.

The General and his suite arrived in due time at Cambridge and found the army, consisting of 16,770 men from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire, and Vermont, bound together only by voluntary acquiescence, but not governed by any common rules of discipline. Washington expresses himself very leniently in his answer to an address of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress (July 4th, 1775), when he says: "The course of human affairs forbids an expectation that troops formed under such circumstances should at once possess the order, regularity, and discipline of veterans;" but he went no less to work to weed out the obnoxious elements, of which Joseph Hawley says "there are too many officers (in the Massachusetts troops) whose characters are very equivocal with respect to courage." Gates, the Adjutant-General, to whom fell the duty of carrying out his chief's ideas of discipline, was so ably assisted

in this work by Washington's young aid, that Richard Lee took occasion to write to Washington: "Not a man of common sense but approves the discipline you have introduced into the camp. . . . I think you could not possibly have appointed a better man to his present office than Mr. Mifflin." Reading Washington's letters from Cambridge, it is easy to see that the Aid had rather an unpleasant task to perform, for he had undoubtedly to investigate charges upon which one Colonel and five Captains of the Massachusetts line were broken, and five other officers were placed under arrest for trial. His connection with Washington as Aid did not, however, last long. After six weeks' service as such, he received the appointment of Quarter-Master General, and shortly afterwards, upon Gates' assignment to a command, was made Adjutant-General of the army.

Whatever may have occurred later to bring Mifflin in opposition to Washington, it is certain that at the time he left the General's military family he was on good terms with his chief, and highly esteemed by him, for, in a letter to Richard H. Lee, Washington says: "I have appointed Mr. Mifflin Quartermaster-General from a thorough persuasion of his integrity, my own experience of his activity, and finally because he stands unconnected with either of these governments, or with this, that, or the other man; for between you and me there is more in this than you can easily imagine."

While the duties of the Aid were more or less of a purely military character, in the execution of which he had a chance of proving his courage and judgment, those of the Secretary were not less arduous, but less adapted to bring him into public notice or enable him to acquire military distinction. It was no easy task for a man like Joseph Reed to come, as a subordinate, into such intimate official contact with a man of Washington's occasionally imperious manner. His acceptance of the post was viewed with surprise and anxiety by his Philadelphia friends, who had no intimation of the step, nor even of his intention of remaining in the army. They considered it injudicious and injurious to his own prospects as well as to the common cause; but their remonstrances were, happily for himself and for his chief, of no avail.

It has been already stated that Washington was well acquainted socially with Reed before their official connection, and the selection of Reed for the post of Secretary, to live with him in the same camp, participate in personal and official anxieties, and to whom he could unbosom himself freely, shows with what confiding affection Washington relied on his friendship and fidelity. This confidence, bestowed without solicitation,

was thoroughly justified and never abused. Reed's training as a lawyer fitted him peculiarly well for a position, in which he had to write innumerable official and private letters, draft reports and other official documents. It cannot in any way diminish our admiration for Washington, if it be known that a large number of the war letters signed by Washington were in reality written by others. The ideas expressed in them were his, and he selected capable men to entrust with the representation of his opinions. From the Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, by his grandson, Wm. B. Reed, we know that Washington exercised a sort of censure over the productions of the pen of his secretary.

Like that of Mifflin, so was Reed's close connection with Washington destined to be of short duration. When he joined the staff and absented himself from his law office, Reed made great sacrifices. He had an extensive practice, which his continued absence threatened to ruin; his wife, a young mother of two infant children and in a delicate state of health, required all the attention of her husband, who had taken her from an affluent English home to the comparative discomforts of a Colonial residence but a few years before; his means were far from ample, and he could expect to increase them only by strict attendance to his business. A temporary return to Philadelphia was therefore decided upon, much to Washington's regret, but with his approval, as expressed in a letter to R. H. Lee, of October 29th, 1775, the day on which Reed left the camp: "To neglect the several lawsuits in which he is engaged as attorney will not only do him a manifest injury in his practice and future prospects, but leave room for complaint of his having neglected his business as a lawyer. \* \* \* That Col. Reed is clever in his business and useful to me, is too apparent to mention. I should do equal injustice, therefore, to his abilities and merits, were I not to add that his services here are too important to be lost, and that I could wish to have him considered in this point of view by your honorable body."

Only a few weeks' experience as commander of the American forces had proved to the General that one Aid-de-camp could not attend to all the duties pertaining to the position. In justice to the New England Colonies, who had furnished so far the greater part of his army, he selected for his second aid an officer of a Connecticut regiment, John Trumbull, son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, who had joined the army as Adjutant of General Spencer's (1st Connecticut) regiment. According to Trumbull's own account, it was probably an accident which brought him to the notice of the General and led to

his promotion. Trumbull was told by his elder brother, the Commissary-General, that the chief desired a correct plan of the enemy's works in front of the American forces on Boston Neck. As he had from childhood been very fond of drawing, he undertook to make a plan and a view, which, upon comparison with a rough draft of the whole works, brought into camp by a deserter from the British army, proving correct, "probably led to my future promotion," writes Trumbull, "for soon after I was presented to the General, and appointed his second Aid-de-camp." A new element, and perhaps not a harmonious one, was now added to Washington's family. A precocious child of strongly puritanical parents, deprived by misfortunes of the youthful pleasures attending a college life at Harvard, of delicate constitution, and perhaps more or less dyspeptic at that time, it can well be imagined that he looked upon many things with disfavor, and was glad when he was relieved from his duties on the Commander's staff. I will let him describe the situation in which he found himself placed, and the sentiments which it called forth: "The scene at headquarters was altogether new and strange to me, for the ruined state of my father's fortune, and the retirement in which he lived at Lebanon, had prevented my having seen much of elegant society. I now suddenly found myself in the family of one of the most distinguished and dignified men of the age, surrounded at his table by the principal officers of the army and in constant intercourse with them. It was further my duty to receive company and do the honors of the house to many of the first people of the country, of both sexes. I soon felt myself unequal to the elegant duties of my situation, and was gratified when Mr. Edmund Randolph and Mr. Baylor arrived from Virginia, and were named Aids-de-camp to succeed Mr. Mifflin and myself."

Trumbull had been an aid from the 27th of July to the 15th of August, too short a time to form an opinion of the character of his brother-aids, but there seems to be little room for a doubt that he shared with his brother Joseph Trumbull, the Commissary-General, a dislike of the Southern officers, especially of Reed. It is not within the scope of this paper to speak of the jealousies between the New England and Southern officers, but any one interested in these details of the history of the Revolution has only to read Joseph Trumbull's letter to Col. William Williams, member of the Connecticut Council of Safety, which, intercepted by the British, was published in *Hugh Gaines' New York Gazette*, of December 9th, 1776. After reading it, it is easy to see that "the stinking pride of Reed," as Joseph Trumbull calls it, had, on more than one occasion during the short period of his staff service, offended



the sensibility of John Trumbull and made him feel entirely out of place.

In August, 1775, Washington writes to R. H. Lee: "The merits of this young gentleman" (Edmund Randolph, who had come with a letter from Lee), "added to your recommendation and my knowledge of his character, induced me to take him into my family as an A.D.C., in the room of Mr. Mifflin." With Randolph came George Baylor, who took Trumbull's place. Both these new arrivals were Virginians, and of families belonging to Washington's circle of friends. Randolph's father, John, had been Attorney-General of Virginia; his uncle, Peyton, King's Attorney for the same Colony. The former remained loyal to the Crown, while Peyton Randolph became an early opponent of the British policy against the Colonies and was chairman of the Committee of Correspondence in 1773, which, by its recommendations, brought about the meeting of the first Continental Congress of 1774, at Philadelphia, of which he was President. John's son, Edmund, the aid-de-camp, did not follow his father, but, under the influence of his uncle Peyton, espoused the American cause, much to the disgust of his father, who disinherited him for it. This is probably what Washington, in the above quoted letter, calls "the merits of the young gentleman." The duties of the two new aids, who were gazetted as such on the 15th August, 1775, did not differ from those of their predecessors, though Washington may have hoped that the one or the other would assist his Secretary, Reed. Receiving visitors at headquarters, looking over military returns for the Adjutant-General, making reconnaissances in the surrounding country, and investigating charges against officers, filled their time. They had not even the satisfaction of distinguishing themselves in an engagement, as their predecessor, Mifflin, had done at Lechmere's Point. The summer and part of the autumn of 1775 passed for them in this way, when Randolph was called South by the death of his uncle Peyton, about a month after Reed, the Secretary, had left for Philadelphia. Reed had not yet resigned his post, but during his absence his duties were performed by a substitute. Of this substitute, and of the other members of the General's family, he gives us himself a description in a letter to Reed, written Nov. 20, 1775, when Randolph set out on the melancholy errand to escort his uncle's body from Philadelphia to the College Chapel at Williamsburgh, Va. "The hint contained in the last of your letters, respecting the continuance in my family—in other words, your wish that I could dispense with it, gives me pain. You already, my

dear sir, know my sentiments on this matter; you cannot but be sensible of your importance to me. \* \* \* You can judge that I feel the want of you, when I inform you that the peculiar situation of Mr. Randolph's affairs obliged him to leave this place soon after you did; that Mr. Baylor, contrary to my expectations, is not in the smallest degree a penman, tho' spirited and willing, and that Mr. Harrison, tho' sensible, clear and perfectly confidential, has never yet moved upon so large a scale as to comprehend at one view the diversity of matter which comes before me, so as to afford that ready assistance which every man in my situation must stand more or less in need of. Mr. Moylan, it is true, is very obliging; he gives me what assistance he can, but other business must necessarily deprive me of his aid in a very short time." Here appear two new names, neither of which has as yet been announced in General Orders, nor are they found gazetted until the following year had run part of its course. Robert Hanson Harrison, of Alexandria, Va., a lawyer by profession, and an old friend of Washington, accepted the General's invitation to become a member of his family, and arrived at Cambridge shortly after Reed's departure. Stephen Moylan, of Philadelphia, had joined the army as an officer of one of the Pennsylvania regiments, and was, at the date of the above quoted letter, "Mustermaster-General to the Army of the United Colonies," by appointment of August 11th, 1775. Both Harrison and Moylan attended to Washington's official correspondence during the winter 1775 to '6, while Mr. Baylor performed the more active out-door duties, and saw that the General's orders and dispositions, which finally led to the evacuation of Boston by the British, were carried out.

In the beginning of March, 1776, Baylor seemed to have desired to see more active service, for Washington wrote to Joseph Reed, on the 7th: "Mr. Baylor, seeming to have an inclination to go into the artillery, and Colonel Knox being desirous of it, I have appointed Mr. Moylan and Mr. Palfrey my Aids-de-camp" (they were gazetted March 6th, 1776), "so that I shall have, when you come, a good many writers about me." But Baylor did not immediately leave the staff, for, as "first aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief," he delivered to the President of the Continental Congress Washington's despatch on the battle of Trenton and a Hessian standard taken there. Congress voted "that a horse properly caparisoned for the service should be presented to Colonel Baylor, and that he should be recommended to General Washington for promotion to the command of a regiment of Light Horse." The appointment followed quickly (January 9th, 1777), and

with it Baylor ceased to belong to the General's family, which had, in the meantime, experienced many changes and additions. Reed had at last completely severed his connection with it as Secretary, having been appointed Adjutant-General, and R. H. Harrison had been gazetted in his place (May 16th, 1776), between whom, and Moylan, Reed directed that the pay accrued to him during his absence should be divided. Palfrey had been appointed Paymaster-General in April, 1776, and Moylan Quartermaster-General in August of the same year.

Meanwhile Richard Cary, of Massachusetts, Brigade Major of the brigade "commanded by the eldest colonel" since August 15th, 1775; Samuel Blatchley Webb, of Connecticut, aid-de-camp to General Putnam, Alexander Contee Hanson, of Virginia, had joined the General's family June 21st, 1776; William Grayson, of Virginia, on the 24th of August, of the same year—the first two and the last named as aids-de-camp, Hanson as Assistant Secretary, under his kinsman Harrison. Their appointments were announced in General Orders. How came these appointments to be made?

In the case of Cary, was Washington influenced by tender reminiscences of his early love for Mary Cary, of Rich Neck, in Virginia, whose distant cousin (their great-great-grandfathers had been brothers) the new Aid was? Or did he only think of rewarding the good conduct and effective service of a well-educated, meritorious officer? Webb, it has been shown, in the biographical sketch in a previous number of this magazine [IV. 427], was indebted for his appointment to Joseph Reed, to whom he had expressed a desire of becoming a member of the General's family.

William Grayson held friendly relations with Washington before the war, and at one time (November, 1774), when Captain of the Independent Company of Cadets in Prince William Co., Va., asked Washington, in the name of his company, to take the command of it as their field-officer. In his case this ante-bellum acquaintance was probably the cause of the appointment. Hanson we must consider as having come in through the influence of Secretary Harrison, to whom Washington had given his confidence as thoroughly as to Reed.

On the 4th of June, 1776, Congress, by their Resolve, established the military status of the Aids and Principal Secretary of the Commander-in-chief, giving them the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

In the summer of 1776, the headquarters of the army were removed from Cambridge to New York, which gave to the younger members of the staff an opportunity of practicing the arts of siege-war. This was no

holiday task. Even if the American Army, then nominally 27,000 strong, had consisted of as many effective and well-armed men, it would have been an utter impossibility to defend with it a line fifteen miles in length, open to attack at every point. Fortifying was, therefore, the order of the day, as well on Manhattan as on Long Island, and the Commander-in-chief is found with his Aids, inspecting the progress of the works, or a single Aid carrying orders to the Engineer in charge, while the two Secretaries and members of the staff, not on out-door duty, are busy with the General's correspondence. On *one* day the *whole* staff was undoubtedly engaged in writing; the day (July 7th, 1776) when the Declaration of Independence was received at Headquarters, and copies were furnished to every Brigade Commander, to be read to his command.

Washington's military family numbered, in the summer of 1776, five members, published in General Orders, and one not yet gazetted, Tench Tilghman, of Maryland. The duties of the staff had become so arduous that, in the orders publishing Harrison's appointment (May 16th, 1776), Lieutenants Caleb Gibbs and George Lewis, of the General's guard, were authorized to deliver the General's commands, with the same effect as if delivered by the regularly appointed aids, and when Colonel Moylan was promoted to be Quartermaster-General, another order told the army that he had not as yet relinquished all the duties of an aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief.

Dr. Samuel A. Harrison, in his Memoir of Tench Tilghman, mentions among the members of General Washington's family at the time when young Tilghman joined it (August, 1776), Richard Kidder Meade, of Virginia. This is apparently a mistake. On the 15th day of November, R. K. Meade was appointed a Lieut-Colonel of one of the six new Virginia regiments, which were to be raised in the "Continental establishment." Sparks, in his list of Washington's aids, made up from the Orderly-books, gives the date of Meade's appointment as March 12th, 1777, and, in the absence of any further evidence, showing that Meade was perhaps a Volunteer Aid, I am inclined to accept the latter date as the correct one.

The frequent changes made in the personnel of Washington's staff during the first year, or year and a half of his command, show us how difficult it must have been for him to secure the continued services of properly qualified men, whom he could not retain in his family without detriment to their further military career. Washington, in the above quoted letter to Reed, described the qualifications which he expected to find in the person holding the responsible position and intimate relation

of his Secretary, and expressed, at the same time, his disappointment that Colonel Harrison did not quite come up to the mark. Although this lack of certain qualifications did not in any way diminish the confidence which the General placed in his Secretary, it must have made him very willing to give this officer such assistants as would, by their aptitude, supplement his deficiencies. One of them was Alexander Contee Hanson (whom Sparks and Force persistently and erroneously call Harrison), afterward Chief Justice of Maryland, who was only a short time in the General's family. The other one was Tench Tilghman, who began his military career as Captain of a Philadelphia company, and served in the Flying Camp in 1776. In August of the same year he joined the General's family, but not in any officially defined position. Harrison's ill-health, which frequently may have prevented strict confinement to the desk, soon gave Tilghman a chance to prove to the General that he was the man for the place. His letters to his father, who was mildly opposed to the son's joining the army, give us glimpses of the life at Headquarters. "I can assure you," he writes, August 15th, "your anxiety on my account is groundless, on the score of expense, company and habit of idleness. As to the first, I live at less, in proportion, than at Philadelphia; the second, my acquaintance is confined to two or three young gentlemen of the General's family; and to the last, you cannot conceive what a constant scene of business we are engaged in." A few days later: "You need be under no apprehension of my losing my health on the score of excess in living. Vice is banished from this army, and the General's family in particular. We never sup, but go early to bed, and are early up." His position, which some of his letters show to have been that of Aid-de-camp as well as of Assistant Secretary, is defined by himself in a letter to his father of October 7th, 1776, from Headquarters, Harlem Heights: "It makes me exceedingly unhappy to think that my situation, which is not more dangerous than that of any other man in the army, should make you and my sisters so uneasy.

\* \* \* I am detained here by no particular engagements entered into with the General; so far from it that, tho' he has repeatedly told me I ought to have a compensation for my services, I have refused, telling him that as I only intended to stay with him as long as the active part of the campaign lasted, I wished to serve as a volunteer. If I had no other tie than that of honor, I could not leave the army just now; but there is another, if possible more binding with me. The General has treated me in a manner the most confidential; he has intrusted me and another gentleman of his family, his Secretary, with

his most private opinions on more occasions than one, and I am sure they have been given in a different manner than they would have been to some others, that the world imagines have great influence over him." And he remained as long as Washington had need of an aid (till 1783), while that other trusted friend of the Commander-in-chief, Secretary Harrison, only left him when, after the conclusion of active operations upon the surrender of Cornwallis, considerations for his own health and the future welfare of his family compelled him to think of his private concerns. "As the friendship between us," he writes to Hamilton from New Windsor, in 1781, "gives you a claim to something more" (in regard to explanations why he left the army), "I shall detail to you, my friend, the more substantial reasons. I go from the army then, because I have found, on examination, that my little fortune, earned by an honest and hard industry, was becoming embarrassed; to attend to the education of my children; to provide for the payment of a considerable sum of money with which I stand charged in the partition of my father's estate; to save a house which I had begun, and because the State of Maryland, in a flattering manner, have been pleased to appoint me to a place very respectable in its nature. \* \* \* They have appointed me to the chair of the Supreme Court."

Want of space does not permit more than a hasty mention of the letters written by one or the other, in 1776, with Washington's approval, to the New York Convention on the state of affairs; of the repeated refusals by both of promotions, which would compel them to leave the General's family; of Tilghman's modesty, displayed when at last, in 1781, he had been persuaded to apply for a commission, and when he asked that it should be dated only from April 1, 1777, that he might not out-rank Hamilton and Meade, who had been recognized as Aids prior to that date. (His commission was issued May 30, 1781; not as Sparks has it, June 21, 1781).

After the fall of Yorktown and the surrender of Cornwallis, Washington sent Tilghman to Congress to announce the glorious news. Tilghman reached Philadelphia late at night, but he was too anxious to deliver the important despatches of which he was a bearer, to heed the time. He tried to arouse President McKean, and in his efforts to do so came very near being arrested by the night-watch as a disturber of the peace. The Congress voted him a caparisoned horse and an elegant sword, which latter is still in the possession of his grand-son, Mr. Oswald Tilghman, of Easton, Talbot county, Maryland. Is it not natural to find that the man to whom Washington wrote January 7th, 1783: "It would

be but a renewal of what I have often repeated to you, that there are few men in the world to whom I am more attached by inclination than I am to you. \* \* \* I shall never be more happy than in your company at Mount Vernon"—is it not natural—to find that Tilghman remained with Washington until the very last moment of the General's connection with the army; that he stood by his side when, at Annapolis, December 23d, 1783, Washington resigned his commission as Commander-in-chief?

The next official appointments, following each other in rapid succession, were of George Johnson, January 20, 1777; John Walker, February 19th, 1777; Alexander Hamilton, March 1st, 1777, and Richard K. Meade, March 12th, 1777, to fill the places vacated by Webb, promoted to the Colonelcy of one of the ten new Connecticut regiments January 11th, 1777, by Grayson and by Cary, likewise promoted.

Of George Johnson, Washington writes to the "old Secretary," Harrison, then absent from camp on sick leave (January 9th, 1777): "I often intended to ask you whether your brother-in-law, Major Johnson, would not, in your opinion, make a good Aid-de-camp to me. \* \* \* I beg you will not consider the connection between you in answering it. I have heard that Major Johnson is a man of education; I believe him to be a man of sense. These are two very necessary qualifications; but how is his temper? \* \* \* Webb waits only the arrival of another aid, to set out for Connecticut." I have not been able to ascertain when Johnson left the staff, but believe it was in September or October of the same year.

John Walker, of Virginia, though gazetted as aid to the Commander, probably never served in that capacity. He came into the camp on a peculiar mission from the Governor of Virginia, the purport of which the following letter of Washington to Patrick Henry hints, and to conceal which he was nominally appointed aid; "Mr. John Walker has, I doubt not, informed you of the situation in which I have placed him, in order that he may obtain the best information, and at the same time have his real design hid from the world, thereby avoiding the evils which might otherwise result from such appointments, if adopted by other States. \* \* \* To avoid the precedent, therefore, and from your character of Mr. Walker and the opinion I myself entertain of his abilities, honor and prudence, I have taken him into my family as an extra aid-de-camp, and shall be happy if, in this character, he can answer your expectations." This letter was written from Morristown, February 24th, 1777, at a time when the American army was reduced to about

5,000 men, almost ready to disband, and no hope for a speedy increase could be entertained. The Virginian deputy had come into camp to examine the condition of the army, and the knowledge of such a mission being tolerated, would have soon drawn deputies from all the other States to Headquarters to harass Washington.

The General was at this time not only Commander-in-chief of the American forces, and as such responsible to Congress for the conduct of the war, but was also an intermediary between the Congress and the States, whose relations to each other were not clearly defined. The duties to be performed by his Aids and Secretaries assumed, therefore, a new character, and became more arduous than ever before. It was under these circumstances that Alexander Hamilton, a young Captain of Artillery, joined the General's family, after having refused similar invitations from two other general officers. He preferred service in the line of the army by which promotion could be obtained, and therefore hesitated when invited to a staff position, but the lustre of Washington's reputation finally overcame Hamilton's ambition, and from the 1st of March, 1777, he is transferred to a sphere of action much more appropriate to the rising statesman. His duties were not merely to execute subordinate parts, but to be the General's exponent in military and political matters in his correspondence and personal intercourse with Congress and the States. The "old Secretary," as Harrison was affectionately called, took the largest share of Washington's correspondence on matters of less diplomatic nature. He seized, with the brief memoranda before him, upon the chief's thoughts, and, sometimes diffusely or hurriedly, placed them in a most perspicuous light. Tilghman was more or less the reporter of facts, and his letters, which sometimes may be supposed to have been written on a drum-head, are always marked by a general air of elegance. "The more elaborate and important communications, which did not proceed from the commander-in-chief, devolved upon Hamilton." This division of labor, which gave to the older members the most onerous and less important tasks, and to the new Aid, called by Harrison with fatherly affection "the little lion," every chance of distinguishing himself, created no invidious rivalry. Harrison was too conscientious a friend of Washington, and Tilghman of too genial and sprightly a character, and too great an admirer of his chief, not to acquiesce in this arrangement. Lafayette gives testimony to the tone of feeling prevailing at this time and to the end of the war in the General's family, by relating, that "during a familiar association of five years, not an instance of disagreement occurred." Yet the connection



of Hamilton with Washington's military family came to an end February 16th, 1781, by a sudden ebullition of temper on Washington's part, and an equally sudden determination by the Aid to return to active service in the line. Nevertheless his relations to the Commander-in-chief quickly resumed the old tone of friendship, confidence and respect, and they are soon again "seen drawn together by mutual regard for the public interests, to the closest and most intimate connections, which terminated only with their lives." Hamilton became the first Secretary of the Treasury under Washington's Administration.

During the year 1777 Washington had about him as his family, R. H. Harrison, Secretary; Tench Tilghman, Alexander Hamilton, Richard K. Meade, of Virginia, who, appointed March 12th, 1777, retired from the Staff and the army early in 1781; Presly P. Thornton, of Virginia, appointed an extra Aid in August, and gazetted September 6th; John Laurens, of South Carolina, appointed October 6th, and last, but not least, the Marquis de la Fayette. It was the year when the troops under the immediate command of Washington met with disasters of every kind, while the Northern Army of the States were victorious in almost every rencontre with the enemy; the year, the end of which found Washington and his army at Valley Forge, when the Conway cabal was disclosed. Of the above mentioned members of his family, Thornton probably left him again before the end of the year, or early in 1778, to make place for another Virginian, John Fitzgerald. The loss of the Orderly Books for part of the year 1777, for the years 1778 and 1779, and part of 1780, and the absence of any mention of their names in the correspondence of Washington or other letters precludes, in several cases, the fixing of the dates of appointments to or retirements from the Staff. Congress having, by a resolve of January 5th, 1778, "authorized Washington to appoint such a number of aids-de-camp as he may from time to time judge necessary, and to make choice of regimental officers, if he thinks proper," it is very likely that whenever his own family were over-burdened with duties, he appointed one or the other officer whom he knew as "confidential" and reliable, his Extra Aid, to be sent with letters or orders to other Generals, or perhaps to the President of Congress, as Fitzgerald was sent with a confidential mission to President Laurens, then at York, Pa., early in February, 1778. Tradition has it also, that Henry Phil. Livingston, son of Phil. Livingston, member of the Continental Congress, was an aid to Washington in 1778, while the truth is, that up to December, 1778, H. Ph. Livingston was only a Lieutenant in the corps of General Washington's guards, and was made a Captain on

December 4th of the same year, to succeed Captain Gibbs, promoted to be Major.

One of the above-mentioned members of Washington's military family in 1776 deserves a more than passing notice as the one who, while *nominally* still an Aid to the Commander-in-chief, was sent abroad on a diplomatic mission. This was the young South Carolinian, John Laurens, son of President Laurens, who, while his son represented the American Commander in the negotiations for the capitulation of Cornwallis, sat as a prisoner of state in the Tower of London, of which the same Cornwallis was the Constable. Laurens, of all the other Aids, held the first place in Hamilton's affections, and a very high one in those of Washington. He joined the army in the beginning of 1777, and distinguished himself at Brandywine and Germantown so greatly that he attracted the Chief's attention, and two days after the battle of Germantown was gazetted, though badly wounded, as an aid-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief (October 6th, 1777). He also took active part in the battle of Monmouth, "where every member of Washington's staff contended, not only for their country, but for the honor of their Chief." On two occasions, besides his mission to France, he absented himself from service on the staff, without ceasing to be a member of it. In August, 1778, he joined Sullivan in the expedition against Newport, R. I., and in October, 1779, Washington writes: "John Laurens (my Aid), who flew to South Carolina when his country was in danger, is appointed Secretary to Dr. Franklin, but whether he will accept or not I cannot tell, as I have not seen him since March." Laurens declined, for though of intrepid spirit, he had not sufficient confidence in his own abilities; yet when in 1780 it was deemed necessary to send to France an officer who, by his intimate relations with the Commander-in-chief and his military position, could give the most reliable information concerning the American army, Laurens was selected and sent, and perhaps his way of dealing with the formal ministers of the French King, upon whom he pressed his demands with more pertinacity and less regard to forms than is usual in diplomatic intercourse, obtained for America more than the suave and formal dealings of a diplomatist could have done. He secured the promise of the aid of the fleet of de Grasse and the additional contingent of troops which at Yorktown determined the struggle for independence.

Returned to America, he again joined Washington, and distinguished himself once more by turning, on the night of the 14th October, with eighty men, the redoubt at Yorktown, while it was assaulted in front

by Lafayette with Gimat, Hamilton and Fish. La Fayette expressed himself as under special obligations to him for his brilliant services. Within a year he fell "a sacrifice to his ardor in a trifling skirmish in South Carolina" (Aug. 27th, 1782, at Chehaw Neck).

"Laurens, passing to an early tomb,  
Looks like a flower just with'ring in its bloom.  
Thy father's pride, the glory of our host!  
Thy country's sorrow; late thy country's boast!  
O, Laurens! gen'rous youth! twice hadst thou bled,  
Could not the ball with devious aim have sped?  
And must thy friends, now peace appears so near,  
Weep the third stroke, that cuts a life so dear?  
That blots the prospect of our rising morn,  
And leaves thy country, as thy sire, forlorn?"

This was the tribute paid to Laurens by his brother-aids, through the pen of one of them, David Humphreys, who joined the staff of the Commander-in-chief June 23d, 1780, when Laurens, who had been taken a prisoner at Charleston, S. C., and paroled, was, by his parole, incapacitated to serve.

At the time when the sessions of the first General Congress of the Colonies made Philadelphia the cynosure of America and a remarkable school for politics, Dr. Benjamin Rush, a friend of Washington, had among his medical pupils a young Irishman whose family, a few years before, had settled in Baltimore. Through his teacher's intimacy with Washington, this young man had the first opportunity "of forming that admiration for the hero of the Revolution which he held so strongly all his life." He followed his idol to the camp at Cambridge to serve as a volunteer surgeon, and served with such distinction that Congress, on the 26th of August, 1776, "resolved that Congress have a proper sense of the merit and services of Doctor McHenry, and recommend \* \* \* to appoint Dr. McHenry to the first vacancy that shall happen of Surgeon's berth in any of the hospitals." Appointed Surgeon of Magaw's (5th Penn.) regiment, he was taken prisoner in "the cursed job of Fort Washington," paroled January, 1777, and released March, 1778. The fact of his having been released was communicated to him in a congratulatory letter from Hamilton, and shortly after he was probably summoned to Headquarters, for on May 15th, 1778, he was appointed Secretary to the Commander-in-chief, without giving up his medical duties, since, in a letter written two days after his appointment, he subscribes himself as "Senior Surgeon, Flying Hospital."

I cannot, I believe, do better than give the words in which Mr. Fred. J. Brown, who had access to the McHenry papers, describes the relations between the General and this new member of his family: "From this time his relations with Washington were always most cordial, and through life Washington wrote to him as to a trusted friend and adviser. McHenry's easy and cheerful temper was able to bear the strain which we suppose must sometimes occur between two persons thrown so closely and so constantly together, in a position of social equality and military inequality; a strain which we know, from Hamilton's experience, might become extreme when Washington allowed his temper to escape from the stern control under which it was generally kept. The hero remained a hero to at least one of his Aid-de-camps."

McHenry's duties were principally of the same kind as those which had been allotted to Harrison and Tilghman, as Secretaries, and to the other Aids; only, as he held as yet no military rank (except that of Surgeon), we must infer that he was more Secretary than Aid. Military rank was not conferred on him, nor was his status settled until May 25th, 1781, when Congress voted to him the rank of Major in the line of the army, to bear date October 30th, 1780, giving, at the same time, his brother-aid, Tilghman, the rank of Lieut.-Colonel. He had, however, practically ceased to be a member of the General's family, for in August, 1780, Washington gave him to La Fayette as Aid, and with the latter he continued to the end of the war. It has been stated, and a letter from General Greene, of June 24th, 1781, seems to confirm the statement, that Washington, fearing the Marquis' youthful ardor might lead the army entrusted to him to irreparable loss, placed McHenry, a "sensible, judicious man, of unquestioned intrepidity, and of a temper which, tho' firm in the support of principles, was full of moderation and amenity," near the Marquis, that he might, by his prudent advice and experience in military affairs, act as a damper upon La Fayette's possible over-zeal. Be that as it may, McHenry's pleasant disposition and character soon made impression on the Marquis, who in after years alluded to him as the "confidential friend in my military family."

David Humphreys, from Connecticut, the poet of Washington's aids, joined the staff without military rank in the line of the army. The battles of the war had been fought, and negotiations for peace had already begun, when Congress, on the 12th November, 1782, ordered that a commission be issued to him as Lieut.-Colonel, to bear date from June 23d, 1780, although he had joined a few weeks previously. In a

poetical letter to a young lady in Boston, written at New Haven, Conn., on his way to Headquarters in April, 1780, he says:

"I go wherever the battle bleeds,  
To-morrow—(brief then be my story)—  
I go to Washington and glory;  
His Aid-de-camp" \* \* \*

Of genial temper, and a thoroughly brave man, he soon found his way to the hearts of his Chief and brother-aids. He was at Yorktown with his chief and wrote an epitaph on Scammel, the one brilliant sacrifice of the siege. With Tilghman, he shared the honor of communicating to Congress the glorious news of Cornwallis' surrender. Tilghman announced the surrender; Humphreys brought the details.

"Advice being received," says the Journal of Congress, November 3d, 1781, "that a messenger was arrived from Headquarters, the President resumed the Chair, and Col. Humphreys, one of the General's Aids, was introduced, and delivered a letter from the General, of 27th and 29th Octbr., containing returns of prisoners, artillery, arms, ordnance, etc., surrendered by the enemy at York and Gloucester, 19th October; he also laid before Congress 24 standards taken at the same time, and withdrew." In his letter to Congress Washington recommended to its notice his Aid, for his attention, fidelity and good services, and on November 7th it was resolved "that an elegant sword be presented in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, to Col. Humphreys, A.D.C. to the Commander-in-chief."

Col. Humphreys remained with Washington until the latter resigned his commission, and then accompanied him to Mount Vernon, being the last officer of the army who parted from the General. He afterwards returned and resided at Mount Vernon during the whole time which elapsed between the adoption of the new Constitution and Washington's election to the Presidency. He was the only person, their servants excepted, who attended the President to New York, then the seat of government, to take the oath of office.

Meanwhile the time had come when Harrison, as stated above, the "Old Secretary" felt obliged to leave the Commander's family. His place had to be promptly filled. Why Tilghman was not promoted to be Chief-Secretary, I have not been able to discover. Perhaps it was offered to him and, with his known modesty, he declined, or perhaps the Secretaries stood on an equal footing. Washington selected for the position an elder brother of his former Aid, John Trumbull, Jonathan Trumbull, Jr., then Paymaster of the Northern Department.

"Col. Harrison," he writes to Jonathan Trumbull from New Windsor, April 16th, 1781, "who has acted as my Secretary since the beginning of '76, has accepted an honorable and profitable appointment in the State of Maryland, and is gone to enjoy it. The circle of my acquaintance does not furnish a character that would be more pleasing to me as a successor to him than yourself. I make you the first offer, therefore, of the vacant office, and should be happy in your acceptance of it. The pay is \$100 a month; the rations those of a Lieut.-Colonel in the army. No perquisites appertain to the office. The Secretary lives as I do, is at little expense while he is in my family, or while absent on my business, and is in the highest confidence and estimation from the nature of his office." Trumbull accepted, but his appointment was not promulgated in general orders until June 8th, 1781. He remained Washington's Secretary until the end of the war. Three other appointments of Aids quickly followed, to fill the vacancies caused by the retirement of Hamilton and Meade, and the absence of Laurens: David Cobb, of Massachusetts (June 15th, 1781); Peregrine Fitzhugh, of Virginia (July 2d, 1781), and William Stephens Smith, of New York (July 6th, 1781). Fitzhugh's appointment seems to have been only a temporary one, for he disappears quickly from all notice, while the other two were with the General till 1783. An order of battle of the allied armies, dated August 1, 1781, giving the following list of aides-de-camp to the Commander-in-chief: Tench Tilghman, Lieut.-Colonel by brevet; David Cobb, Lieut.-Colonel 9th Massachusetts Regiment; David Humphreys, Captain 4th Connecticut Regiment; William S. Smith, Lieut.-Colonel by brevet; Peregrine Fitzhugh, Lieutenant Maryland Dragoons; Jonathan Trumbull, Esq., Secretary. This was undoubtedly the arrangement for the summer campaign of that year.

In one respect, Cobb took the place of McHenry. He too had been a practising physician before entering political and military life, and while serving as Lieut.-Colonel of Jackson's regiment in New Jersey and Rhode Island, during 1777-8, must have had as frequent occasions to prescribe for his men as he probably had for his brother-aids, when a member of Washington's family. Although one of the last group of Aids surrounding Washington, he was not present at Annapolis, when his Chief surrendered his commission. It was the General's desire that he should not be. "Equally unexpected by them," Washington writes to Robert Morris, January 4th, 1784, "as it appeared just in my eye to do it, I have given my late Aids, who attended me from the seat of my military command, one hundred dollars each, to bear their expenses

home. I could not think it reasonable that, from their attachment to me, or from motives of etiquette, they should incur the charges themselves. \* \* \* Cobb I would not suffer (on account of his domestic and other concerns) to proceed further than Philadelphia."

The other "late Aids" were Lieut.-Colonels Tench Tilghman and David Humphreys, Wm. S. Smith, Benj. Walker, and Major Henry Baylies, Extra Aid. Colonel Wm. S. Smith had seen active and staff service from almost the beginning of the war. Aid-de-camp to Sullivan from 1776 to 1778, Lieut.-Colonel of the 13th Massachusetts regiment to March, '79, he joined Baron Steuben's staff after having recovered from wounds received in battle. While acting as Sub-Inspector under Steuben Congress placed him at the disposal of the Commander-in-chief, who, aware of his good services and abilities, soon invited him to become one of his family. I have been vainly endeavoring to discover whether the tradition has any foundation that Colonel Smith sat to Stuart, the painter, for Washington's body, as Colonel Benj. Tallmadge is said to have sat to Trumbull for his legs. But we have the word of a contemporary, a former brother-aid, for the statement that Colonel Smith was in command of the Union Brigade at Scotch Plains, N. J., during the military proceedings occasioned by his old Chief's demise.

The addition of Colonel Smith closes the circle of the officers who attended the Commander-in-chief during the whole period of active campaigning, sharing with him fatigue and anxiety, danger and comfort in camp, city, and on his occasional visits to Mount Vernon. They are the men, pre-eminently, of whom Washington, in his address to the President of Congress, December 23d, 1783, said: "It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate." But there are still three other members to be noticed. The names of two, Walker (January 25th, 1782) and Baylies (May 13th, 1782) have already been mentioned; I can, however hardly do more than give their names and dates of appointment, for of Baylies I can find nothing, and of Walker only that he was an Englishman who joined the American Army as a Captain in Livingston's regiment of the New York line, for some time Aid to General Steuben, and probably at his solicitation, was invited into Washington's family. Their duties could not have been of the dangerous nature attending the executions of a General's orders in a battle, or in a country overrun by an enemy. When they were called to their station, the turmoils of war had practically ceased, and it was more important that Aid should be a rapid penman, than a swift horseman.

The correspondence of Washington, never small from the day when he first took command of the army, of course gradually increased, and the General, a man of method, disturbed at not being able to bring order into his accumulated papers, finally had to apply to Congress for a remedy. He wrote to the President of Congress:

"NEW WINDSOR, 4 April, 1781.

"SIR: The business that has given constant exercise to the pen of my Secretary, and not only frequently, but always, to those of my Aids-de-camp, has rendered it impracticable for the former to register the copies of my letters and instructions in books. \* \* \* Unless a set of writers are employed for the sole purpose of recording them, it will not be in my power to accomplish this necessary work. \* \* \* But to engage these, without the sanction of Congress, I have not thought myself at liberty."

He suggests that the business be done away from the army, in some "quiet retreat," under the supervision of a man of character, in whom entire confidence can be placed. In conformity with this suggestion, Congress authorized the employment of an additional confidential Secretary and as many writers as necessary. Washington's choice fell upon Colonel Richard Varick, before the war a lawyer in New Jersey; then a Captain in McDougall's New York regiment, later Military Secretary to General Schuyler, and Aid to Arnold when the intentions of the traitor were discovered. Although Arnold, in a letter from "on board the Vulture Frigate," acquitted Varick and Colonel Franks, his other Aid, of all participation in and knowledge of his nefarious plans, they called for a Court of Inquiry. The Court decided that "their conduct had been unimpeachable," and that nobody doubted their fidelity and patriotism. To him Washington confided the task of arranging his papers according to a plan furnished by the General himself, and during two years and a half Colonel Varick, with three or four assistants, was engaged in this not less laborious than confidential and important work.

Although this is intended only as a sketch of "Washington's Military Family,"—that is, of his Aids and Secretaries—I may be allowed to stretch the meaning of Military Family just far enough to include the names of the persons who attended to the creature comforts of the General and his family and guarded them against danger in camp and on marches. Of the latter, I have already named Lieutenants Gibbs (who rose to the rank of Major), Lewis and Livingston; two other officers of the General's guard were Major Tallmadge (mentioned in the February Number, 1881, as one of the Aids), and Lieut. Colfax. Of these Tallmadge is conspicuous as having Washington's perfect confi-



dence. He managed his secret correspondence with persons in New York City within the lines, was sent on special expeditions where dash and prudence were required, and showed his soldierly character and judgment by his interference with his superior officer, Jameson, without which Arnold's pass to Andre might have been respected, and the plot to deliver up West Point have been successful. Gibbs acted from June, '76, and later Colfax, as caterer for the General's household, after his steward, Ebenezer Austin, had left him, and his own and the efforts of his Aids to engage another had proved fruitless. Under the caterer, at first a Mrs. Smith, and from March, 1777, a Mrs. Thompson, were housekeepers. Mrs. Thompson was the wife of a famous New York innkeeper, John Thompson, known before the Revolution as "Scotch Johnny." He kept a house—half tavern and half oyster house—at the Whitehall, which was the favorite resort of the St. Andrews Society. Nor should mention be omitted of Bazaleel Howe, of the Virginia line, who served as an auxiliary lieutenant on Washington's personal guard, in the last year of the war, and according to a certificate from the General, printed in the Magazine [IV, 157], commanded the escort which carried his baggage and papers to Mount Vernon at its close.

Washington, in 1783, signified his desire to return into the hands of Congress the commission given him over eight years before. The Congress was then sitting at Annapolis, the capital of the State of Maryland. The order of Congress regulating the ceremony prescribed that after the arrival of the General had been announced to the Secretary, this officer should introduce the General, "attended by his Aids," into the hall of Congress, and conduct him to a chair, where he was to sit with an Aid on each side. There was neither military nor civic display; about twenty members were gathered; an audience, mostly ladies, sat around Mrs. Washington in the gallery, when, as arranged, the Commander-in-chief entered the hall with the remnant of his staff, Tench Tilghman and David Humphreys, William S. Smith, Benj. Walker, and perhaps, also, Henry Baylies. Tilghman and Humphreys took their places on each side of his chair, and the words of the simple, dignified address, in which he surrendered his supreme command, were spoken by their Chief. Then came the leave-taking, harder even than the parting in New York a few weeks before, after which Washington, accompanied only by the faithful Humphreys and his own servants, turned his horse's head towards Mount Vernon.

"Ye brave Co'umbian bands ! a long farewell.

Well have ye fought for freedom—nobly done  
Your martial task—the meed immortal won,  
And time's last records shall your triumphs tell.

"Once friendship made their cup of suffering sweet—

The dregs how bitter, now those bonds must part !  
Ah ! never, nevermore on earth to meet ;  
Distill'd from gall that inundates the heart,  
What tears from heroes' eyes are seen to start !

"Ye, too, farewell, who fell in fields of gore,

And chang'd tempestuous toil for rest serene ;  
Soon shall we join you on the peaceful shore,  
(Though gulfs irremeable roll between,)  
Thither by death-tides borne, as ye full soon have been."

BERTHOLD FERNOW

## ST. MÉMIN PORTRAITS

### JAMES MCHENRY, MILITARY SECRETARY TO WASHINGTON

The impression now presented is from the original copper plate etched by St. Mémin in 1803, and in the possession of J. Howard McHenry, of Baltimore, grandson of the Secretary. It appears as No. 336 of Dexter's photographic reproductions. Dr. McHenry, the son of Daniel and Agnes McHenry, was born at Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, November 16, 1753. After receiving a classical education in Dublin, he came to Baltimore about 1771. He was a student of medicine in the office of Dr. Benjamin Rush, at Philadelphia, when the revolution broke out, joined the army as an assistant surgeon, and in the beginning of the year 1776, was attached to the army hospital at Cambridge. Appointed Surgeon of the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion, commanded by Colonel Magaw, he shared the fate of the garrison at the fall of Fort Washington, November 16, 1776. He was paroled the 27th January, 1777, but was not exchanged until the 5th March, 1778. On the 15th May following, he was appointed Secretary to Washington, and remained in his military family until August, 1780, when he was transferred to the staff of Lafayette. He was with Lafayette during the brilliant Virginia campaign against Cornwallis in 1781, and was present at the surrender of Yorktown. After the war Dr. McHenry was a delegate from Maryland to the Continental Congress, 1783-1786, a member of the Federal Constitution Convention in 1787, and was appointed Secretary of War by Washington on the transfer of Timothy Pickering to the State Department in 1796. Dr. McHenry held the portfolio of Secretary of War till May, 1800, when, in consequence of a difference of views with President Adams on the French question, he resigned. He died at Baltimore on the 3d May, 1816, at his residence "Fayetteville," named after his beloved friend and military chief.





## WASHINGTON'S ADDRESS ON RESIGNING HIS COMMISSION

The original draft of this interesting document was found among the papers of James McHenry, an officer of the Revolution, and at the time a delegate from Maryland, of which State he was a native, to the Continental Congress, in which he served from 1783 to 1786. He was also a member of the Federal Constitutional Commission in 1787, and held the post of Secretary at War from 1790 to 1800 in the administration of John Adams. Mr. McHenry was a member of the committee appointed by Congress to make arrangements for the ceremony of resignation. In view of the fact that McHenry had been one of the Secretaries of Washington during a part of the war, and that this draft was found among his papers, the presumption is permissible that the General intrusted it to him for perusal and perhaps for comment.

The address, as delivered, bears the date of Annapolis, December 23, 1783. A comparison of the original draft with the text, as printed by Spark's (*Washington's Writings*, VIII., 504), shows an entire conformity with the amended draft now presented. The ceremony took place at Annapolis, where Congress was then in session. The Committee consisted of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Gerry, and Mr. McHenry. In conformity with their report, the Congress resolved on the 22d December that the public audience of General Washington, as the ceremony is styled, should be conducted as follows:

1. The President and members are to be seated and covered, and the Secretary to be standing by the side of the President.
2. The arrival of the General is to be announced by the messengers to the Secretary, who is thereupon to introduce the General, attended by his aids, into the Hall of Congress.
3. The General, being conducted to a chair by the Secretary, is to be seated, with an aid on each side standing, and the Secretary is to resume his place.
4. After a proper time for the arrangement of spectators, silence is to be ordered by the Secretary if necessary, and the President is to address the General in the following words: "Sir; the United States in Congress assembled are prepared to receive your communications." Whereupon the General is to arise and address Congress; after which he is to deliver his commission and a copy of his address to the President.
5. The General having resumed his place, the President is to deliver the answer of Congress, which the General is to receive standing.
6. The President having finished, the Secretary is to deliver the General a copy of the answer, and the General is then to take his leave. When the General rises to make his address, and also when he retires, he is to bow to Congress, which they are to return by uncovering, without bowing.

The proceedings were conducted in the most stately manner. General Washington was introduced to Congress and pronounced his address. He then advanced and delivered to the President his commission and a copy of his address, and, having resumed his place, the President returned the following answer :

Sir, The United States, in Congress assembled, receive with emotion too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities, under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war. Called upon by your country to defend its invaded rights, you accepted the sacred charge, before it had formed alliances, and whilst it was without funds or a government to support you. You have conducted the great military contest with wisdom and fortitude, invariably regarding the rights of the civil power through all disasters and changes. You have, by the love and confidence of your fellow citizens, enabled them to display their martial genius and transmit their fame to posterity. You have persevered till these United States, aided by a magnanimous King and nation, have been enabled under a just Providence to close the war in freedom, safety and independence ; in which happy event we sincerely join you in congratulations.

Having defended the standard of liberty in this new world, having taught a lesson useful to those who inflict, and to those who feel oppression, you retire from the great theatre of action with the blessings of your fellow citizens ; but the glory of your virtues will not terminate with your military command ; it will continue to animate remotest ages.

We feel with you our obligations to the army in general, and will particularly charge ourselves with the interests of those confidential officers who have attended your person in this affecting

We join you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy and respectable nation. And for you we address to him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all his care, that your days may be happy as they have been illustrious, and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.

General Thomas Mifflin, the eleventh President of the Congress, who had been elected to the post on the 3d November preceding, had the honor of presiding on this memorable occasion. By one of the caprices with which history abounds, it fell to Mifflin, who had been a leader in the party who sought to remove Washington, now to be the mouth-piece of the gratitude of the nation.





Mr President

The great events of  
which my resignation depended.

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of 1861 and my  
harvest men

myself be  
into their

R  
K.

Country. ~

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fraction the Egyptian people I accept  
ted with diffidence — A diffidence  
in my abilities to accomplish so  
arduous a task, which however  
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Union, and the patronage  
of other Cause, the sup  
remacy Power of the  
The successful termina  
tion of the war  
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escape said my  
for the interposition of  
Providence, and the assistance I  
have received from my Countrymen  
increases with every review of  
the momentous contest. —

While





While I repeat my obligations to the Army in general, I stand in justice to my <sup>own</sup> feelings and to a Nation <sup>which</sup> has <sup>been</sup> the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the Fortt men who have been attached to my regiment during the war. — It was impossible the choice of confidential officers to compose my family should have been more fortunate. — Permit me Sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice of Congress. —

etc. in the ~~last~~ to ~~close~~ ~~my~~ ~~own~~ ~~life~~  
act of my official life, by commending  
the interests of our dearest Country to  
the protection of Almighty God, and those  
who have the ~~privilege~~ ~~of~~ ~~them~~ to his  
Holy keeping. —

Having now finished  
the work assigned me, retire from  
the great theatre of action — and bid-  
ding an affectionate ~~farewell~~ ~~farewell~~  
to this August body, under whose orders  
I have so long acted, I here ~~offer~~ ~~express~~  
my Commifrice, and take my ~~leave~~  
leave, glad the employments of pub-  
lic life. —



## PEN AND INK PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON

The curious and interesting portrait of which an engraving is now presented, is the property of Col. Benj. S. Ewell, LL. D., the present President of William and Mary College. It bears an inscription giving its history, as follows:

"This sketch of General Washington was made about 1790, at his dinner table by one of his guests, and presented to the late Frank Lowndes, of Georgetown, D. C., by Colonel Morris, of Revolutionary memory, also a guest, and present when the picture was taken. It was carefully preserved by Mr. Frank Lowndes, and after his death by his son, the late Francis Lowndes, of Georgetown, D. C., who recently died at an advanced age, as a memorial of such an occasion, and because of the estimate in which it was held by General Washington's contemporaries as an accurate and faithful likeness."

From subsequent information it is reasonable to suppose that this portrait was made by Benjamin H. Latrobe, the distinguished architect of the United States Capitol, which gives it additional interest. It was given to its present owner by his sister, who received it from Mr. Francis Lowndes, their uncle. From the time of the drawing of this sketch up to a few years since, it was seen by but few people, so greatly was it prized by its several owners. With Col. Ewell's permission, it was photographed for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and a few friends. From one of these photographs the engraving has been made for the pages of this Magazine.

CHARLES WASHINGTON COLEMAN, JR.



## THE MILLER HOUSE

### WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT THE WHITE PLAINS

After Monday's battle, as the fight at Harlem Plains on the 16th of September, 1776, was called by the American officers, in subsequent correspondence—"this scrape," as it is termed by Sir Henry Clinton—there was a pause in active operations, and for a time no outbreak of the "ungovernable impetuosity" of the British light troops occurred. The Americans were busy strengthening their works on Harlem Heights above the Hollow-way, and in completing Fort Washington, which was fated two months later to pass into the hands of the British, after a brave, brief but useless defense against their whole army. The judgment of Washington was adverse to holding this position, but he allowed himself to be overruled by Genl. Greene, who was confident that it was tenable, or that in the last emergency the garrison and stores might be brought off. The result justified Washington and mortified Greene; both garrison and stores were lost to the patriots, from the time Knyphausen, with his Hessians, took possession of Fordham Heights, on the 2d of November. These events have already been narrated in this Magazine [I., 65]. General Howe did not care to attempt a direct assault upon the American lines above Harlem, and for a time the two armies watched each other from their several outposts; the Americans, from the Point of Rocks looking southward over the plains, where the ungathered harvest of the husbandman stood withering in the heat and chill night dews of burning September, a sore temptation to foraging parties, until October, when the Americans, under a strong guard, secured it all. From their outpost at the Black Horse Tavern, near the McGowan House, known to New Yorkers of this day as the convent of the Sacred Heart, in the Central Park, destroyed by fire in the winter of 1880, the British advance guard scanned the plains to the northward, their left resting on the Hudson at the Jones House, their right at Horens Hook, with headquarters at the Beekman House, 54th street and First avenue; the city devastated by the fire of the 21st, and described by an eye witness as a "most dirty, desolate and wretched place," in their hands; all the islands occupied by their troops; both rivers commanded by the guns of their fleet, and patrolled by their armed boats. These rather small results were so far the measure of success

achieved by the greatest armament which had ever been seen on the American coast. Washington held the lines of interior communication; with the rich, populous and patriotic Eastern States; the whole of the Hudson river, with its rocky gateways in the Highlands, which controlled the approaches to New Jersey and the southern colonies. His outposts, pickets and patrols, watched and guarded every headland, point or inlet, along the sound to the eastward, while, from his lofty eyrie at the Morris House, he himself could scrutinize the movements of the fleet in the East River, toward his rear; and his military foresight warned him that, by this course, he might look for Howe's next movement, and with that patience which, in this early portion of his career, gave seeming color to whispered insinuations (the offspring of envy and malice) that he lacked in energy and enterprise, so persistently dinned into the ears of Congressmen, and so eagerly written up by a cabal in the interest of General Charles Lee, who proved later his desire and capacity to anticipate the treachery of Arnold. Howe was too skillful an officer to unmask his plans prematurely, knowing that his preparations on the East River were made almost in full view of the Americans. He, by way of diverting their attention from his true objective, on the morning of the 9th of October dispatched two forty-four gun ships, the Roebuck and Phoenix, with one frigate and their tenders, up the Hudson. These passed unharmed by the fire of Forts Washington and Constitution (Fort Lee), broke through the American chevaux de frise, drove before them the ships and row galleys, which were all beached, burned, or captured, and then obtained command of the river. This movement caused alarm in Congress for the safety of Philadelphia, and Lee, who was held in high esteem and favor, urged that a portion of Washington's army should be detached to Trenton and put under his command. On the 11th of October great activity was observed within the British line, and early on the 12th nearly one hundred large boats full of Hessian troops left Montresor's (Randall's) Island, and passed up the sound to Frogs Neck, where they disembarked and attempted an advance inland. Frogs or Throgs Neck is at low water a peninsula, and at high water an island, joined to the mainland by a causeway. The Americans under Col. Hand tore up the planks of the bridge over the creek at Westchester Mills, and being reinforced, made so stout a resistance that the Hessians, under Knyphausen, fell back over the causeway, at the end of which they threw up earth works, and camped.

That Washington had rightly divined Howe's next probable movement was manifest, when, on the afternoon of the 13th, a large fleet

of forty or more sail anchored off Frogs Point. During the preceding month he had passed much of the time in the saddle; had visited repeatedly all the outposts along the sound, and had thoroughly explored the entire ridge of hills to the west of the Bronx River, between Kings Bridge and White Plains, to North Castle, Croton, Peekskill and Kings Ferry, and had also crossed the river and visited the posts of General Greene in New Jersey. Along the ridge first mentioned he had laid out the sites for entrenched camps to be occupied by his troops when Howe should make a movement necessary. By general order of October 14th, Col. Bailey's regiment was ordered to join General Clinton's brigade, then under command of Col. Glover of the famous Marblehead regiment, who was posted in the vicinity of New Rochelle, each to take their tents and cooking utensils and lose no time; Col. Lippett's regiment to join McDougall's brigade already in Westchester, and the two Connecticut regiments, under the command of Col. Storms and Major Greaves, to be ready to march into Westchester at a moment's notice. All his dispositions and movements were calculated with regard to those of Howe, which were not yet fully developed, his control of the water enabling him to change his apparent direction at any moment, and divert the attack to the Jersey and southern line.

The movement of the British up the East River continued, and from appearances it seemed that they had resolved to force their way inland from Frogs Point, but their demonstration in this direction proved a mere feint to cover their real intention. They embarked from the further side of the point, landed at Pell's Point, a few miles above, and advanced rapidly to Eastchester, within two miles of New Rochelle, being opposed on their march by Col. Glover's command in a sharp but brief action, in which the Americans, after behaving with a coolness and spirit which enlisted the praise of Washington in general orders, were compelled to give way before superior numbers.

On the 16th of October a council of war was held at the headquarters of General Lee, who was in command of the troops north of Kings Bridge. It included the General-in-Chief, Major Generals Lee, Spencer, Heath, and Sullivan, and Brigadier Generals Lord Stirling, Mifflin, McDougall, Parsons, Nixon, Wadsworth, Scott, Fellows, Clinton, and Lincoln. The question was stated in the following manner: "Whether (it having appeared that the obstructions in the North River have proved wholly insufficient, and the enemy's force is now in our rear at Frogs point) it is now deemed possible in our situation to prevent the enemy cutting off the communications with the country

and compelling us to fight them at all disadvantages, or surrender prisoners at discretion?" Truly a momentous question and a perilous position. Every officer except George Clinton agreed that the position was untenable, and he afterward was "vehement" in support of the decision of the council. Congress had constantly urged upon Washington the importance of holding New York, but political advantages yielded to military exigencies. As we have seen, Howe was encamped on the 18th, with his left on Hutchinson's River, near Eastchester, and his right near New Rochelle, a position well in the rear of the American left. Heath, in his diary, expresses surprise that he did not at once extend his line to the Hudson; a movement which would have enveloped Washington's entire command, cut it off from its base of supplies, forced it to a precipitate retreat across the Hudson, under the fire of the British fleet, or possibly have subjected it to the fate that subsequently overtook the garrison of Fort Washington. It must have been either captured en masse or disbanded. Washington's precaution and diligence were now apparent in the celerity and precision of the American advance along the line of hills west of the Bronx. On the 21st Howe resumed his leisurely march toward the White Plains, now the objective point of both armies, passed through New Rochelle to a point on the hills, about two miles to the north-westward, traversing the road familiar to the traveler of to-day, on which is erected the monument to the memory of Thomas Paine, whose eminent political services are forgotten in the obloquy consequent on his religious opinions. At New Rochelle he made his headquarters at the Pugsley house, still standing on the north side of the road, leaving De Heister with his Hessians to guard the camp below. Here, with characteristic procrastination, he rested for three days, awaiting the arrival of two regiments of light dragoons. It is noticeable that the horses for the dragoons were imported from England, a fact which marks a difference of habit between the people of the eastern and southern Colonies. Later in the war most of the expeditions of the trooper Tarleton were made for the purpose of procuring mounts for his cavalry in that region.

The Pugsley house is of the old type, now rarely seen save in Westchester county or on the eastern end of Long Island. A green glass bull's-eye, let in over the upper half panel of the front door, and small and narrow window panes, with diamond-shaped glass set in lead—which the curious may still see—are among its peculiarities. The summer of 1776 had been one of intense heat, prolonged into the late fall; the fields lay brown and parched under the autumn sun, which

burned with an intensity peculiar to this latitude; the wells, of primitive type, with moss-grown sides, whose cooling waters were drawn to the surface by the simple device of sweep and bucket, were almost dry. The thousands of British troops quartered in this vicinity soon exhausted the supply, and both water and forage vanished as before fire. The British moved; after the British came the Hessians. During the temporary occupation of New Rochelle and its vicinity by these bodies of regular troops, many of the inhabitants, not daring to remain in their houses at night, sought shelter in the neighboring woods. It is to the credit of the British that, beyond such hardship as is the inevitable consequence and accompaniment of hostile occupation, no wanton injury was done. At this period their commanders displayed none of the brutality which characterized the later campaigns. They drank the wells dry and ate the mutton. When both were gone, they moved on.

About half way between New Rochelle and the old Quaker meeting-house, which still stands, surrounded by the grove of oak trees, which sheltered the ancestors of those non-resistant heroes, whose sacrifices in the cause of independence are none the less meritorious because their principles forbade them to take part in active strife, might have been seen the old Burling homestead, which was destroyed in the year 1868, to make room for a modern mansion. It was told by an old man, who, when a boy, was a member of this household, that he remembered well the march of the Hessians. It was night when they passed; the family, gathered in the house, sat with closed doors and shutters, the fires were extinguished, no lights burned, and in silence, darkness and dread, they awaited the coming of the foreigners, whose ferocity and cruelties at the battle of Long Island, magnified by rumors, made them objects of special terror to the simple country folk. Their advent was heralded, not by "sonorous metal blowing martial sounds," but by an odorous and pungent cloud of tobacco smoke, which, borne by the wind, preceded and hung over the advancing column, as the patient Germans trudged by, each man with the stem of the long pipe peculiar to the fatherland held firm in his teeth. The house stood close to the roadside, and its inmates listened with bated breath to the passing by of this body of men, whom they dared not look upon save furtively through the crescent-shaped opening in the shutters, and of whose presence they were informed more by hearing than by sight as they swung in open order at route step, the officers riding in the middle of the column, through the shadows of Burling's lane. The clank of steel, the jingle



1894

1894

The Miller House Washington's Headquarters  
at the White Plains, N.Y.

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When the Indians came to De Lamoignon's quarters, they demanded the day's wages, and obliged them to send him away, saying that when they came back, they would not be there. He had then to go away, and he did not meet the captain of Cay-Bass, who had not come, and this happened to him. They were confined to Cay-Bass, and the next day, he had to go away, and thus, a long time for the Americans.

On the Saturday before Christmas, 1862, the 10th Maine Cavalry, under the command of Major Francis M. Smith, received orders from General Sherman to move on up the river, and to occupy the place of the 1st Maine Cavalry. The 10th Maine Cavalry moved on up the river, and on the 1st of January, 1863, they arrived at the place of the 1st Maine Cavalry. The 10th Maine Cavalry moved on up the river, and on the 1st of January, 1863, they arrived at the place of the 1st Maine Cavalry.

ran nearly north-south by south-west. A strong force; earth works were building the approach to the camp. They kept the plain with their guns. They were awaiting attack on the 2d. Was out-matched, and out-generaled. Had intended by successful skirmishes, in a few days to be surprised and captured on the 21st, and the same day Col. Hendry

On the 2d Washington established  
house, White Plains. This house stands





of spur and clink of sabre against stirrup; the occasional word of command in an unknown guttural tongue, and the "slump, slump" of many footsteps on the heavy road, mired with the passage of previous thousands and sodden with autumn rain, were what these silent listeners heard for hours, in constant fear of violence; but, beyond frequent demands for water or milk, the family were not molested. The next morning the cattle were in the farm-yard, the poultry strutted and cackled, the hayracks were intact.

After the Hessians came De Lancy's horse, who spared nothing. They surrounded the dwelling, and when the venerable house-father begged them to spare his last cow, the answer was a shot, which stretched the old man lifeless on the threshold which British and Hessians had spared from violence or pillage. By such exploits they earned the epithet of Cow Boys. From this point, through a rich and cultivated country, the British pursued their march to the White Plains, where they were confronted by Washington. Howe for two days awaited the arrival of Earl Percy, whom he had left in charge of New York, and thus gave time for the Americans to complete their dispositions.

On the same day Washington issued his last general orders from the Morris House, in which he commended the gallantry of Glover's brigade in opposing the British advance from Pell's Creek, and transferred his headquarters to Valentine's Hill, a fortified position on Fordham Heights. At four o'clock Heath broke up his camp, and by a forced march arrived at four o'clock on the morning of the 22d at Chatterton's Hill, a commanding eminence about a mile southeast of White Plains and west of the Bronx River, which runs along its eastern slope. The same day he moved his division to the strong ground north of the village. Sullivan, arriving next, took position on Heath's right. The line ran nearly northeast to southwest; Chatterton's Hill was occupied by a strong force; earth-works were thrown up across the road commanding the approach to the camp, and cannon were so disposed as to sweep the plain with their fire. The whole American army was in position awaiting attack on the 23d. Washington had out-maneuvred, out-marched, and out-generaled Howe, whose advance had been retarded by successful skirmishes, in one of which Haslet, with his Delaware troops, surprised and captured a picket of Rogers' rangers on the 21st, and the same day Col. Hand worsted a body of Hessian Jagers.

On the 23d Washington established his headquarters at Miller's House. White Plains. This house stands on the east side of the old road

at the foot of a lofty hill; the ground about it is now cleared and cultivated, but at that time was surrounded by dense woods. It is a frame building clapboarded, with the roof on the southeast front projecting in such sort as to form a portico; the attic rooms are of the usual uninhabitable, rural kind, and the lower floor is divided by a hall from front to rear, with rooms opening on either side, and a kitchen annex. During the past century it has been occupied by only two families, and until within the last ten years, furniture used by Washington in 1776 was preserved and shown with just pride to visitors. In itself there is nothing to distinguish the house from others in the county; only the fact of its temporary occupancy by Washington singles it out as historical.

Howe was apparently in the dark as to Washington's movements; but when on the 28th he realized the fact that the whole American army was before him, he threw off the habitual sluggishness that was his bane as a commander, and prepared to attack with that vigor and energy which made him, when aroused to action, an adversary who called forth the best military resources of his opponent.

Washington had chosen the position at White Plains with a view rather to invite attack, and in full confidence that if worsted in the encounter, he had in his rear a position upon which he could fall back, and where a final stand could be made with every advantage of ground in his favor, and which fully protected the roads from the east to the Highlands and the Hudson River. His numbers were almost equal to those of the enemy, and his desire was not to discourage his men by constant retreat without a show of resistance. The results fully justified his caution and his purpose.

Military critics are of opinion that had Howe concentrated his efforts in a determined assault on the American centre it must have had a successful result, and would have cut off the force on Chatterton's Hill. Howe ordered Leslie with a division, four thousand strong, to dislodge the Americans from that position. His main body, as well as that of Washington, looked on as spectators. The British forded the Bronx. Artillery on either side was useless, by reason of the steep acclivity; the British guns could not be sufficiently elevated, nor the American depressed, for the delivery of an effective fire. Col. Rahl, the same who was mortally wounded and captured at Trenton in the month of December following, turned the left of the hill and the American right flank, with the Hessians, and gained its summit, while Donop pressed up the front. The Americans fell back, contesting the advance of the enemy

stubbornly, and joined their main body. Captain Alexander Hamilton brought off his guns safely. The battle was over.

The battle of the White Plains was fought on Chatterton's Hill, and in its character and results bears a striking resemblance to the fight at Harlem Plains in the previous month. It was an engagement between detached portions of the two armies; in neither case were the main bodies of either brought into action, and in each the prestige was claimed by both, while the substantial fruits lay with the Americans, who at the worst had only lost an outpost, which did not imperil the integrity of their line. For two days the hostile armies confronted each other; Howe waiting for reinforcements before resuming the offensive. On the 20th Washington retired on North Castle. Howe entrenched his camp, and thus each army awaited the movements of the other. On the 2d of November the American sentinels heard all night the rumble of wagons and artillery to the southeast, and expected an attack from that direction. The baffled British had changed their plans; on the 5th they were in full march for Dobbs Ferry, on the Hudson River, and New York. The capture of Fort Washington followed, and later operations in the year 1776 were transferred to New Jersey.

The town of White Plains was originally a portion of Rye, and derived its name from the White Balsam tree (*Gnaphalium Polycephalum* of Linnæus) which grows in great abundance in the vicinity, and was formerly called *Quarropas* by the Indians. It is twenty-eight miles northerly of the City Hall in New York, six miles east of the Hudson, and about the same distance from the Sound; the area of the town is about eight and one half square miles. The first grant from the Indians bears date on the 22d of November, 1683; on the 12th of April, 1694, the marks of the original purchase were renewed, and in the year 1719 the town was apportioned among the proprietors by order of a town meeting. In 1721, William Burnet, Governor of New York, set out in order for patent to Samuel Hunt 260 acres, after 5 acres deducted for every hundred acres of highway. Also to Daniel Brundage 195 acres at an annual rental of 20s. 6d., to be paid on the festival of the Annunciation. In the same year King George the Second issued royal letters patent to Joseph Berdel, John Holt and others, of a large tract known as the White Plains, containing four thousand five hundred and thirty-five acres of land, reserving therefrom land necessary for highways and all trees of the diameter of 24 inches at 12 inches above ground, for masts for the royal navy, and all such other trees as may be fit to make planks, knees and other things necessary for the use of said navy, and prescribing the

penalty of forfeiture for any burning of the royal timber so reserved as aforesaid. Many of the descendants of the original proprietors and patentees still reside there. The village in 1776 stood chiefly on the highway about three-quarters of a mile to the east of the present railway; the business portion of the town now centres about the railway station and on Broadway, a street which crosses it at right angles and along the upper end of which are situate the new court house and jail, and the costly and elegant churches which have been erected in place of the primitive structures where the fathers worshipped. The court house erected upon the site of that burned by the Americans in 1776 is still standing, but is no longer used for that purpose.

In August, 1774, the committees of the several towns of Westchester met at White Plains to elect deputies to the Continental Congress, which was to meet at Philadelphia in September of that year. In April, 1775, a general meeting of the county was called for the 11th of that month at the White Plains, which was largely attended at the court house, and delegates were chosen to represent the colony at Philadelphia in the following May. Lewis Morris was chairman of this convention, whose proceedings were not entirely harmonious, inasmuch as a strong delegation of Tories led by Frederick Philipse and Isaac Wilkins came thither for the purpose of entering protest against such "illegal and unconstitutional proceedings." Having protested, they departed, and had their protest published in Rivington's Gazette; the list of protestants, 312 in number, contained the names of 170 persons who had no right to vote. Colonel Lewis Morris, in a vigorous answer, addressed "*to the publick*," gave the names of those signers of a document as little distinguished by decency as by truth, foremost among whom was that of that arch disturber of the public peace, Samuel Seabury, who was fitly enough in later time the first Episcopal Bishop, and Luke Babcock, chaplain to Mr. Philipse, neither of whom prefixed their names with the title of reverend, though no stiffer stickler for clerical titles and pretensions than the missionary Seabury ever beat the drum ecclesiastic. Some of the names were put down without their proper owners' knowledge or consent, after the fashion of a call for a meeting of to-day, and some repented them and retracted publicly.

In May, 1775, at the White Plains, delegates were elected to the provincial Congress of New York, which body in June, 1776, adjourned from that place to the court house at the White Plains, whither all the public papers and money were transferred by resolution to that effect, there to meet on the 8th day of July. It was also ordered that all powder, lead,

and other military stores belonging to the State, be forthwith removed to that place. There on the 9th day of July, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was received by the Provincial Congress, there it was read in front of the court house, and there they solemnly in convention promised, at the risk of their lives and fortunes, to join with the other colonies in supporting it. The building thus honored was burned on the night of the 5th of November following by a New England Major, one Osborne, without orders. Washington in general orders signified his utmost "astonishment and horror at this action of base and cowardly wretches," and in December of that year it was by the committee of safety resolved "that the laws of the country are not superseded by the military code in the presence of the army," and it caused General Washington to be requested by letter to deliver up the officer who ordered the destruction to the committee or convention of the State, to be tried by the laws of the State, and if found guilty punished. As no mention is made of any such trial, it is safe to assume that the "cowardly wretch" escaped the consequences of his ill-judged zeal. In the inclosure of the Presbyterian burying-ground, where stood, prior to the year 1751, a church, lie the remains of the Rev. John Smith, D.D., brother of the Hon. William Smith, who was, for many years prior to his death in 1776, pastor of the Presbyterian churches of Rye and the White Plains. The place is marked by a plain stone, upon which is a brief inscription setting forth his birth, his labors, his death, and his hopes of victory over death and the grave. The life of his more distinguished brother was one of vicissitude, and has lately been told in these pages.

When Washington took post at the White Plains the entrenchments were erected under the direction of a French engineer, and consisted of a square fort of sods in the main street, with breastworks on each side running westerly over the south side of Purdy's Hill to the Bronx, and easterly across the hills to Horton's Pond. They were not completed on the 28th of October, but were made so strong by the 30th that Howe, who had a keen recollection of Bunker Hill, was not moved to attack them. Washington's policy, as he wrote, was "to fight with the spade and mattock." Little trace of the breastworks now remains, but the name and fame of Purdy's Hill is perpetuated in the world-renowned product known by connoisseurs as Purdy's cider.

There is no record of Washington ever having revisited his headquarters at the White Plains, the position of which presented small attractions as a residence; but the allied armies occupied the neighborhood in the spring and summer of 1781. During the famous reconnois-

sance which has been related in detail in the pages of this magazine [IV., 1], the Duke de Lauzun, with his legion, occupied Chatterton's Hill, and in the fall of 1782, when New York was again threatened by the allied forces to prevent any diversion of troops by Clinton to the attack of the French possessions in the West Indies, this entire region was picketed and patrolled from the Hudson to the Sound. After the battle of Monmouth, on the evacuation of New Jersey by the British army, Washington crossed the Hudson, and the army headquarters were established at White Plains, where they were continued from July 21, 1778, to September 15, 1778.

The centennial anniversary of the battle of the White Plains was commemorated by a military and civic pageant, and the corner-stone of a monument was laid on the crest of Chatterton Hill. The foundation for the structure had risen to the height of about eight feet, when some miscreants, no doubt lineal descendants of the cow boys of the Revolution, made a midnight raid upon the hill and plundered the corner-stone of the valuables and mementos deposited, as by immemorial usage, within, since which the desecrated pile has afforded a convenient quarry of cut stone to the thrifty farmers of this historic region. There is evidently room for an anti-vandal society for the protection of the monuments of the Empire State. On the premises of Mr. John Swinburne there have been preserved by his personal care the remains of an American redoubt, on which he has mounted an old mortar found in the neighborhood.

WILSON CARY SMITH

## THE WASHINGTON HOUSE, BRINGTON

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE—ENGLAND

The little house at Brington, in Northamptonshire, which is supposed to have been occupied by the Washington family after the loss of their residence at Sulgrave, is situated in the hamlet of Little Brington, near the present entrance lodge on the west of Althorp Park, the seat of Earl Spencer. The Washingtons, as stated in the article on Sulgrave (V. 113) were distantly related to the Lord Spencer of that day; and a recent marriage alliance had still further strengthened the tie between them, so that it was natural in the days of adversity that they should accept the friendly offices of their noble relative.

The house in question is a low building, with one story only above the ground floor, and is constructed of the ferruginous sandstone, common in that part of Northamptonshire, a material which, when new, is of a reddish-yellow color, but becomes gray under the action of the atmosphere and from the overgrowth of a minute lichen. It is in scale and style not very superior to the villagers' cottages around it. But at the date of its erection these latter were built of what is still called "tearing," *i. e.*, mud and clay mixed with sand and straw or rushes, and sometimes protected with an outer coat of plaster. Over the door is a stone slab in the mouldings and with the following inscription in relief: "The Lord geveth, the Lord taketh away. Blessed be the name of the Lord. Constructa 1606," a touching and appropriate motto for those who had just undergone reverses, and were entering on a new phase of social life.

How long the Washingtons remained at Brington, and indeed who were the members of the family that were resident there, we have no positive evidence to show. But in the year 1616 (before the marriage of his sister to George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, had raised the family to new distinction), Laurence Washington, the head of the Sulgrave line, died, and was buried in Brington church. His grave is by the side of the mortuary chapel, with its magnificent monuments, beneath which lie interred thirteen generations of the noble house of Spencer, including the four first Earls of Sunderland. The church of Brington is a stately building, full of points of interest. It was the church, among other notable rectors, of Chichele, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, of



Layton, Dean of York, and commissioner under Henry VIII. for the dissolution of the monasteries, and of Heneage, the working architect of Henry VIII's chapel at Westminster. The ancient open seats in the nave date from before the wars of the Roses, being marked with the arms of the families who successively possessed the Manor down to the time when it came into the possession of Sir John Grey, of Groby, the first husband of Edward IV's unhappy Queen. At its altar-rails King Charles I., when detained at Holmby, some three miles distant, is said to have knelt to receive the sacrament: and a long series of historical reminiscences group around the tombs of the Spencers. But among all its points of interest none are greater, even in the eyes of Englishmen, than the two ledger slabs which cover the remains of the brothers Laurence and Robert Washington, and which bear (one on a plate of brass and the other carved upon the stone itself) the arms which are supposed to have suggested the stars and stripes of the American banner.

The singular interest which centered in Brington some twenty years ago as the early home of the emigrant brothers, sons of the Laurence just spoken of, has been materially diminished by the fact brought to light by Colonel Chester, of America, that the long-accepted theory of the emigrants was erroneous. Colonel Chester, whose great work on the Register of Westminster Abbey is a gift of permanent value to the English nation, and who, by his investigation of the genealogies of the middle and professional classes, has placed himself above all English rivals, has shown conclusively that the John and Laurence Washington who were supposed to be identical with the emigrants of those names, really died in England; so that the first American Washingtons, if of this family, must have been sons of some other of the numerous brothers whose children have not yet been ascertained. Though in possession of many particulars which point to a solution of the question, he maintains a resolute silence till he can speak the final word. But meanwhile we linger persistently amid the pleasant scenes in Northamptonshire, where the name of Washington first came into prominence, and where those who bore it seem not to have been unworthy of the honor of being forefathers of the illustrious President.

NORTH CREAKE RECTORY,

J. N. SIMPKINSON

*Fakenham, England.*

EPITAPHS IN BRINGTON CHURCH, NORTHAMPTON.—Here lies the Body of Lavrence Washington Sonne and Heire of Robert Washington of Sovlgrave in the Countie of Northampton Esquire who Married Margaret the Eldest Daughter of William Butler of Tees in the Countie

of Sassere Esquire who had Issu by her 8. Sonns and 9. Daughters, which Lavrence Deceased the 13th of December A. Dni 1616.

Here lies interred ye Bodies of Elizab. Washington Widdowe who Changed this life for mortalitie ye 19th of March 1622, as also ye Body of Robert Washington Gent Her late Husband Second Son of Robert Washington of Solgrave in Ye County North, Esqr who Depted this Life Ye 10th of March 1622. After they lived lovingly together Many Years in this Parish. J. N. S.

NOTE—The author of the above article is the Reverend John Nassau Simpkinson, late Rector of Brington. Northants, to whose interesting book "The Washingtons, a tale of a country parish in the 17th century," reference was made in the August, 1879, number of the Magazine [V., 114]. To the present rector of Brington, the Reverend H. H. Stewart, obligations are due for securing a view of the house, which is appended to this article.

EDITOR

## WASHINGTON'S JOURNAL

*From the Original Manuscript in the Library of  
the Department of State at Washington*

## II

AUGUST TO NOVEMBER, 1781

## AUGUST

*August 1st*—By this date all my Boats were ready—viz—one hundred new ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of Genl. Schuyler), and the like number at Wappings creek by the Qr. Mr. Genl. ; besides old ones which have been repaired.—My heavy Ordnance & Stores from the Eastward had also come on to the North Rivr.—and everything would have been in perfect readiness to commence the operation against New York, if the States had furnished their quotas of Men agreeably to my requisitions—but so far have they been from complying with these that of the first, not more than half the number asked of them have joined the army ; and of 6200 of the latter pointedly, & continuously called for to be with the army by the 15th of last month, only 176 had arrived from Connecticut, independant of abt. 300 State Troops under the command of Genl. Waterbury, which had been on the lines before we took the field, & two Companies of York levies (abt. 80 Men) under similar circumstances.

Thus circumstanced, and having little more than general assurances of getting the succours called for—and energetic Laws and resolves—or Laws and resolves energetically executed, to depend upon—with little appearance of their fulfilment, I could scarce see a ground upon wch to continue my preparations

against New York—especially as there was much reason to believe that part (at least) of the Troops in Virginia were recalled to reinforce New York and therefore I turned my views more seriously (than I had before done) to an operation to the Southward—and, in consequence, sent to make enquiry, indirectly, of the principal merchants to the Eastward what number and in what time, Transports could be provided to convey a force to the Southward, if it should be found necessary to change our plan—and similar application was made in a direct way to Mr. Morris (Financier) to discover what number cd be had by the 20th of this Month at Phi'adelphia—or in Chesapeak bay.—At the same time General Knox was requested to turn his thoughts to this business and make every necessary arrangement for it in his own mind—estimating the Ordnance & stores which would be wanting & how many of them could be obtained without a transport of them from the North River.—Measures were also taken to deposit the Salt provisions in such places as to be water born[e]—more than these, while there remained a hope of Count de Grasse's bringing a land force with him, & that the States might yet put us in circumstances to prosecute the original plan could not be done without unfolding matters too plainly to the enemy & enabling them thereby to counteract our schemes.—

*August 4th*—Fresh representations of the defenceless state of the Northern frontier, for want of the militia so long called for, and expected from Massachusetts bay ; accompanied by a strong expression of the fears of the People

that they should be under the necessity of abandoning that part of the Country. & an application that the second York regiment (Courtlandts) at *least* should be left for their protection induced me to send Major Genl. Lincoln (whose influence in his own State was great) into the Counties of Berkshire & Hampshire to enquire into the causes of these delays & to hasten on the militia.—I wrote at the same time to the Governor of this State consenting to suffer the 4 Companies of Courtlandts Regiment (now at Albany) to remain in that Quarter till the Militia did come in, but observed that if the States instead of filling their Battalions & sending forth their Militia were to be calling upon and expecting me to dissipate the smll. operating force under my command for local defences that all offensive operations must be relinquished and we must content ourselves (in case of compliance) to spend an inactive and injurious campaign which might—at this critical moment—be ruinous to the common cause of America.

*August 6th*—Reconnoitred the Roads & Country between the North River and the Brunx from the Camp to Phillips's and Valentines Hill and found the ground every where strong—The Hills 4 in Number running parallel to each other with deep ravines between them — occasioned by the Saw Mill river—the Sprain branch—and another more Easterly. These hills have very few interstices or Breaks in them, but are more prominent in some places than others—The Saw Mill River and the Sprain branch occasion an entire separation of the hills above Philips's from those below commonly called Valen-

tine's hills.—A Strong position might be taken with the Saw Mill (by the Widow Babcocks) in Front & on the left flank. And the No. River on the right Flank. —And this position may be extended from the Saw Mill River over the Sprain Branch.

A Letter from the Marqs. de la Fayette of the 26th Ulto. gives the following acct.—That the two Battalions of light Infantry—Queen's Rangers—the Guards—& one or two other Regiments had embarked at Portsmouth & fallen down to Hampton Rd in 49 Transports.—That he supposed this body of Troops could not consist of less than 2000 Men.—That Chesapeak bay & Potomack River were spoken of as the destination of this detachment—but he was of opinion that it was intended as a reinforcement to New York—Horses were laid for the speedy communication of Intelligence and an officer was to be sent with the acct. of the Fleet's Sailing.—

*August 7th*—Urged Governor Greene of Rhode Island to keep up the number of Militia required of that State at Newport & to have such arrangements made of the rest as to give instant & effectual support to that Post, & the shipping in the harbour, in case anything should be enterprized against the latter upon the arrival of Rodney; who, with the British fleet, is said to be expected at New York, & in conjunction with the Troops which are Embarked in Virginia & their own Marines are sufficient to create alarms.

*August 8th*—The light Company of the 2d York Regiment (the first having been down some days) having joined

the Army, were formed with two Companies of Yk. levies into a Battn. under the Command of Lieut. Colo. Hamilton & Major Fish & placed under the orders of Colo. Scammell as part of the light Troops of the Army.

*August 9th*—A Letter from Marqs. de la Fayette of the 30th Ulto., reports, that the Embarkation in Hampton Road still remained there—that there were 30 ships full of Troops—Chiefly red coats in the fleet—That eight or ten other vessels (Brigs) had cavalry on Board.—That the winds had been extremely favourable — Notwithstanding which they still lay at Anchor—& that the Charon & several other frigates (some said seven) were with them as an escort. The Troops which he now speaks of as composing the detachment are—the light Infantry—Queen's Rangers—and he thinks two British and two German Regiments—no mention of the Guards as in his former acct.

*August 10th*—Ordered the first York and Hazen's Regiments immediately to this place from West point.—The Invalids having got in both from Philadelphia & Boston—and more Militia got in from Connecticut, as also some from Massachusetts bay—giving with 4 Companies of Courtlandt's Regiment in addition to the detachment left there upon the march of the Army perfect security to the Posts.

*August 11th*—Robt. Morris Esqr. Superintendent of Finance & Richd. Peters Esq. a member of the Board of War, arrived at camp to fix with me the number of men necessary for the next campaign—and to make the consequent

arrangements for their establishment and Support.

A Fleet consisting of about 20 Sail, including 2 frigates & one or two prizes, arrived within the harbour of New York with German recruits—to the amount—by Rivington, of 2880—but by other, & better information to abt. 1500 sickly men.

*August 12th*—By accounts this day received from the Marqs. de la Fayette, it appeared that the Transports in Hampton road had stood up the Bay & came too at the distance of 15 miles—and, in conseque. he had commenced his march towards Fredericksburg. That he might more readily oppose his operations on Potomack or up Chesapeake bay.

*August 14th*—Received dispatches from the Count de Barras, announcing the intended departure of the Count de Grasse from Cape Francois with between 25 & 29 Sail of the line & 3200 land Troops on the 3d Instant for Chesapeake bay—and the anxiety of the latter to have everything in the most perfect readiness to commence our operations in the moment of his arrival as he should be under a necessity from particular engagements with the Spaniards to be in the West Indies by the middle of October—at the same time intimating his (Barras's) Intentions of enterprising something against Newfoundland & against which both Genl. Rochambeau and myself remonstrated as impolitic & dangerous, under the probability of Rodney's coming upon this coast.

Matters having now come to a crisis, and a decisive plan to be determined on

—I was obliged, from the shortness of Count de Grasse's promised stay on this coast—the apparent disinclination in their naval officers to force the harbour of New York, and the feeble compliance of the States to my requisitions for men, hitherto, & little prospect of greater exertion in future, to give up all idea of attacking New York; & instead thereof to remove the French Troops & a detachment from the American Army to the Head of Elk, to be transported to Virginia for the purpose of cooperating with the force from the West Indies against the Troops in that State.

*August 15th*—Despatched a Courier to the Marquis de la Fayette with information of this matter—requesting him to be in perfect readiness to second my views & to prevent if possible the retreat of Cornwallis towards Carolina—He was also directed to Halt the Troops under the command of General Wayne if they had not made any great progress in their March to join the Southern Army.

*August 16th*—Letters from the Marqs. de la Fayette & others, inform that Lord Cornwallis with the Troops from Hampton Road, had proceeded up York River & landed at York and Gloucester Towns where they were throwing up works on the 6th inst.

*August 19th*—The want of Horses, or bad condition of them in the French Army delayed the March till this day—The same causes, it is to be feared, will occasion a slow and disagreeable March to Elk if fresh horses cannot be procured & better management of them adopted.

The detachment from the American

is composed of the light Infantry under Scammell—two light companies of York to be joined by the like number from the Connecticut line—The remainder of the Jersey line—two Regiments of York—Hazen's Regiment & the Regiment of Rhode Island.—together with Lamb's regiment of Artillery with cannon and other ordnance for the field & siege.—

Hazens regiment being thrown over at Dobbs's ferry was ordered with the Jersey Troops to march & take Post on the heights between Springfield & Chatham & cover a french Bakery at the latter place to veil our real movement and create apprehensions for Staten Island.—

The quarter master Genl. was dispatched to King's ferry—the only secure passage—to prepare for the speedy transportation of the Troops across the River.—

Passed Sing Sing with the American column—The French column marched by the way of North castle Crompond & Pines bridge being near ten miles further.

*August 20th*—The head of the Americans arrived at King's ferry about ten o'clock and immediately began to cross.

*August 21st*—In the course of this day the whole of the American Troop, all their baggage, artillery & stores crossed the river—Nothing remained of ours but some waggons in the Commissary's & Qr. Mr. General's departmt., which were delayed, that no interruption might be given to the passage of the French Army.

During the passing of the French Army, I mounted 30 flat Boats—(able

to carry about 40 men each) upon carriages—as well with a design to deceive the enemy as to our real movement, as to be useful to me in Virginia when I get there.—

Some of the french Artillery wch. preceeded their Infantry got to the ferry and crossed it also.

*August 22d, 23d, 24th & 25th*—Employed in transporting the French Army—its baggage & stores over the river.

The 25th—The American Troops marched in two columns—Genl. Lincoln with the light Infantry & first York Regiment pursuing the rout by Peramus to Springfield—While Colo. Lamb with his regiment of Artillery—The Parke—Stores—and Baggage of the army covered by the Rhode Island Regt. proceeded to Chatham by the way of Pompton & the two bridges.

The Legion of Lauzen — and the Regiments of Bourbonne & Duponts with the heavy Parke of the French Army also marched for Percipony by Suffrens—Pompton &

*August 26th*—The remainder of the French army, its baggage & stores, moved from the ferry, and arrived at Suffrens—the ground the others had left.

*August 28th*—The American columns and 1st division of the French Army arrived at the places assigned them.

*August 29th*—The Second division of French joined the first—the whole halted—as well for the purpose of bringing up our rear—as because we had heard not of the arrival of Count de Grasse & was unwilling to discover our real object to the enemy.

*August 30th*—As our intentions could

be concealed one march more (under the idea of Marching to Sandy hook to facilitate the entrance of the French fleet within the Bay, the whole Army was put in motion in three Columns—The left consisted of the light Infantry, first York Regiment, and the Regiment of Rhode Island.—The middle column consisted of the Park, Stores & Baggage—Lamb's Regt. of Artillery—Hazen's—& the corps of Sappers & Miners—the right column consisted of the whole French Army, Baggage Stores &ca.—This last was to march by the rout of Morristown — Bullions Tavern — Somerset Ct. House & Princeton.

The middl. was to go by Bound brooke to Somerset &ca.—and the left to proceed by the way of Brunswick to Trenton, to which place the whole were to march—Transports being ordered to meet them there.

I set out myself for Philadelphia to arrange matters there—provide vessels—& hasten the transportation of the Ordnance Stores, &ca.—directing before I set out, the Secd. York Regiment (which had not all arrived from Albany before we left King's ferry) to follow with the boats — Intrenching Tools &c. the French rear to Trenton.

Arrived at Philadelphia to dinner and immediately hastened up all the vessels, that could be procured—but finding them inadequate to the purpose of transporting both Troops and Stores, Count de Rochambeau and myself concluded it would be best to let the Troops march by land to the head of Elk, & gave directions accordingly to all but the 2d York Regiment, which was ordered (with its baggage) to come down in the

Batteaux they had in charge to Christina bridge.

## SEPTEMBER

*September 5th*—The rear of the French army having reached Philadelphia, and the Americans having passed it, the stores having got up and everything in a tolerable train here; I left this city for the head of Elk to hasten the embarkation at that place, and on my way—at Chester—received the agreeable news of the safe arrival of the Count de Grasse in the Bay of Chesapeake with 28 sail of the line and four frigates, with 3,000 land Troops which were to be immediately debarked at Jamestown and form a junction with the American army under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette.

Finding upon my arrival at the head of Elk a great deficiency of Transports, I wrote many letters to Gentlemen of Influence on the Eastern Shore beseeching them to exert themselves in drawing forth every kind of vessel which would answer for this purpose—and agreed with the Count de Rochambeau that about 1,000 American Troops (including the Artillery Regiment) and the Grenadiers and Chasseurs of the Brigade of Bourbonne with the infantry of Lauzen's Legion should be the first to Embark, and that the rest of the Troops should continue their March to Baltimore, proceeding thence by Land or Water according to circumstances. The Cavalry of Lauzen with the saddle horses and such teams of both armies as the Qr. Masters thereof might judge necessary to go round by Land to the place of operation.

Judging it highly expedient to be with the army in Virginia as soon as possible, to make the necessary arrangements for the Siege, and to get the materials prepared for it, I determined to set out for the camp of the Marqs de la Fayette without loss of time—and accordingly in company with the Count de Rochambeau, who requested to attend me, and the Chevr de Chastellux set out on the

*September 8th*—And reached Baltimore where I rec'd and answered an address of the Citizens.

*September 9th*—I reached my own Seat at Mount Vernon (distance 120 miles from the H'd of Elk) where I staid till the 12th, and in three days afterwards—that is on the 14th—reached Williamsburg.—The necessity of seeing and agreeing upon a proper plan of co-operation with the Count de Grasse induced me to make him a visit at Cape Henry, where he lay with his fleet after a partial engagement with the British Squadron off the Capes under the command of Admiral Graves, whom he had driven back to Sandy Hook.

*September 17th*—In company with the Count de Rochambeau, the Chevr Chastellux, Genls. Knox and Duportail, I set out for the interview with the Admiral, and arrived on board the Ville de Paris (off Cape Henry) the next day by noon, and having settled most points with him to my satisfaction except not obtaining an assurance of sending ships above York—and one that he could not continue his fleet on this station longer than the first of November, I embarked on board the Queen Charlotte (the vessel I went down in), but by hard



blowing and contrary winds, did not reach Williamsburg again till the 22d.

*September 22d*—Upon my arrival in Camp I found that the 3d Maryland Regiment had got in (under the command of Col. Adam) and that all except a few missing vessels with the Troops from the head of Elk were arrived and landing at the upper point of the College Creek, where Genl. Choisy with 600 F. Troops, who had arrived from R. Isl'd in the Squadron of Count de Barras, had done before them during my absence.

*September 25th*—Admiral de Barras having joined the Count de Grasse with the Squadron and Transports from Rhode Island, and the latter with some Frigates being sent to Baltimore for the remaindr of the French army, arrived this day at the usual port of debarkation above the College Creek, and began to land the Troops from them.

*September 28th*—Having debarked all the Troops and their Baggage—marched—and encamped them in Front of the city—and having with some difficulty obtained horses and waggons sufficient to move our field Artillery, Intrenching Tools—and such other articles as were indispensably necessary—we commenced our march for the Investiture of the Enemy at York.—

The American Continental, and French Troops formed one column on the left—the first in advance—the Militia composed the right column & marched by the way of Harwood's mill—half a mile beyond the half way H'se the French & Americans separated—the former continued on the direct road

to York, by the Brick House—the latter filed off to the right for Munford's bridge, where a junction with the Militia was to be made.—About noon the head of each column arrived at its ground, & some of the enemy's Picquets were driven in on the left by a corps of French Troops advanced for the purpose, which afforded an opportunity of reconnoitering them on their right—The enemy's Horse on the right were also obliged to retire from the ground they had encamped on, & from whence they were employed in reconnoitering the right column.—

The line being formed, all the Troops—officers & men—lay upon their arms during the night.—

*September 29th*—Moved the American Troop more to the right, and Encamped on the East side of Be[a]ver dam Creek, with a morass in front about cannon shot from the enemy's lines—Spent this day in reconnoitering the enemy's position, & determining upon a plan of attack & approach which must be done without the assistance of shipping above the Town as the Admiral—(notwithstanding my earnest soliciation) declined hazarding any vessels on that station.

*September 30th*—The enemy abandoned all their exterior works, & the position they had taken without the Town; & retired within their Interior works of defence in the course of last night—immediately upon which we possessed them & made those on our left (with a little alteration) very serviceable to us—We also began two enclosed works on the right of Pidgeon Hill—

between that & the ravine above More's Mill.

From this time till the 6th of October nothing occurred of Importance—Much diligence was used in debarking & transporting the stores, cannon &c from Trebell's Landing (distant 6 miles) on James Rivr to camp; Which for want of Teams went on heavily—and in preparing Faycines, Gabiens &c. for the Siege—as also in reconnoitering the enemy's defences & their situation as perfectly as possible, to form our parallels & mode of attack.

#### OCTOBER

The Teams which were sent round from the head of Elk, having arrived about this time, we were enabled to bring forward our heavy Artillery & stores with more convenience and dispatch—and every thing being prepared for opening Trenches. 1500 Fatigue men & 2800 to cover them, were ordered for this Service.

*October 6th*—Before morning the Trenches were in such forwardness as to cover the men from the enemy's fire—The work was executed with so much secrecy & dispatch that the enemy were, I believe, totally ignorant of our labor till the light of the morning discovered it to them.—Our loss on this occasion was extremely inconsiderable—not more than one officer (french) & about 20 men killed & wounded—the officer & 15 of which were on our left from the corps of the Marqs. de St. Simond, who was betrayed by a deserter from the Huzzars that went in & gave notice of his approaching his parrallel.

*October 7th and 8th*—Was employed in compleating our Parallel—finishing the redoubts in them and establishing Batteries.

*October 9th*—About 3 o'clock P. M. the French opened a battery on our extreme left of 4 sixteen pounders, and six Morters & Howitzers—and at 5 o'clock an American battery of six 18s & 24s; four Morters & 2 Howitzers began to play from the extremity of our right.—both with good effect as they compelled the enemy to withdraw from their ambrazures the Pieces which had previously kept up a constant firing.

*October 10th*—The French opened two batteries on the left of our front parallel—one of 6 twenty-four pounders, & 2 sixteens with 6 Morters & Howitzers—The other of 4 sixteen pounders.—And the Americans two Batteries between those last mentioned & the one on our extreme right, the left of which containing 4 eighteen pounders—the other two Mortars.

The whole of the batteries kept an incessant fire—the cannon at the ambrazures of the enemy, with a view to destroy them—The shells into the enemy's works where by the information of deserters, they did much execution.

The French battery on the left, by red hot shot, set fire to, (in the course of the Night) the Charon frigate & 3 large Transports which were entirely consumed.

*October 11th*—The French opened two other batteries on the left of the parallel, each consisting of 3 Twenty-four pounders—these were also employed in

demolishing the ambrazures of the enemy's works & advanced Redoubt.

Two Gentlemen—a Major Granchier & Capt'n D'Avilier being sent by Admiral de Grasse to reconnoiter the enemy's water defences and state of the river at and near York, seemed favorably disposed to adopt the measure, which had been strongly urged, of bringing ships above the town, and made representations accordingly to the Count de Grasse.

*October 12th*—Began our second parallel within about 300 yards (and in some places less) of the enemy's lines—and got it so well advanced in the course of the night as to cover the men before morning.—This business was conducted with the same secrecy as the former, and undertaken so much sooner than the enemy expected (we should commence a second parallel), that they did not, by their conduct and mode of firing, appear to have had any suspicion of our working parties till daylight discovered them to their Picquet; nor did they much annoy the Trenches in the course of this day (the Parallel being opened last night from the ravine in front, and on the right flank of the enemy, till it came near to the intersection of the line of fire from the American 4 gun Battery to the enemy's advanced redoubt on their left. The French Batteries fired over the second parallel.

*October 13th*—The fire of the enemy this night became brisk—both from their cannon and royals—and more injurious to us than it had been; several men being killed, and many wounded, in the Trenches, but the works were not in the

smallest degree retarded by it—our batteries were begun in the course of the night, and a good deal advanced.

*October 14th*—The day was spent in completing our parallel and maturing the Batteries of the second parallel—the old batteries were principally directed against the abattis and salient angles of the enemy's advanced redoubts on their extreme right and left, to prepare them for the intended assault for which the necessary dispositions were made for attacking the two on the left, and,

At half after six in the evening both were carried—that on their left (on the Bank of the river) by the Americans, and the other by the French Troops. The Baron Viominel commanded the left attack & the Marq's de la Fayette the right, on which the light Infantry were employed.

In the left redoubt (assaulted by the Americans) there were abt 45 men under the command of a Major Campbell; of which the Major, a Capt'n. and Ensign, with 17 men, were made Prisoners. But few were killed on the part of the enemy, & the remainder of the Garrison escaped. The right redoubt, attacked by the French, consisted of abt 120 men, commanded by a Lieutenant-Colonel—of these 18 were killed & 42 taken Prisoners. Among the Prisoners were a Captain and two Lieutenants. The bravery exhibited by the attacking Troops was emulous and praiseworthy—few cases have exhibited stronger proofs of Intrepidity, coolness and firmness than were shown upon this occasion. The following is our loss in these attacks, and since the Investiture of York :

### LOSS IN THE ATTACKS

| PERIODS                                     | AMERICAN |          |      |           |        |        |         |         |          |      |           |        |        |         |       |
|---|----------|----------|------|-----------|--------|--------|---------|---------|----------|------|-----------|--------|--------|---------|-------|
|   | KILLED   |          |      |           |        |        |         | WOUNDED |          |      |           |        |        |         | TOTAL |
|   | Col.     | Lt. Col. | Maj. | C. Lieut. | Lieut. | Serjt. | R. & F. | Col.    | Lt. Col. | Maj. | C. Lieut. | Lieut. | Serjt. | R. & F. |       |
| From ye Invest. to<br>opening 1st paral.... | 1        | ...      | ...  | ...       | ...    | 1      | 4       | ...     | ...      | ...  | ...       | ...    | ...    | 8       | 14    |
| To the opening of<br>the 2d par. ....       | ...      | ...      | ...  | ...       | ...    | ...    | 2       | ...     | ...      | ...  | ...       | ...    | ...    | 6       | 8     |
| To the Storm on<br>the 14th. ....           | ...      | ...      | ...  | ...       | ...    | ...    | 6       | ...     | ...      | ...  | ...       | ...    | 1      | 14      | 22    |
| At the Storm. ....                          | ...      | ...      | ...  | ...       | ...    | ...    | 8       | ...     | 2        | 1    | 1         | 1      | 1      | 28      | 44    |
| Total. ....                                 | 1        | ...      | ...  | ...       | ...    | ...    | 120     | ...     | 2        | 1    | 3         | 1      | 1      | 156     | 88    |

The loss of the French from the Investiture to the Assault of the Redoubts Inclusive, is as follows, viz.:

|                      |       |     |
|----------------------|-------|-----|
| Officers—Killed..... | 2     |     |
| Wounded.....         | 7     |     |
|                      | <hr/> | 9   |
| Soldiers—Killed..... | 50    |     |
| Wounded.....         | 127   |     |
|                      | <hr/> | 177 |
| Total.....           |       | 186 |

*October 15th*—Busily employed in getting the Batteries of the second parallel compleated, and fixing on new ones contiguous to the Redoubts which were taken last night—placed two Howitzers in each of the captured redoubts, wch were opened upon the enemy about 5 o'clock in the afternoon.

*October 16th*—About four o'clock this morning, the enemy made a Sortee upon our second parallel and spiked four French pieces of Artillery and two of ours, but the guards of the Trenches advancing quickly upon them, they retreated precipitately. The Sally being made upon that part of the parallel which was guarded by the French Troops—they lost an officer and 12 men killed and 1 officer taken prisoner. The American loss was one Sergeant of Artillery (in the American Battery) wounded. The enemy, it is said, left 10 dead and lost 3 Prisoners.

About 4 o'clock this afternoon the French opened two Batteries of 2 24s & four 16s each—3 pieces from the American grand battery were also opened, the others not being ready.

*October 17th*—The French opened another Battery of four 24s & two 16s and a Morter Battery of 10 Morters and two Howitzers—The American grand Battery consisting of 12 twenty-four and eighteen prs, 4 Morters and two Howitzers.

About ten o'clock the enemy beat a parley, and Lord Cornwallis proposed a cessation of Hostilities for 24 hours, that Commissioners might meet at the house of a Mr. Moore (in the rear of our first parallel) to settle terms for the Surrender of the Posts of York and Gloucester.—To this he was answered, that a desire to spare the further effusion of Blood would readily incline me to treat of the Surrender of the above Posts—but previous to the meeting of Commissioners, I wished to have his proposals in writing, and for this purpose would grant a cessation of hostili-

ties two hours—Within which time he sent out A letter with such proposal (tho' some of them were inadmissible) as led me to believe that there would be no great difficulty in fixing the terms—accordingly hostilities were suspended for the night & I proposed my own terms to which, if he agreed, commissioners were to meet to digest them into form.

*October 18th*—The Commissioners met accordingly; but the business was so procrastinated by those on their side (a Colo. Dundas & a Maj'r Ross) that Colo. Laurens & the Viscount de Noailles, who were appointed on our part could do no more than make the rough draft of the articles which were to be submitted for Lord Cornwallis's consideration.

*October 19th*—In the morning early I had them copied and sent word to Lord Cornwallis that I expected to have them signed at 11 o'clock—and that the Garrison would march out at two o'clock—both of which were accordingly done—two redoubts on the enemy's left being possessed (the one by a detachment of French Grenadiers, & the other by American Infantry), with orders to prevent all intercourse between the army & Country and the Town.—While officers in the several departments were employed in taking acc't of the public stores, &c.—

*October 20th*—Winchester & Fort Frederick in Maryland, being the places destined for the reception of the Prisoners, they were to have commenced their march accordingly this day, but were prevented by the Commissary of Prisoners not having compleated his

accounts of them & taken the paroles of the officers.

*October 21st*—The prisoners began their march & I set out for the Fleet to pay my respects & offer my thanks to the Admiral for his important services—and to see if he could not be induced to further co-operations before his final departure from this coast—despairing from the purport of my former Conference with him, & the tenor of all his letters of obtaining more than a convoy, I contented myself with representing the import[ant] consequences and certain prospects of an attempt upon Charlestown, and requesting if his orders, or other engagements would not allow him to attend to that great object, that he would nevertheless transport a detachment of Troops to, & cover their debarkation at Wilmington that by reducing the enemy's post there, we might give peace to another State with the Troops that would afterwards join the Southern Army under the Command of Maj'r Genl. Greene.—

Having promised the command of the detachment destined for the enterprise against Wilmington to the Marq's de la Fayette in case he could engage the Admiral to convey it & secure the debarkation, I left him on Board the Ville de Paris to try the force of his influence to obtain these.

*October 23d*—The Marq. returned with assurances from the Admiral that he would countenance & protect with his fleet the Expedition against Wilmington—preparations were immediately [made] for embarking Wayne's & Gists Brigades with a sufficiency of Artillery, Stores & provisions for this purpose.

*October 24th*—Received advice by Express from General Forman of the British Fleet in the Harbour of New York consisting of 26 sail of the line, Some 50s & 44s—many frigates—fire ships & Transports, mounting in the whole to 99 sail had passed the Narrows for the hook, & were as he suppos'd upon the point of Sailing for Chesapeake.—Notice was immediately communicated to the Count de Grasse.

From this time to the 28th was employed in collecting and taking an acc't of the different species of stores which were much dispersed and in great disorder.

All the vessels in public employ in the River James River were ordered round for the purpose of receiving and transporting stores, &c., to the Head of Elk.

*October 28th*—Began to Embark the Ordnance and Stores for the above purpose.

Received a Letter from the Count de Grasse, declining the convoy he had engaged to give the detachment for Wilmington & assigning his reasons for it.—This after a suspense and consequent delay of 6 or 7 days, obliged me to prepare to march the Troops by land under the command of M. Genl. St. Clair.

In the Evening of this day Intelligence was received from the Count de Grasse that the British fleet was off the Capes, & consisted of 36 Ships, 25 of which were of the line, & that he had hove out the Signal for all his people to come on board & prepare to Sail—but many of his Boats & hands being on shore, it could not be effected.

*October 29th*—The British Fleet still

appeared in the offing without the Capes, but, the wind being unfavourable, and other causes preventing, the French Fleet kept to their moorings within.—

In the Evening of this day the former fleet disappeared, & Count de Grasse engaged to remain a few days in the Bay to cover the water transport of our stores and Troops up the Bay to the River Elk.

From this time to the 5th of Nov'r was employed in embarking the Ordnance and stores and the Troops which were returning to the Northward—preparing the detachment for the Southward—providing clothing and stores for the Army commanded by Maj'r Gen'l Greene—depositing a magazine at Westham[pton] for the use of the Southern States—and making other necessary arrangements previous to the division of the army and my return to the North River—also in marching off 467 convalescents from the British Hospital under escort of Courtlandt's York Regiment for Fredericksburg on their way to join their respective Regiments at Winchester and Fort Frederick in Maryland.—

*November 5th*—The detachment for the Southward, consisting as has been before observed, of Wayne's and Gists' Brigades (excepting such men of the Maryland and Virginia lines whose terms of service would expire before the first of Jan'y.) Began their march—and were to be joined by all the cavalry that could be equipped of the first—third & fourth Regim'n at (*close of diary*).

NOTE—Washington did not resume his Journal until September, 1784.

EDITOR

## LETTERS OF WASHINGTON

## SECOND SERIES

TWENTY-TWO  
NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME  
PUBLISHED

1777

XXXI

From the Archives of Maryland at Annapolis  
Headquarters Morris Town  
9th April 1777

Sir,

Having heard that your State have appointed Lieut. Colo Geo. Stricker to the Command of a Battalion, I hold myself bound to inform you that the Character he holds here as an officer will not justify such an appointment. Yesterday he obtained my leave to resign, complaining that his private affairs indispensably require his presence at home for several months. Had there been any other Field Officer with the Batn, I should have permitted him to leave it immediately; he waits only for the Colonell's arrival—

I beg you will consider this information as proceeding from my great regard for the good of the service, and from nothing else—I have the honour to be  
with great Regard and Esteem

Yr most Obedt Servt.

GO. WASHINGTON—

(Gov. Thomas Johnson of Maryland)

XXXII

From the Archives of Maryland at Annapolis  
Headquarters Morris Town  
11th April 1777

The following, the last paragraph in the origi-

nal, does not appear in the letter printed by Sparks, IV. 385. EDITOR

Since writing the above, I have the disagreeable information that Disputes still prevail in your State about the rank of your Officers, and that the recruiting service is exceedingly injured by them—Shall the general Cause be injured by such ill timed and ineffectual Jarrings among them? I have inclosed two Resolves of Congress, warmly hoping that the knowledge of them may tend to an honourable and necessary accomodation—No settlement which they can make & submit to among themselves, will affect the army at large—I have long since determined to refer the adjusting of Rank to a Board of General Officers, which will proceed upon the business so soon as the Army collects & circumstances will admit—

I have the honour to be  
with great Respect,  
Yr most Obed't Serv't

GO. WASHINGTON

Gov'r Johnson [Maryland]

XXXIII

From the Archives of Maryland at Annapolis  
Headquarters Morris Town  
26th April 1777

Sir,

I am honoured with yours of the 19th inclosing a list of the Field Officers of your Battalions, with the arrangement of their Rank.

I have never received Returns from any of the Colonels, except Colo Price, of the State of their Regiments; if Gen'l Smallwood is at Annapolis, be kind enough to desire him to collect

them and transmit them to me as soon as possible—

I have the Honor to be Sir

Your most ob't Serv't

GO. WASHINGTON

Gov. Johnson [Maryland]

XXXIV

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

East Greenwich Rhode Island

Sir, Headquarters, May 14, 1777

Yours of the 6th instant this moment reached me, inclosing returns of the batalions raising in your State.

You must continue to send them forward with all expedition, whatever effect it may have in the opinions of those you mention. Their presence, in this quarter, cannot be dispensed with, and it is impossible to neglect a certain and pressing danger in order to guard against a precarious and improbable one.

I am Sir,

Your most obedient servant

G. WASHINGTON

Brigadier General Varnum

XXXV

Communicated by J. Watson Webb

Dear Sir, Clove, July 15, 1777

Your favour of yesterday's date is just come to hand. You have my thanks for your care of the spirit and cheese which I would wish to have sent forward to me at this place or wherever I may be—Colo Trumbull went from hence to day to Peekskill; if you could get it into his care he will, I am persuaded, put it into safe hands that will not suffer it to be stolen or adulterated on the way—but as his stay there will be very short I must request your attention to this mat-

ter if he should be come of[f]. I have also to thank you Sir, which I do very sincerely for the map which will if we should have occasion to manœuvre about in the parts described by it be very useful to me.—

I was led to believe by Genl Parsons that the Connecticut Regiments would average about 600 men each, yours having been put upon the same footing with the eight of that State I was in hopes to have found stronger than you have mentioned. I am with sincerity

Yr obedt & affect Servt

GO WASHINGTON

Colo Saml B. Webb Peekskill

XXXVI

From Clinton MSS in the N. Y. State Library

Head Quarters White Plains

Dear Sir,

21st July 1777

I have been favd with your's of yesterday, and soon after Genl Gates transmitted me letters from Coll Ethan Allen, to Genl. Starke and himself upon the same subject. I plainly perceive that this matter is likely to be productive of a serious Dispute between the State of New York and the Inhabitants of Vermont, and therefore, I do not chuse to give any Determination—I shall transmit the whole Proceedings to Congress and desire their Decision. In the mean time I have ordered the Prisoners to be returned to Fort Arnold where they are to remain, in an easy confinement under the Care of Coll Malcom the commanding Officer.

I am with great Esteem Dear Sir

Your most obedt Servt

GO. WASHINGTON

Govr Clinton



## XXXVII

From Clinton MSS in the N. Y. State Library

Head Quarters in the Clove

22 July 1777

Gentlemen

I am informed by Genl Geo. Clinton that you have vested him with powers to call out the Militia of the Counties of Ulster, Orange, Dutches and West Chester untill the 1st of August, at which time the new Legislature is summoned to meet.

As it will probably be some time before the Wheels of the new Government can be put in motion, I am fearfull that, unless this power is extended to a further time, there will be a vacancy between Genl Clinton's present Commission, and the enacting new laws by the Legislature. A circumstance which, at this time, may prove most fatal in its Consequences because, from the present appearance of Matters, the Enemy are upon the point of making some capital move.

I could therefore wish, if it can be done with propriety, that before your Board is dissolved, you would extend this power of calling out the Militia to Genl Clinton—or some other person, till such time as you may reasonably expect the new Legislature will have met and proceeded regularly to Business.

I—I mention Genl. Clinton or some other person,—because as he will enter into his office of Governor of the State upon the 1st of August, he cannot probably attend to the Business of the Militia. If you are of Opinion that

he can, I would prefer him to any other. I have the Honor to be

Gentlemen your most obt. Servt.

GO. WASHINGTON

To the Council of Safety

State of New York

## XXXVIII

Communicated by Arthur C. Porter

Chester on Delaware, Aug. 1, 1777.

10 o'clock, p. m.

Dear Sir,

By an express this moment received from Capt May the Enemy's Fleet put to Sea yesterday morning at 8 o'clock and were out of sight Three Hours when the express came away.—From this event it appears Gen'l Howe has been practicing a deep feint probably to draw our attention and whole force to this point.—I am to request that you will counter march the Division under your command and proceed with it with all possible expedition to Park's Hill, as there is strong reason to believe that the North River is their object, and that they will make a rapid push to obtain possession of our posts there.—

The inclosed letter for the Commanding Officer of the Two Eastern Brigades. which were ordered to march from Peekskill to re-inforce this army, you will transmit without a moment's delay. I am, dear sir, Yr hble svt,

GO. WASHINGTON

Please to deliver the enclosed to Col. Crane. I order him to return with you and the artillery.

Major-Gen'l Sullivan

Or Officer commanding his division on the march from Morristown to Corryel's Ferry.

## XXXIX

Communicated by Curtis Guild

Camp at the Cross Roads Bucks County  
 Sunday 10th August 1777  
 10 o'clock P M

Sir

I have just recd an Express from Philada informing me that a large Fleet was seen off Sinepugent Inlet on the 7th inst. You are therefore desired to halt wherever this finds you, and wait till we hear further of this matter. Let me know by Return of the Express where you are, that I may know how to direct for when I have occasion to send you Orders

I am sir Yr. most obt. Servt.

GO. WASHINGTON

P. S. By ordering you to halt where this shall find you, I mean upon the most convenient ground near the place.  
 Colo. Morgan

## XL

From the Archives of Maryland at Annapolis

Neshameni Camp August 17, 1777

Gentlemen,

I beg leave to trouble you with a few lines on a subject which I wish to have your attention—I was just now informed that Lieut. McNaire, of the Artillery, has been arrested, and stands bound over to the next Court to be held for Hertford County, for enlisting two men to serve in one of the Continental Regiments of Artillery—This, it is said, is in consequence of an Act of your Assembly, by which all Officers are prohibited from enlisting men within the State, unless they are of the Regiments belonging to it. I have never seen the

Law, and therefore cannot pretend to determine how far the prohibition extends, but would suppose, it was only designed to prevent the Officers of other States enlisting men to fill up the Regiment [—————] as their Quota. So far, it appears to me, the Act would be founded in the strictest justice; but when there is an absolute necessity for Artillery Corps,—when three such Regiments were ordered to be raised by Congress, without being apportioned on any particular State, certainly, each should furnish a proportion of them—This case is quite otherwise—All in this Line now with the Army have been enlisted in the New England States, a few excepted, [much the] greatest parts in that of Massachusetts, over and above their [quota] of the 88 Battalions first voted, and a proportion of the [—————] 16.—I will not say anything of the policy or impolicy[of this] Act, if it has a more extensive operation than I have [supposed] it to have, but I would take the liberty to observe, [that] in my opinion, it would be for the advantage of the State [if] each of 'em had men employed in this important [period of the] war, not to add, that the whole ought to contribute [the number] to the filling of all Corps that are deemed essential [to the whole] which are not allotted to any individual one—[—————] McClure will deliver you this Letter, and I should [expect] thro' your application and intercession with the Court of Harford, so far as they may be consistent, that Lieut. McNaire may be discharged from his recognisance, if he has not offended in

any other instance against the Laws  
of the State—

I have the honor to be  
With great respect, Gentlemen  
Your most obed. Servt  
GO. WASHINGTON  
To the Delegates of Maryland

# XLI

From the Collections of Maryland Hist. Society  
Wilmington 31 Aug 1777

Sir

The Congress having called upon the State of Maryland to furnish a number of Militia to assist in repelling the Invasion of the Enemy by way of Chesapeak Bay and appointed Brigadr Smallwood and yourself to arrange—conduct and command them, You are to repair without loss of time to George Town on Sassafras on the Eastern Shore of that State, or elsewhere on the East side of Chesapeak Bay, where the Militia are assembling for the purpose aforesaid and to arrange & form them as soon as possible into the best order you can; Which having been done you are to march them immediately towards the Head of Elk within a convenient distance to harass and annoy the Enemy's right flank and the parties they may send out; either while they remain there, or in any march they may attempt towards Philadelphia, or into the Country. For this purpose you will occupy the best posts you can, having regard to the security of your Corps against sudden attacks and surprizes by the Enemy. To prevent the latter it will be necessary to keep out constant patrols & scouting parties, and you will also use every means in your power, to

obtain good information of their situation and the earliest intelligence of their designs & intended movements.

You will report to me an account of your arrival—the place where—the amount of your Force, and every Occurrence from time to time that you may consider material and necessary.

In a peculiar manner you will extend your care to the Cattle—Horses & Stock of all kinds lying contiguous to the Enemy and withing such a distance, that there may be a probability of their falling into their Hands. These must be driven out of their reach and all Waggon & Carts removed that might facilitate the movement of their baggage and Stores.

I shall not enlarge upon this occasion—nor enter into a more minute detail for your conduct, observing at the same time, that the situation of the Enemy calls loudly for the exertions of all, and that I cannot but recommend the strictest care, attention—and dispatch in executing the Objects of your command. You will speak to the Quarter Master & Commissaries of Provisions & Forage and agree with them upon a mode by which you may be supplied with such necessaries, as you may have occasion for in the Line of their respective Departments.

There is one thing more which I would mention viz :—If there should be any Mills in the Neighborhood of the Enemy and which may be liable to fall into their hands, the Runners should be removed and secured. This can be of no injury, or but a temporary one to the proprietors, while it will effectually prevent the Enemy from using the Mills.

Grain too, should be carried out of their way as far as circumstances will admit.

Given at Wilmington this 31st day of Augt 1777.

GO. WASHINGTON

To Colonel Mordecai Gist

XLII

From the Archives of Maryland at Annapolis

Wilmington Sept. 3d 1777

Sir:

The late Resolution of Congress for sending General Smallwood and Col. Gist from this Army, to arrange and command the Militia of Maryland, now called to the Field, and the frequent applications I had, before the arrival of those Gentln at this place, to send Officers to the Eastern Shore to take [command] of the Militia assembling there, give me reason to believe, that the regulations, in this line, are not so good, as either you, or I wish them to be; and, that there is a want of Officers in that part of the State, or at least of a Head, to conduct matters properly, and in the best manner that circumstances will admit.

Under this persuasion, If you have not already appointed a General Officer, or have no particular Gentleman in view for the purpose, I would beg leave to mention John Cadwalader, Esq, for your consideration. This Gentleman I know to be a judicious—valuable Officer, and I have often regretted that he did not hold a high command in the Army of the States—If you should entertain the same opinion of him, and there is no objection to appointing him, I am satisfied he would render essential services at the Head of the Eastern

Shore Militia, if he will accept the command, which I am inclined to think would be the case.

Before Col. Gist went on this business on Monday, on account of the applications I have mentioned, and not knowing, who the Militia Officers were on the Eastern shore, I wrote to Mr. Cadwalader and requested his good Offices and exertions in assembling and arranging the Militia, which, I find, have been employed with great assiduity; and if arms could have been procured, that he would have collected a respectable body of men. My interfering in this matter was the result of necessity. I thought the situation of our affairs required it, and I trust I shall have your excuse upon the occasion—I would also observe, If Mr. Cadwalader is appointed, Col. Gist's services there may be dispensed with, and he may join his Regiment again—I sincerely congratulate you on our late success at the Northward in raising the siege of Fort Schuyler, and obliging the Enemy to go off with great precipitation—leaving their Tents—provisions and amunition, and with the loss of several prisoners and Deserters and Four Royals—

I have the Honor to be

with great respect Sir

Your Most Obt Servt.

GO. WASHINGTON

[Gov. Johnson, Maryland].

XLIII

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Camp Pawlen's Mill, 6th Oct. 1777

Sir,

I have yours of yesterday informing me that the detachment under your

command will be at Coryell's Ferry this evening. I desire you will cross immediately upon the receipt of this, and proceed by the nearest Rout to Hilltown Township, near the heights of which we shall move our Encampment. As soon as you arrive upon your ground, send me a messenger to let me know exactly where you are.

I am Sir, Yr most ob't Serv't

G. WASHINGTON

Td Brig'r Gen'l Varnum

#### XLIV

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Camp Pawling's Mill, 7th Oct. 1777

Sir,

I desire you will, immediately on receipt of this, detach Col. Greene's and Col. Angell's regiments, with their baggage, with orders to throw themselves into the fort at Red Bank, upon the Jersey Shore. This important post commands and defends the Chevaux de Frieze, and unless kept in our possession, our vessels of war must quit their station, and thereby leave the enemy at liberty to weigh the Chevaux de Frieze and open the free navigation of the river. These regiments are not to take any artillery with them. General Greene has written a particular letter to Col. Greene, in which he will find instructions. I desire the detachment may march with the utmost dispatch, by the following rout. From the place where this reaches you to Bristol and from thence across the Delaware to Burlington, from Burlington to Mt. Holly,—from Mount Holly to Haddonfield,—

from Haddonfield to Woodberry—from Woodbury to Red Bank.

I am Sir Your most obd't Servant

GO. WASHINGTON

Brigadier General Varnum

#### XLV

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Head Quarters, Pawling's Mill,

Oct. 8, 1777

Sir,

I send you the foregoing duplicate, of mine of yesterday, to prevent any delay or disappointment from mis-carriages; as it is of the utmost importance, no time should be lost in forwarding the detachment to the place of its destination. The army here marches this morning, from hence to the Baptist Meeting House in Montgomery Township, whither you will direct your course by the shortest rout, and effect a junction as soon as possible.

I am Sir, Your most obed't Serv't

GO. WASHINGTON

P. S. Herewith is a letter of instructions\* to Col. Greene, which, please, immediately forward to him.

Brigadier General Varnum

\* *The letter of instructions to General Greene is printed in Sparks' Writings of Washington, V. 86.*

#### XLVI

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Headquarters, October 8, 1777

Sir,

I this evening received your favour of this date, The Regiments under Cols. Greene & Angell are to proceed to Red Bank according to orders. I desire to be informed of their precise amount by

this express, at daylight, tomorrow, and that you and Gen Huntington, will join me, with the Remainder, as early as you can.

I am Sir Your most obed't Serv't  
Go. WASHINGTON  
Brigadier General Varnum

## XLVII

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Head Qrs at Frederick Wampol's,

Sir, 9 Oct. 1777

I received your letter early this morning by the return of the Express. Since the order given for the march of Col's Greene's & Angell's Regiments, some circumstances have cast up, which from appearances, make so large a number of Continental Troops at Red Bank unnecessary; I therefore desire that you will, on receipt of this, send the express to Col. Angell to return immediately with his Regiment, and to join this Army as soon as he can. I am much surprised to find the troops were on the Road to Coriels ferry and only ten miles from it, after I had pointed out the proper rout in the most plain & direct terms. You will write to Col. Greene on the subject and order him to pursue the way mentioned in his instructions. He will lose no time in getting to Red Bank with his Regiment. My intention was that you and Gen'l Huntington should join me this morning, with the Remainder of the Troops, and so I thought I expressed myself. You are to do it.

I am Sir Your most obed't Serv't  
Gen'l Farnum Go. WASHINGTON

This letter is endorsed, "If the weather should prove unfit for Troops to march, you

will remain where you are, till it is suitable. By command Rob't H. Harrison

## XLVIII

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Headquarters, 31st October, 1777  
Sir,

The loss of our heavy cannon on the North river, and the possibility however remote, of losing those which are in the Forts on Delaware, in which case we should be divested totally of an essential defence against the enemy's ships, make it advisable to remove from Red Bank and Fort Mifflin, all the large Calibers that can possibly be spared from their necessary defence, to some Place of Safety where they may be kept in reserve. Fort Mifflin has had a requisition of cannon taken from the wreck of the Augusta, which will probably have given to that post a superfluous number.—The approaching Frosts will effectually stop the blasts of our Furnaces, which is a father cogent reason for making a Store of heavy Cannon in case of accidents.

In my letter to Gen'l Forman, I mentioned that the crews on board the Gallies, should not expose themselves in dragging for Cannon, to the fire of a battery, which he thinks the enemy have raised to interrupt them—but if a plan which I have suggested to him can be carried into Execution, the objection will be removed and a further acquisition may be made of the valuable article in question.

I am Sir Your humble Serv't  
Go. WASHINGTON  
To Brigadier Gen'l Varnum  
P. S. It will be necessary to consult

the Commodore, upon the Subject above mentioned, he will judge of the safety with which the Galleys may proceed in dragging for the Cannon.

## XLIX

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Head Quarters, 7th Novemr, 1777

Sir,

From various accounts, I am convinced that the enemy are upon the point of making a grand effort upon Fort Mifflin. A person in confidence of one of their principal artificers, thinks it will be to day or to morrow, No time is therefore to be lost in making that Garrison as respectable as your numbers will admit, for should the attack commence before they are reinforced, it may probably be out of your power to throw them in. I think you had better, for the present, draw all the Continental Troops into or near Forts Mercer and Mifflin, and let what militia are collected lay without, for I am of opinion that they will rather dismay than assist the Continental Troops, if shut up in the Forts. Acquaint the Commodore that my informant says, there are three floating batteries and some Fire Rafts prepared, which are to fall down upon his fleet at the same time that the island is attacked, and desire him to keep a lookout and make the necessary preparation to receive them. As fort Mercer cannot be attacked without considerable previous notice, I would have you spare as many men to Fort Mifflin, as you possibly can, for if the accounts are to be depended upon, that is undoubtedly by the post the Enemy have their designs upon. I am very anxious to hear what was the oc-

casion of the heavy firing of musketry, on the Evening of the 5th, it seemed to us, to be at Fort Mifflin.

I am, Sir Your obd't Serv't

GO. WASHINGTON

Gen'l Varnum

## L

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Head Quarters, Whitemarsh,

8th Novemr 1777

Sir,

Yours of the 6th relieved me from much anxiety, as it was confidently reported, that the firing upon the 5th was upon Fort Mifflin, I am pleased to hear of the success of your Cannonade against the Enemy's Shipping, and I am very certain if we had more heavy Cannon mounted upon travelling carriages, to move up and down the Beach occasionally, that we should annoy and distress them exceedingly. To possess Billingsport, as well as Red Bank, is certainly a most desirable object, but circumstanced as we are at present, in respect to numbers, it is impossible. In a letter from General Dickinson, of the 6th, he informs me that he had ordered two detachments of Militia to march from Elizabethtown to Red-Bank, one consisting of 160 men, he does not mention the number of the other.

I have just seen a very intelligent person from Philadelphia. He has been conversant with many people, who stand high in the confidence of the British Officers of the first Rank. He finds from all their discourse that a formidable attack is to be made upon Fort Mifflin very soon, if that fails, they will be obliged to change their quarters, as

they find they cannot subsist in the City, without they have a free communication with their Shipping.

I therefore repeat what I wrote yesterday, that you should immediately reinforce Fort Mifflin, as Strongly as possible and give the Commodore notice of the intended attack.

The inclosed for Commodore Hazlewood, Col. Greene and L't Colo Smith are from Congress, and as they bear honourable testimony of their behaviour hitherto, I beg they may be put immediately into their hands. It perhaps may prove a further incentive to their gallant exertions. I approve of the measures you have taken to procure cloathing for the troops, and am Sir

Your most obd't Serv't

GO. WASHINGTON

Gen'l Varnum

# L I

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Head Quarters, 10th Novemr, 1777

Dear Sir,

I am pleased to find, by yours of the 8th that proper dispositions were formed for the reception of the Enemy at Forts Mercer and Mifflin, and that the Garrisons were so full of confidence. We already have a firing which we suppose a prelude to something more serious. I sincerely wish you success, but let the event be fortunate or otherwise, pray, let me have the speediest intelligence. I am dear Sir Yr most obd't Serv't

GO. WASHINGTON

Your detachments are on their march from Fishkill to join you.  
Gen'l Varnum

# L II

Communicated by Henry E. Turner

Headquarters Novr 11th, 1777

Dear Sir,

Your favours of 9th & 10th Instant I have duly received. I think we may reasonably hope, that from the good dispositions of the Troops in your quarter and the Zeal & Activity of the Officers and Men, joined to the present very advanced and cold Season, which must greatly retard if not prevent the operations of the Enemy, matters may terminate with you, agreeable to our Expectations—this must have the greatest influence upon the conduct of Gen'l Howe, and force him to adopt disadvantageous or disgraceful Measures.

Gen'l Knox informs me that he has sent down a person to get an exact return of the ammunition which you now have, & of what may be wanted & that he has sent off 17 Waggon loaded, with Bill, which you will receive about this time. A Waggon with 20,000 Muskett Cartridges will be immediately dispatched, to be delivered to the Militia (if you see fit) by your order only.—It is greatly to be wished that all Firing could be prevented, except when there is a real necessity & the distance such as might promise a good effect.

I have wrote to Gen'l Potter, advising him to take every step by which he can assist you & distress the Enemy on Province Island; he may alarm them and draw off their attention from Fort Mifflin, if nothing more. You are acquainted with the reasons why a greater force is not sent to annoy them in that quarter.



Inclosed you have a list of the ammunition which Gen'l Knox says has been sent down to these Posts since 23th Ult.

I am Dear Sir Your most obd't Serv't  
Go WASHINGTON  
Gen Varnum

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### NOTES

ROUTE OF THE FRENCH FROM PROVIDENCE TO KING'S FERRY—In letter No. II of the Abbé Robin's nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale, dated Camp at Philipsburg, 30th July, 1781, occurs the following reference to Monsieur Berthier, Aide Maréchal des Logis in the French contingent serving in America :

"To this gentleman and his brother, whom M. de Rochambeau has since also made Aide-Maréchal des Logis, we owe a geographical plan of the entire march of the army ; a piece of work all the more valuable since there is not yet any exact map of these portions of the country." In a note is added : "These young officers are sons of M. Berthier, Chevalier of the order of King and of that of St. Louis, Governor of the Hotel de la Guerre."

Alexandre Berthier, one of these brothers, was the famous Marshal of Napoleon, chief of the staff during the campaigns of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Iéna and Prince of Wagram.

It is probable that the map found in the Journal of Cromot du Bourg, and published in this Magazine, was traced from this original. EDITOR

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HESSIAN DESERTERS — *Philadelphia, August 29, 1780.* To German Deserters:

Notice is hereby given, that all German Deserters from the armies of Great Britain, will meet with proper encouragement for enlisting in the Royal Regiment of Deux-Ponts, and of the Duke de Lauzun's Hussars, both of which corps are now serving in America under the command of Monsieur le Comte de Rochambeau.

Application must be made to Col. Nicola at the Barracks ; or at Mr. Peter Hays's, in Third Street near Race Street, where an officer of each corps will be found.

N. B.—The advantages of all kinds granted to those who will make use of this opportunity, whether with respect of the bounties or of victuals and cloaths, have already collected a large number of deserters in Philadelphia. They have the choice of enlisting in the Hussars, commanded by the Duke de Lauzun, who is in Rhode Island at the head of a Legion, or in the German regiment called Zweybruck or Royal Deux Ponts, commanded by the Count of Deux Ponts.—*Pennsylvania Packet, Tuesday Sept. 12, 1780* IULUS

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FRENCH SETTLERS FOR AMERICA — *Paris, March 1, 1719*—They have begun here to transport Deserters from among the Troops, as well as Malefactors of both Sexes, to our Colonies in America, to work, some for life, others for certain Terms of Years, in cultivating the Country. They are to be transported at the Charge of the Company of Mississippi, who are to have the benefit of their Work. That Company have demanded Permission to establish a new Colony in Florida, in a certain Extent of Country, out of

which they design to drive the Spaniards who are in Possession of it; for it belongs by Right to France, and makes part of the Grant made by the late King to M. de Croizat and the Company of Mississippi.

*Paris, August 3, 1720*—Advice has been received from Port Louis, that a whole Chain of Young People, consisting of 60 persons, that were ordered for Mississippi, had found Means to make their Escape.

PETERSFIELD

WAR PRICES IN NEW YORK, 1780—An officer, lately returned from New York, reports that Vegetables and Fruit are so excessively scarce there that at an ordinary Dinner at any of the Taverns in the City the Garden Stuff and Desert generally exceed the Charge of every other article of the Entertainment besides Wine and Firing (in Winter Time only excepted). November, 1780.—*Upcott Clippings, N. Y. Historical Society, VI. 143.*

CHICAGO—Mr. Thomas W. Field in his Essay towards our Indian Bibliography, in a note to the title *Lettres Edifiantes*, says "A curious identification of the name of the city of Chicago is found in the letter of Father Petit, which gives minute details of the visit of the Illinois chief Chicaugou to the Mission. This chief had visited Paris and became somewhat noted, and doubtless it was from him that the name of that once opulent city is derived." If this be correct, then the drawl of Western pronunciation on the second syllable of the name of their great city is not as objectionable as has been supposed; but

what becomes of La Salle's account of the rivers and peoples discovered by him, 1681-2, printed in the Magazine [II. 619] in which he speaks of the "Chucagoa, which means in their language [the tribe unnamed, save as neighbors of the Cisca] the Great River?" Perhaps the solution is that the chief who visited France was known by the name of the river.

ILLINOIS

#### SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES—

In the Baltimore Repertory for 1811, there is a curious paper entitled "Calculations to show how far Slaves influence Political Representation in the United States." Tables show the decrease of slaves in the Northern and Middle and their increase in the Southern States. At the close is the following prediction: "The day is not far distant when the Southern and Western States will have more Representatives in Congress and Electors of President, *for slaves only*, than the Northern will have for all their free people."

EDITOR

#### QUERIES

THE VAN BRUGH LIVINGSTON MANSION ON THE HUDSON—Mr. Lossing in his note to the Field Book, says of this house which is at Dobbs Ferry:

"It was the headquarters of Washington when he abandoned an attempt to capture New York City, changed his plans and marched his whole army to Virginia to capture Cornwallis. There, at the close of the war, Washington, Governor Clinton and General Sir Guy Carleton and their respective suites met to make arrangements for the evacuation of the City of New York by the British. Washington and Clinton came down the river from West Point in a barge. Carleton ascended in a frigate. Four companies

of American infantry performed the duty of guards on that occasion."

In the *Mag. of Am. Hist.* [V. 108], it is stated on the authority of an officer that Washington's headquarters on this occasion were at Orangetown or Tappan on the opposite shore. Washington addressed his letter of May 6 to Carleton from the same place, and in his letter to the Duke de Lauzun of the 10th, he says that he was on the 8th at Orangetown in a conference with Sir Guy Carleton. See Spark's writings of Washington, VIII., 429-432.

Carleton went up in the Greyhound, probably the same vessel which carried up the commissioners from Clinton to treat for André's life in 1780. This was a sloop, not a frigate—perhaps the tender to the frigate of the same name then on the New York station. Has Mr. Lossing any authority for the statement that Washington had his headquarters at the Van Brugh Livingston House when his army was at Philipsburgh? It may well have been so, but what is the authority? IULUS

*New York*

A LIFE OF WASHINGTON—I have a copy of "The Life and Memorable Actions of George Washington, General and Commander of the Armies of America," Fredericktown, printed by M. Bartgis, 1801, 12mo, pp. 68.

The book is in excellent preservation, and contains a rude portrait of Washington, which I do not remember to have seen mentioned in any published list. There is also an interesting account of Washington's funeral, with the names of the pall-bearers, arranged on each side

of a coffin, in the order which they respectively occupied.

Though the book has suffered no violence, it unfortunately appears to be imperfect. There is an evident error in paging, as the thirty-seventh page directly follows the thirty-second, and at this point there also seems to be a hiatus in the text. If any of the readers of this Magazine are in possession of perfect copies of this little book, I would be glad to be informed of it, so that the extent of the imperfection may by comparison be determined.

JOS. HENRY DUBBS

*Lancaster, Pa.*

NICHOLAS PARISOT—This French gentleman came to America with the French troops, and the tradition of the family is that he was a commissary general. In 1793 he wrote a book entitled *American Cavalry Discipline*, which he dedicated to Washington and presented copies to him, and to Congress as appears by the records of the War Department.

Can any of your readers give definite information as to the corps in which he served and his command?

HENRY A. STEVENS

*Morristown, Penn.*

SEDITIONOUS THREAT—In the debate on the Judiciary bill in the U. S. Senate, Jan. 14, 1802, Gen. Jackson, Senator from Georgia, said, speaking of the Sedition Law, "that law under which so many of our citizens have been imprisoned, for writings and speakings; and one, among others, for wishing that the wadding of a gun lodged in a cer-

tain Presidential part." (Debates on the Judiciary, Albany, 1802, p. 40).

Can you or any of your readers furnish the facts of this remarkable case, where it occurred, and how long an imprisonment the party suffered on account of his *malevolent* wish?

*Fort Wayne*

R. S. ROBERTSON

### REPLIES

BAMFYLDE MOORE CAREW—[VI. 220, 460.] I am able to add an item or two to what has been said of Bamfylde Moore Carew. These may not be important, but they are new. He says in his "apology" that he was transported to Maryland for having "disobliged some gentlemen," an euphuism, I presume, for having picked their pockets. The date of his travels to and through America was the year 1739 or '40, as is readily inferred from his own statements. The ship upon which he embarked came up the Chesapeake and entered Saint Michaels river. It is almost positively certain that the place where he landed was *Water Point*, at the mouth of the *harbor* of the present town of Saint Michaels, in Talbot county. The names he mentions, as those of planters coming on board the ship to purchase servants, are all familiar, and the persons bearing them have representatives in this country to the present day, who are among our most respectable citizens. The Mr. Hambleton, a Scotchman named by Carew, was the ancestor of the Hon. Samuel Hambleton, for some years Member of Congress from the First District of Maryland. "Parson Nichols" was the honored rector of St. Michaels parish

for many years (from 1708 to 1748), and his tombstone is still preserved in the parish church. The inscription upon this is curious, and I would give it, but that it would increase the length of this communication. His blood is in the veins of some of the best people of Talbot, and his name perpetuated by Mr. Thomas C. Nichols, a merchant of Easton, Md. "Mr. Rolles" whom he names as the purchaser of the sheep-stealing tailor, Griffy, of Devonshire, has descendants living at Rolles' Range, near St. Michaels, the seat of the family for nearly two hundred years. The Rolles claim a noble descent, and their coat of arms shines resplendent over their mantelshef. Whatever else is neglected, this is kept clear and bright. The Ashcrofts lived long in the county, and are now represented in Baltimore. "Mr. David Huxter" or Hoxter, who was one of the planters desirous of becoming the master of Mr. Carew, has left children of several descents in Caroline county, and perhaps in this. S. A. H.

*Woodstock, Easton, Talbot Co., Md.*

BLUE NOSES—[VII. 64.] This question is propounded and answered by Judge Haliburton in the opening paragraphs of chapter VI. of Sam Slick in England.

"Pray, sir," said one of my fellow passengers, "can you tell me why the Nova Scotians are called Blue Noses?" "It is the name of a potato," said I, "which they produce in great perfection, and boast to be the best in the world. The Americans have, in consequence, given them the nickname, 'Blue Noses.'"

I. C.

LAFAYETTE'S LAST VISIT TO AMERICA —[VI. 330.] In reading with the keenest pleasure the admirable account of "Lafayette's Last Visit to America," by Mrs. Church, in your May number, I remark a slip of the pen on page 330, where it is stated that "Lafayette made a visit to the venerable John Quincy Adams, then eighty-nine years of age." The visit was to John Adams, the father of John Quincy Adams.

E. N. HORSFORD

*Cambridge*

STRICTURES ON ANDRÉ'S CHARACTER —[VI. 457.] André stole, beside the Encyclopédie, musical instruments and a portrait of Dr. Franklin. "C." had better examine Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, II. 104; Moore's Diary of the Revolution, II. 484; Sabin's American Bibliopolist, I. 333, and II. 103.

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

— The strictures to which Sargent refers are evidently those printed in the Pennsylvania Packet of September 6, 1781, where André is called, among other things, "the unprincipled robber of a public library, the cringing insidious sycophant and base spy," &c. The article was written by a South Carolina gentleman, who was cognizant of André's having acted the spy in Charleston.

The entire article can be found in Moore's Diary of the Revolution, Vol. II. pp. 481-5. In Niles' Register for March 1, 1817, can also be found a notice of the robbery of the Library Company of Philadelphia. See also Benson's

Vindication of André's Captors, pp. 129, &c.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

*Wilkesbarre, Pa.*

THE CADMUS —[VI. 322.] Mrs. Church's paper on Lafayette's Last Visit to America, naturally recalls the recollections of those who were living at the time. Every person, every circumstance and every object specially connected with that illustrious event and its hero, is, by the law of association, invested with peculiar interest, and possibly may prove to be of historical value. Thus the ship which brought over him who was to be "the nation's guest" and visitor for the last time, is not unworthy of a memorial notice, and its name has become permanently and pleasingly suggestive.

The Cadmus, so named by a venerable lady still living, a sister of the owner, Mr. William Whitlock, Jr., for whom it was built in New York not long before its use for Lafayette, belonged at that period to the Havre line of packet ships, organized and managed by William Whitlock, Jr., & Co., 46 South street. When this eminent shipping house, consisting of Captain William Whitlock, the aged father, Mr. Sydney Whitlock, and the brother already mentioned, learned that the General preferred to be conveyed to our shores in a private vessel, they at once put the Cadmus at his service, and, true to the character of that noble spirited class of old New York merchants, declined to receive any remuneration from him therefor. No other passengers but himself and his suite were accepted, and the ship took no cargo. General Lafayette fully appre-

ciated this initial act of patriotic American friendship, and the first private house in which he accepted an invitation to dine, after reaching the city, was that of Mr. William Whitlock, Jr., who then lived on William street, near Spruce. On this occasion he met with several distinguished citizens besides the family party. One of these was Col. Ephraim Whitlock, from New Jersey, an uncle of the host, who was quickly recognized by the grand old General as one of his officers from that State during the Revolution, and much did they enjoy together the mutual recall of a common field adventure in which they had a narrow escape from the red-coats. He also called at Mr. Whitlock's the day before his return voyage for a final leave taking.

Captain Allyn was commander of the *Cadmus* when Lafayette came over. This ship, after some years, ceased to be a packet, was sold, and was last heard of as a whaling vessel.

The late Mr. William Whitlock, Jr., lived to an advanced age. He was for many years the honored Treasurer of the American Bible Society, and also of old St. George's church in Beekman street.

*Elizabeth, N. J.*

W. H.

STATUE TO WILLIAM PITT—[VI. 222.] The statue of William Pitt, the elder, was erected by the citizens of New York in 1770, in the centre of William, at its junction with Wall street, and near the southwest corner of the old City Hall. When the British took New York, one hand of the figure was missing. During the stay of the British troops, some officers, in their revels, knocked off the head, on St. Andrew's night. In 1788,

as stated, it was taken down, and as late as 1843 it was in the yard of the arsenal on the site of the Harlem Railroad Depot, near the city prison. John P. Watson, in his annals of New York, says that he saw it there, and adds "that it was of fine marble, and well executed; the figure draped in a Roman toga, showing the roll of Magna Charta." J. C. B.

ORIGIN OF THE NAME OF TEXAS—[VI. 223, VII. 67.] Parkman, in his "Discovery of the Great West," p. 399, quotes a Spanish document of May, 1689, which mentions the tribe of the "Texas" in connection with the murderers of La Salle, and adds in a note: "This is the first instance in which the name occurs." This document is in Buckingham Smith's "Coleccion," printed Madrid, 1657. The first printed book by the Spaniards in which it is found is in the "Continente Americano," published in 1725, by Pedro de Rivera Marquez, p. 10, where the name "Presidios de los Tejas" is given. The name "Presidio de los Tejas" appears also in relation to the same event in Barcia's Florida, Madrid, 1723, under the years 1686 and 1688, pages 266 and 295. Under the year 1693, page 312, he says Missions of Spanish Franciscans are established in the same Province. On De Lisle's maps of 1700 and 1703, he has the *coenis* or *cénis* only; on those of 1718, *Cénis Missione de los Teijas*, établie en 1716, near Trinity River. In 1722 it appears as *Tecas et cénis*. In D'Anville's map, 1746, it is *Tecas*, applied to a province, and in 1755, it appears as "*Presidio Espagnol de la Province de Tecas*," with the tribe of *Adayés* near it. J. C. B.

## EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

AN ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO TAKE THE LIFE OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON THE MORNING OF SATURDAY, THE SECOND DAY OF JULY, 1881.

The assault was made at the station of the Baltimore and Potomac Railroad, in the city of Washington. The President was about to take the train for Long Branch on his way to join in the Commencement exercises of Williams College where he was graduated. He was accompanied by the Secretary of State. The President passed through the waiting-room. He was twice shot from behind, and fell dangerously, if not fatally, wounded. He was immediately carried to the White House, where he remains under the care of surgeons and physicians.

This event occurring at a time when the United States was enjoying a prosperity unexampled in its history, when the bitterness of sectional strife was finally allayed, and all of its citizens were looking forward to a wise administration of the government by a President who enjoyed universal confidence and represented in himself the best elements of the Nation in manly courage, untiring industry and high culture, has shocked, not only our entire people, but the civilized world.

Immediately upon the announcement of the assault, expressions of horror, of esteem, of sympathy, and of hope, were received by telegraph from the sovereigns and potentates of every country of Europe and the East, and the mails arrive, freighted with similar assurances, from cities, corporations, and individuals.

No event in the history of the country has ever evoked a more unanimous sentiment. It crystallized in an instant all the latent elements of nationality, broken and dispersed by a long series of misunderstanding and strife. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the St. Lawrence to the Rio Grande, has arisen the cry, it is *our* President whose life has been assailed. If, as God grant, the prayers of the nation be answered, and the chief magistrate be spared, it will be to direct the destinies of a people more trustful and more united than at any period since the foundation of the government. But if, in the dark ways of Providence it be ordained that this priceless life shall be thus closed, there is the consolation that the last hours of this manly spirit will be cheered by the assurance that its sacrifice has welded together the Nation he so dearly loved.

As these lines go to press unfavorable symptoms in the President's condition are distressing and agitating the country. But there is still hope.

*Tuesday, July 12, 1881.*

AMONG the innumerable expressions of opinion by the institutions of the land, the most remarkable and noteworthy was that of the Chamber of Commerce of New York on the 7th July. After the passing of resolutions appropriate to the solemn occasion, Mr. Cyrus W. Field announced that a movement had been initiated to secure by subscription the sum of two hundred and fifty thousand dollars to be securely invested for the benefit of the family of Mr. Garfield, whether the President should or should not survive. Before the meeting broke up nearly fifty thousand dollars were pledged. The immediate purpose of the subscription was announced to be to relieve the mind of the President of any anxiety as to the future of his family, and thus aid him in his battle for life.

A COMET, the identity of which with any of the previous known erratic visitors to our celestial sphere is not established, has made its appearance in our northern sky. The first accurate observations were taken at the Dudley Observatory on the nights of the 24th to 28th of June, and its orbit established. It passed its perihelion June 16, and entered the earthly orbit on the 19th June. It was then nearest the earth, about 26,000,000 miles distant. It was generally seen in the United States on the morning of June 25. For the first time in the history of science Professor Draper obtained a photograph of the spectrum of the nucleus and coma from his observatory at Hastings-on-Hudson, New York. On the night of Wednesday, the 6th July, the comet exploded, the nucleus separating into two parts and forming two distinct comets which moved on parallel courses. This was witnessed by Professors Stone and Wilson, of Cincinnati. A similar separation was observed in Biela's comet.

DANIEL WEBSTER, the defender of the Constitution, was born at Salisbury, New Hampshire, January 18, 1782, and was graduated from Dartmouth College in 1801. It is proposed to celebrate the centennial of his birth at Dartmouth, a suggestion which is eminently proper.

THE favorite English theory that the races of

man and beast degenerate on the western continent, has this year received a fatal blow. The American horse Iroquois won the blue ribband of the Derby, an honor second only to that of the Garter, and subsequently carried off the St. James Palace Stakes at the Ascot meeting. A few days later Foxhall, also an American horse, won the Grand Prix de Paris, the richest turf purse in the world.

ST. ROCH's and St. John's suburbs and Montcalm Ward, Quebec, were swept by fire and entirely consumed on the night of the 8th of June last. About eight hundred buildings were destroyed. The loss is estimated at two million dollars. Nearly two hundred years ago Louis the Fourteenth sent the Governor of the Province leathern buckets to the value of two hundred crowns and a Dutch pump. Unfortunately Quebec has not kept pace with the modern improvements in fire extinguishers and pays a terrible penalty for her negligence.

HARVARD University asserted its scholarship by the performance of the *Œdipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles in the original Greek at Sanders theatre in May last. The play lasted for three hours, and was received with great applause. The strophes and antistrophes by the chorus were well rendered.

THE Massachusetts Historical Society held its regular May meeting in the Dowse Library. The Boston Daily Advertiser of the 3d June reported in full the eloquent address of Mr. Winthrop on taking the chair at the May meeting, on his return from a visit to Washington. In the brief period of three weeks he had been called to mourn the loss of several valued friends, to each of whom he paid a tribute in his usual graceful and felicitous manner. Among these were Dr. Alexander Hamilton Vinton, of Philadelphia, the Hon. Hugh Blair Grigsby, of Virginia, Dr. John Gorham Palfrey, of Massachusetts, and Charles Hudson, of the same State, a most capable and industrious local historian and member of the Society.

Resolutions of respect to the memory of the three last named were adopted. A miniature of



John Gray, the owner of the rope-walk formerly at the foot of the Common, and actor in the Boston Tea Party, was presented on behalf of Mrs. E. G. Parker. A catalogue was also presented from the records of Kings' Chapel of the Library, given by King William III. to it — of which a portion is now in the Boston Athenæum — the only library of that period now preserved in Boston. Mr. Winthrop made allusion to the original portrait of John Hampden, which is in the Executive Mansion at Washington.

The June meeting was held Thursday, the 9th, in the Dowse Library, the President in the Chair. A gift to the cabinet was reported from James Lord Bowes, of Liverpool, of a revolutionary relic; a powder-horn, inscribed "Lynn, March the 9th, A. D. 1776. Major Samuel Selden's P. Horn, made for the defence of liberty," and adorned with a plan of the British defences and the American works on Boston Neck. The President presented a copy of the Biography of Count Adolphe de Circourt (the French translator of Bancroft's History of the United States), by his friend, Colonel Hubert Saladin, now in his 83d year; a privately printed memoir. The appendix contains a list of the Count's writings, comprising nearly two hundred and fifty titles and twenty-six still unpublished manuscripts. Mr. Charles Deane gave a bibliographical account of the volume published by the younger Gorges, "America Painted to the Life, with some critical remarks." Mr. Ellis Ames spoke of the death of General Poor of Exeter, N. H., in 1781, while in the army of the revolution, which was ascribed to putrid fever. This he had ascertained to be an error, the fact being that General Poor was killed in a duel by the Rev. Mr. Porter, then a Major in command of troops from Bridgewater, and an elder brother of the Rev. Eliphalet Porter of Roxbury. He was relieved from duty after General Poor's death, but was appointed as escort to Lafayette on his return to France in the succeeding winter. He afterward embarked for Curacoa for merchandise, but was never heard of after. His military career began 5th May, 1775, when the report came of an alarm from the British at Weymouth. Mr. Tuttle informed the Society that in the course of

a recent visit to Bermuda he had examined the records of that colony from 1616, finding, among other things, conveyances of Indian slaves, who, from the dates, were probably Pequots, survivors of King Philip's war, who were sold into slavery by order of the General Court of Massachusetts. The Society then adjourned until September.

AN interesting historical coincidence relating to the observance of the Fourth of July in 1774, has recently been discovered by the Historical Society of Rockland County, N. Y. A convention was held at the Mabie House, Tappan, on the Fourth of July, 1774, when resolutions were adopted protesting against the Boston Port Act, and recommending in retaliation the Non-Importation Agreement. The 107th anniversary of this event was duly observed by the society on the 4th of July at Tappan. A paper was read by the secretary relating to the revolutionary history of Rockland County or Orange County, south of the mountains, covering a period from 1775 to the close of 1776, and an oration delivered by Rev. Dr. Gunning, Vice-President of the Society.

THE Historic Genealogical Society held its monthly meeting at Boston, Wednesday, June 1st, the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder presiding. A resolution, offered by the Hon. N. F. Safford, protesting to the city authorities against the proposed demolition of the old State House, was unanimously adopted. The paper of the day was by the Rev. F. W. Holland of Cambridge, on "The Causes of the Reaction in England from Republicanism and Puritanism." It began with a statement of the national achievements of England during the five years of Cromwell's protectorate, which raised her to the highest pinnacle of influence, yet he had hardly been dead a year when the same majority of voices that demanded a republic welcomed the return of the monarchy. The causes of this sudden change, Mr. Holland considers to be the failure of Cromwell to provide for due succession of his power. This failure again he held to be due, not to want of prescience in Cromwell, but to the fatalism of his belief, in which he was encouraged by the Calvinistic clergymen who sur-

rounded him, that his life would be spared until his mission was fully accomplished. There were other reasons for the failure of the republic; the opposition of the clerical party, the sectarian dissensions of the dissenters themselves, the divisions in the army, which were so aggravated just prior to the Restoration, that the cavalry and infantry came to actual conflict in the suburbs of London; the hostility of the Puritans to the popular sports of the people, and finally, be it ever remembered as a warning, the corruption of Parliament. He might have added the class subordination, fastened by the Norman conqueror upon the institutions of England, which is to-day the strongest obstacle to the establishment of a republic. No Englishman can long endure an order of society in which he has not some one to look up to, and some one to look down upon; in which he may be looked up to and down upon in turn.

THE Maine Historical Society held its Spring meeting in two sessions, at the Library in City Hall, Portland, Wednesday, the 25th May, the President, Hon. J. W. Bradbury of Augusta, in the chair. Donations were reported since January 16th of 271 bound volumes and 526 pamphlets, of a large framed lithographic portrait of the poet Longfellow, presented by himself, and one of Commodore Preble, by Edward E. Preble. The Society very wisely propose to receive as loans family portraits and heir-looms, subject to the call of the owners. This is the true way to begin any public collection, whether library, gallery or museum. Families will gladly avail of a sure place of deposit, and few loans would ever be recalled. Due discrimination should be exercised as to the objects received. The Library has been visited by from two to three hundred persons in the last quarter, rendering the appointment of a person to take daily charge necessary. Miss Scammon has been employed. It is proposed that a seal, with a Latin motto and the date of the incorporation of the Society, 1822, should be agreed upon and made. B. K. Sewall, from the field-day committee of 1879 and 1880, reported at length the investigations made at Monhegan and Damariscove in 1879, and at Castine in 1880. The

report for 1879 included a full account of the voyage of George Weymouth in the Archangel in 1605. In connection with that for 1880, Mr. Sewall presented to the Society, in the name of the heirs of Dr. J. L. Stevens, a valuable collection of gold coins discovered near Castine. On the second day of the proceedings George F. Talbot read a paper on the life of General John Chandler, the son of Joseph Chandler, a captain in the seven years' war and in command of a company in that of the Revolution. John, who was born at Epping, N. H., entered the army early, and served out two enlistments as a soldier, besides being engaged on the privateer Arnold, which was captured while he was on her. In the war of 1812 he served as a brigadier-general, and was engaged in several actions. He represented Massachusetts in the State Senate and the lower house of Congress, in each of which he chiefly interested himself in legislation concerning the military. He established the military arsenal at Augusta, and procured the building of the military road from Bangor to Houlton. He was a democrat of the old school, and held the post of Collector in the Portland Custom House from 1829 to 1837. He went early to Maine, and began a settlement in the town of Wales, later incorporated into the town of Monmouth, in Kennebec county. A member of the convention which framed the constitution of Maine, he was elected to the Senate of the State, and was made its President. He died, at his residence in Augusta, in 1841. His journal, from which the sketch was prepared, is deposited in the archives of the Society. James P. Baxter, of Portland, read a paper on Lovewell's Fight at Pequaket, an engagement, in which the bushrangers under Lovewell were surprised by a superior force of Indians in April, 1725, and Lovewell was killed. Mr. Baxter told his story without prejudice, and showed the English to be the aggressors. He also descends the duel between John Chamberlain and Paugus, who met his death at the hands of Seth Wyman. E. H. Elwell read a paper on the White Mountains, an account of which appeared in the Portland Advertiser for May 27. It was announced that the Trelawney papers were in the printer's hands, and will appear during the year. The

biographical notice of the Hon. Peleg Sprague, assigned to the President of the Society, the Hon. James W. Bradbury, not being completed, will be submitted at the next meeting. The Society has received as gifts, from Gen. James D. Fessenden, a cane cut at Mount Vernon in 1824, and another made from wood of the United States frigate Constitution, built in 1797; and, as a loan, the portrait of Senator William Pitt Fessenden, by Brunildi.

At a meeting of the committee of the municipal authorities on public buildings, the Hon. Isaac Washburne and Gen. T. Marshall Brown appeared to procure a recommendation of an appropriation for the putting up of the rooms granted to the Society in the City building.

THE New York Historical Society held their regular monthly meeting Tuesday, June 7, 1881, in the hall of the Society. An interesting paper, prepared many years since by the late Judge John M. McDonald, distinguished for his untiring industry in gathering details for New York history during the revolutionary period, the title of which was "The Life and Character of the Marquis de la Rouerie," better known as the French famous cavalry officer, Colonel Armand, who marched as a volunteer in the attack on the British redoubts at Yorktown, and to whose bravery Col. Hamilton bore willing testimony. The table business was of more than usual interest. Among the communications was the following, from John Austin Stevens, which was referred to the Executive Committee with power:

NEW YORK, June 7, 1881:

*Gentlemen of the New York Historical Society:*

I take leave to remind you of the approaching visit of M. Edmond de Lafayette and the Marquis de Rochambeau to this country; the former at the invitation of the United States by public resolution of Congress. There is reason to hope that these gentlemen, with other representatives of the French nation, our ancient ally, will visit the city of New York during their stay on the continent. The Legislature of Rhode Island, on whose soil the French contingent under the Count de Rochambeau landed in 1780, has authorized the Governor of that State to extend its hospitalities to the distinguished guests of the nation. No similar action has as yet been taken by the Legislature of New York, on whose soil the French army was encamped in the Summer of 1781, and again in the Fall of 1782 on its return. In its failure to take any official action, the duty devolves upon the citizens of the State.

When General Lafayette came last to this country, in 1824, he landed at New York. On the 17th of August, three days after his arrival, he honored the New York Historical Society with a visit, and was received with affectionate ceremony. The tradition of this occasion is preserved by many who took part in it, and affords a happy precedent for the entertainment of his grandson, who is now not only the last surviving descendant of the General in the male line, but also the only living representative of the name of Lafayette. As the distinguished visitors will probably arrive during the vacation of the Society, I beg to suggest the appointment of a committee with power to extend its courtesies in an appropriate manner. I have the honor to remain, gentlemen, with sincere regard, your fellow-member.

THE Georgia Historical Society held its regular meeting at Hodgson Hall, Savannah, on the evening of the 7th June. A numerous and interested audience was attracted by the lecture of Wm. S. Bogart on the Traditions and Reminiscences of Yorktown and the Siege. The Chatham artillery, which will visit Yorktown for the celebration, attended in a body. The Morning News of Savannah of Tuesday, the 7th June, contains an analysis of the paper which appears to have been attractive in form as well as instructive in matter. We regret extremely that this paper was not printed in full. Every item concerning Yorktown is of particular interest now. We hasten to correct the natural but unfortunate error into which we were led by the unexplained announcement that the Georgia Historical Society had directed the sale of the "Society's House" in Bryan Street. A note from the Librarian, Mr. William Harden, states that this house has not been occupied by the Society since 1871, when it removed to occupy better and more central accommodations, in the building known as Armory Hall, in Bull Street. Here it remained until September, 1875, when the elegant building erected for the Society by Mrs. Margaret Telfair Hodgson as a memorial of her late husband, and called Hodgson Hall, was finished. This fine building with the lot on which it stands cost \$50,000. As the Librarian says, "the Historical Society of the Empire State of the South is by no means without a home of its own." We rejoice that it is so.

THE Youths' Historical Society of Savannah has entered upon a new and attractive field, in

which we hope it may find popular support sufficient for its laudable ulterior purpose. It proposes on the second and fourth Thursdays of each of the Summer months to hold an entertainment, consisting of literary and musical exercises. The first of these entertainments was given at their Hall, in Masonic Temple, Thursday evening, 9th June, and was a complete success. A second, given on the evening of the 23d June, was also largely attended, and a most interesting affair. After some music, an address was delivered by Mr. Emil Newman upon Literature in Business, in which he showed in convincing and eloquent words the necessity of a knowledge of books even to those engaged in commerce, and paid a due tribute of praise to the merchant princes of America, who have endowed colleges, schools and institutions for scientific and technical training. The next entertainment was announced for the second Thursday in July. This is an excellent example, and worthy of general imitation in our cities and towns.

The Virginia Historical Society, Richmond, is making preparations for the large number of visitors whom the Yorktown Centennial will attract to the peninsula, and is endeavoring to increase its membership, its funds having been consumed in preparing the excellent chambers which have been provided for it in the Westmoreland Club House. It proposes to publish this year the letters of Governor Spotswood in suitable form. The interests of this institution are carefully watched over by its secretary, Mr. R. A. Brock, and its claims pressed upon the citizens of the State through the columns of the Richmond Standard, which is one of the most readable literary newspapers in the country.

The Executive Committee met on the 18th June, when large additions to the Library and Museum were reported. A resolution was adopted requesting the Corresponding Secretary to communicate with the Historical Societies of the several States of the Union with a view to the proper representation of these societies at the approaching Yorktown Centennial. Weekly meetings of the committee were ordered.

At the meeting of the 25th June a letter was

read from the Hon. Alexander H. H. Stuart, of Staunton, proposing to present to the Society some thirty original letters written to his father, Judge Archibald Stuart, by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Marshall, and also a huge sword worn by his grandfather as Major of the Virginia Militia at the Battle of Guilford.

THE Southern Historical Society, whose admirable series of publications under the title of "Southern Historical Society Papers," is edited by its Secretary, the Rev. J. William Jones, is vigorously seeking a permanent endowment, an effort in which he has the hearty sympathy of historians North as well as South.

THE Licking County Pioneer Historical and Antiquarian Society during the month of May, 1881, reported its transactions in the Newark (Ohio) American of the 3d June. The transactions of the month of June were reported in the same journal under date of July 1. They were chiefly necrological in character and of purely local interest.

THE American Academy of Arts and Sciences held its annual meeting at Boston, Tuesday, May 28th, and elected officers for the ensuing year: President, Professor Joseph Lovering; Vice-President, Professor Oliver Wendell Holmes; Corresponding Secretary, Professor Josiah P. Cooke; Recording Secretary, Professor John Trowbridge; Treasurer, Theodore Lyman; Librarian, Samuel H. Scudder.

THE Quebec Morning Chronicle of the 2d June announces that, in addition to the creation of the Royal Academy of Arts, under the auspices of His Excellency the Governor-General and H. R. Highness the Princess Louise, Lord Lorne intends to found an Academy of Letters on a plan analogous to that of the famous Académie Française. M. Le Moine, President of the oldest Historical Society in the Dominion, endorses the progressive scheme and predicts its success and usefulness. MM. Joseph Marmette and Napoleon Legendre also hail the proposition with satisfaction, and engage their able assistance to carry it into effect.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

**THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON, INCLUDING SUFFOLK COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, 1630-1880.** Edited by JUSTIN WINSOR in four volumes. Vol. II, *The Provincial Period*. Issued under the business superintendence of the projectors, CLARENCE F. JEWETT. Royal 8vo, pp. 577. JAMES R. OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1881.

The first volume of this authoritative series of historical monographs appeared last year, and was noticed in these columns (VI. 315). The second covers the period of greatest interest to the general reader. The American, of American stock, whether he derive his origin from the settlers of the Northern or the Southern colonies, will always find a fascination in the story of the days when both were appanages of a common crown. The *Provincial Period* in the arrangement before us is divided into eighteen chapters, a recital of the titles of which will best give an idea of the scope of the work.

Chapter I. The Inter-charter period by William H. Whitman; II. The Royal Governors, by George E. Ellis; III. French and Indian Wars, by Thomas Wentworth Higginson; IV. Witchcraft in Boston, by William F. Poole; V. Lord Bellomont and Captain Kidd, by Edward E. Hale; VI. The Religious History of the Provincial Period, by Alexander McKenzie; VII. The French Protestants in Boston, by Charles C. Smith; VIII. Franklin the Boston Boy, by George M. Towle; IX. The Mather Family and its Influence, by Henry M. Dexter; X. Charlestown in the Provincial Period, by Henry H. Edes; XI. Roxbury in the Provincial Period, by Francis S. Drake; XII. Dorchester in the Provincial Period, by Samuel J. Barrows; XIII. Brighton in the Provincial Period, by Francis S. Drake; XIV. Winnisimmet, Rumney Marsh, Pullen Point and Chelsea in the Provincial Period, by Mellen Chamberlain; XV. The Press and Literature of the Provincial Period, by Delano A. Goddard; XVI. Life in Boston in the Provincial Period, by Horace E. Scudder; XVII. Topography and Land Marks of the Provincial Period, by Edwin L. Bynner; XVIII. Boston Families of the Eighteenth Century, by William H. Whitmore.

The chapters upon local history, as will be observed by those who have examined the first volume, have been intrusted to the same capable hands, thereby securing continuity of plan and treatment within clearly defined limits, the essential conditions of monographic presentation.

Among the subjects which have hitherto received less attention is specially notable that which relates the story of the small band of

French Protestants who fled to New England after the withdrawal of their religious rights by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—at the close of the seventeenth century. About twenty families are found in Boston in 1687. But New England soil does not seem to have been particularly suited to them, and in 1748 the male worshippers, at the meeting house where Le Mercier preached, had fallen off to seven. Conspicuous among the names of these colonists are those of Bowdoin, Sigourney and Faneuil. There were others, honest people, but of lesser mark.

In the chapter on Franklin the Boston Boy, the reader will find a compact, closely condensed account of this First of Americans, in which his early experience is pleasantly recited. The writer justly claims him as a Boston boy, for although he left his birthplace at the age of seventeen, it was in the stern discipline of the Puritan city that his strong, shrewd character was formed.

Another attractive chapter is that on Life in Boston in the Provincial Period, which supplies the outlines for a work of an extended character. Sam Adams is properly selected as the very best type of the plain American. Indeed, in the whole range of American character it would be hard to find one more thoroughly representative than he unless in him, now nearest and dearest to the popular heart, our wounded President. Mr. Scudder does not supply the antithesis to Adams, but Copley's pictures are suggestive of abundant style both in matter and manner in the old commonwealth.

The bibliophile will enjoy Goddard's account of the Press and Literature from 1692-1770 with fac-similes of early numbers of the Boston News Letter, the first of American journals, and of the Boston Gazette.

The same elegance in typography, the same abundance of appropriate illustration which attracted attention in the first volume, is noticeable in this. It is needless to commend that which so thoroughly commends itself to the eye and the understanding as this *Memorial History* of the memorial city of our American civilization.

**PENNSYLVANIA IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION. BATTALIONS AND LINE, 1775-1783.** Edited by JOHN BLAIR LINN and WILLIAM H. EGLE. 8vo, pp. 805. LANE S. HART, State Printer. Harrisburg, 1880.

Attention was invited, to the first volume of this series, in the *Magazine* (VII, 75). As the centennial anniversary of the last battle of the

Revolution approaches, and investigations are undertaken to ascertain precisely what military organizations were present, the lamentable fact is discovered that it is an extremely difficult, if not impossible task. The organization must be first determined, after which muster-rolls only can furnish the names of the line officers. This work has been admirably done for Pennsylvania, and the example must be followed for each one of the thirteen original States.

The volume before us begins with the New Eleventh of the Continental Line, January 13, 1779-January 17, 1781. The German Regiment, July 1776-1781. Next follows the corps of Count Von Ottendorff, 1776-1780. Pennsylvanians in Col. Hazen's Regiment, "Congress' Own," 1776-1783. Independent Companies raised in the valley of Wyoming and attached to the Connecticut Line. Pennsylvanians in the Commander-in-Chief's Guard, 1776-1783. Moylan's Regiment of Cavalry, 1777-1783. Armand's First Partisan Legion, 1777-1783. Pennsylvanians in Pulaski's Legion, 1778-1783. In Lee's Partisan Corps, 1778-1783. Provost Guard, Von Heer's Light Dragoons, 1778-1783. Continental Line Pennsylvania Artillery, 1775-1776. Fourth Regiment of Artillery, 1777-1783. Independent Company of Artillery, 1777-1783. Artillery Artificers, 1777-1783. The Invalid Regiment, Col. Lewis Nicola, 1777-1783.

Then follow, under a separate title, the Orderly Books of the Pennsylvania Line in the war of the Revolution, which comprises those of the First, annexed to which are Diaries of the Revolt of the Pennsylvania Line in January, 1781, Diaries of the Line from 1781-1782, and Muster-Rolls of the Ranging Companies, with a list of Pennsylvania Pensioners in 1789 and 1813. A general Name index completes the paged volume. In addition there is a fac-simile of the original subscription of the members of the "Society of the Cincinnati, Penn. Line, 1783," from the documents in the possession of the Dauphin County Historical Society.

The titles of the several parts of this work are given that the historical enquirer may know precisely what he may and what he may not find. Of course it is not complete. It may never be made complete, but a long step will be taken towards this most desirable end, if general attention be awakened to the importance of sending in to the editors every additional document. There are doubtless many extant which may be discovered among public or private papers. It is a mistaken idea to suppose that any individual has a moral right to withhold such papers. The officers who kept the muster-rolls were public servants, the rolls record the names of the soldiers confided to their care, and should therefore be made public, even though the originals be retained in private keeping. Every

student of American history is indebted to the skillful and industrious historians who have edited these volumes.

MEMORIAL BIOGRAPHIES OF THE  
NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGIC SOCIETY TOWNE MEMORIAL FUND. Volume I., 1845-1852. 8vo, pp. 533. Published by the Society. Boston, 1880.

On the 1st January, 1864, William Blanchard Towne, of Boston, Massachusetts, gave to the New England Historic Genealogic Society the sum of one thousand dollars to be placed in trust as the Towne Memorial Fund, the income of which to be devoted to the publication of biographies of deceased members in the discretion of the society. In 1870 Mr. Towne added one thousand dollars to the original amount, and in 1878, the fund having increased to four thousand dollars, the first volume was undertaken. The committee having determined that the memorials be printed in chronological order, the present volume is confined to those of all the members who died during the first eight years of the existence of the society—from 1845 to 1852 inclusive. Among these will be found sketches of John Quincy Adams, by Charles Francis Adams; Harrison Gray Otis, by Augustus T. Perkins; Albert Gallatin, by Henry Adams; Levi Woodbury, by Charles Levi Woodbury; Henry Clay, by Robert C. Winthrop; Daniel Webster, by Charles H. Bell, and Amos Lawrence, by William M. Cornell. The typography is excellent, and the volume in every way creditable to the society.

PATTON'S CONCISE HISTORY OF THE  
AMERICAN PEOPLE FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE CONTINENT TO THE PRESENT TIME, giving a clear account of their political, military, moral, industrial and commercial life: illustrated with portraits, charts, maps, etc., and containing marginal dates, statistical references, and a full analytical index. 16mo, pp. 1018. FORD, HOWARD & HURLBERT. New York.

The purpose of this admirable volume, which is too well known to need any extended comment, is to hold a middle line between the elaborate histories and the school compends; and to trace the direct influences which have moulded the character and the institutions, moral and political, of the Nation. Taking the facts as he found them related by the best authorities, Mr. Patton has drawn from them the lesson he seeks to convey. In a word the plan is that which was later adopted by John Richard Green in his *History of the English People*. We invite

special attention to chapter XXIV., on the characteristics of the colonists, as an excellent example of this method of historical presentation. In a few pages the moral and religious traits which were the peculiar fibre of our revolutionary ancestors are brought into relief, and their influence upon the movement of the Nation shown. The birth of a national sentiment from the throes of inward differences and outward pressure is discovered, and its gradual growth followed through the revolution to independence. The chapters which treat of the late civil war deserve the commendation they have received for discrimination and impartiality. They bear the stamp of a calm judicial mind. Here again in chapter LVII. we find a notice of the influences which moulded the characteristics of the American people North and South. He who would understand the rapid revolution in national thought, now assimilating with irresistible force into a homogeneous whole the hitherto discordant elements of a common country, must take note of these causes. The thoroughness of this assimilation was manifested in a most striking manner in the universal throb which vibrated from every pulse of the Nation at the news of the attempt upon the life of its head. To use the favorite image of the great critic, Henri Beyle, this sudden event crystalized the floating elements of national sentiment into a firm enduring substance clear as the crystal and firm as the rock.

RELATION DE CE QUI S'EST PASSÉ  
LORS DES FOUILLES FAITES PAR ORDRE DU  
GOUVERNEMENT DANS UNE PARTIE DES FON-  
DATIONS DU COLLEGE DES JESUITES DE  
QUÉBEC. Précédée de certaines Observations  
par Faucher De Saint-Maurice. Accompagnée  
d'un plan par le capitaine Deville et d'une  
photo-lithographie. 4to, pp. 48. Typo-  
graphie de C. DARVEAU, 82, rue de la Mon-  
tagne. Québec, 1879.

At the time of the destruction of the ancient Jesuit College, the workmen brought to light the foundation walls of that part of the cells which fronts the Basilica of Quebec, and discovered some human bones. On being informed of this fact the Hon. Henri Gustave Joly, Prime Minister and Commissioner of Public Works in the province of Quebec, immediately instructed M. Saint-Maurice to superintend the excavations. This is his report, preceded by an instructive paper upon the history of the Ancient College which was founded one year before that of Harvard. Without any decisive evidence, there is reasonable presumption that the bones were discovered of Friar Jean Liégeois, who was murdered May 29, 1655; of Father François du Prou, who died at Fort St. Louis, Nov. 10, 1665;

and of Father Jean de Quen, who died Oct. 1st, 1658; beside these some bones remain which were pronounced to be those of women, no doubt belonging to religious orders.

BATTLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLU-  
TION, 1775-1781. HISTORICAL AND MILI-  
TARY CRITICISM WITH TYPOGRAPHICAL ILLU-  
STRATIONS, by HENRY B. CARRINGTON,  
Colonel, United States Army. Third thou-  
sand. 8vo, pp. 712. A. S. BARNES & CO.  
New York and Chicago, 1881.

This work is now generally accepted as the standard authority upon the subject of which it treats. Col. Carrington visited the battle fields and compared the various authorities on the ground, and brings to the laborious task unflagging perseverance and rare impartiality of judgment. His narrative is always lucid and often brilliant, though he never falls into the too common fault of sacrificing truth to effect. His maps have all been drawn under his own personal supervision.

FROM HONG KONG TO THE HIMA-  
LAYAS; OR THREE THOUSAND MILES THROUGH  
INDIA. Illustrated from original photographs.  
By E. WARREN CLARK. Small 8vo, p. 368.  
THE AMERICAN TRACT SOCIETY. New York.

There is nothing in this little volume to recall Jules Verne's *Around the World in Eighty Days*, although the route is partly the same. It is a plain unpretentious story by a traveller who had his eyes about him, who observed closely, and tells clearly what he saw, and who saw everything worth seeing. That portion of the book which gives his travels from Calcutta to the Himalayas and across India to Bombay is of special interest; the illustrations, which are numerous and well executed, give a clear idea of many of the marvels of architecture which attest the wealth and magnificence of the former rulers of the land.

THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUESTS OF  
THE NORTHWEST, INCLUDING THE EARLY  
HISTORY OF CHICAGO, DETROIT, VINCENNES,  
ST. LOUIS, FORT WAYNE, PRAIRIE DU CHIEN,  
MARIETTA, CINCINNATI, CLEVELAND, ETC.,  
etc., and incidents of pioneer life in the region  
of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi Valley.  
By Rufus Blanchard. 8vo, pp. 485. Cush-  
ing, Thomas & Company, Publishers. Chi-  
cago, 1880.

This excellent history, which was published in four parts in the course of the years 1879-80, is

now complete in one volume. Notices were made of the first part in this magazine, April, 1880 [IV.318], and of the second, third and fourth parts in April, 1881 [VI.316]. To the completed volume is appended Washington's Journal of a Tour to the Ohio, in 1753, with an introduction and notes by the distinguished scholar, John G. Shea. The volume is illustrated by plates and maps.

#### POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED

STATES, by JOHN FROST, continued to the inauguration of Gen. Garfield, by JOHN G. SHEA. Illustrated 12mo, pp. 503. R. WORTHINGTON. New York, 1881.

This is a readable and satisfactory volume for popular use, and comprises the entire period of American history from the discovery by Columbus up to the inauguration of General Garfield. The work is necessarily confined to a narrative of events without philosophic deductions, but the writers both of the earlier and later portion are animated by a thoroughly national spirit, now the one thing needful in American histories. The tendency of the age is to speculative inquiry pushed to the verge of skepticism. It is satisfactory to find a thorough condemnation of the conduct of the Tories during the war of the revolution. A series of questions at the foot of the several chapters fit this work for the use of schools.

A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANCIENT PEOPLES, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR MONUMENTS, LITERATURE AND MANNERS. 24° pp. 312., with Appendix and Index and Maps. A. S. BARNES & Co. New York and Chicago, 1881.

This is the third number of Barnes' brief historical series, the two which preceded it being respectively devoted to the United States and France. The same plan which has met with approval in those volumes is pursued in this; the subordination of the political history to that of the literature, religion, architecture, character and habits of each nation. An attractive feature is the introduction of chapters of a purely literary character, devoted to the manners, customs, habits and daily life of the people. All preceding histories are, in the main, records of the wars, intrigues, conquests, and alliances of Kings, to the almost total exclusion of any mention of the foundation upon which their power rested, and from whence their wealth, dignity and honor were derived.

So much is this the case, that the first association which arises in the mind at the mention of any of the great historic nations of antiquity, is the name of such one of its rulers as may have

impressed itself on his time, and on succeeding centuries, by the vigor of his personality, his successful deeds of arms and the extent of his conquests. The toiling myriads who remained at home doing the work of the artisan and husbandman are ignored, and their strong sons who followed the banner of the warrior King are forgotten, while sculptured columns, majestic monuments, and stately periods of historic eulogy, commemorate and perpetuate the deeds and glory of the conqueror. In this subordination to, and absorption of the people, in the person of the ruler, is found the cause of the collapse and ruin of the vast Empires of antiquity, when the hand and brain that called them into being, met one mightier than itself, or succumbed to that power, to which prince and peasant must alike bow down. Now that the people has asserted its divine right to rule, and the individual leader is but one of the people, it is timely service done to show to the men of to-day the men of the past, as they were in themselves, in a light unobscured by the brilliancy of their chiefs.

Study, with such a text-book as this, should be a pleasure to the idlest youth, while the matured and cultivated will find on every page wherewith to refresh the mind and replenish the stores of half-forgotten learning. The arrangement is admirable; the earliest sources of knowledge, as well as the latest discoveries in archaeology, are called into requisition, the illustrations are by the most skillful artists and engravers, and the whole, under the able supervision of Mr. Thomas F. Donnelly, is a lasting credit to the publishers.

W. C. S.

MISCELLANIES. By JOHN DEAN CATON. 8vo, pp. 354. HOUGHTON, OSGOOD & Co. Boston, 1880.

Judge Caton retired from the Supreme bench of Illinois after a continuous service of twenty-two years. The labor and responsibility incident to the faithful discharge of the duties which devolve upon a judge of a court of last resort are so burdensome and wearing, that one, who has laid them down, would seem fully justified in seeking in privileged idleness the calm of retrospection and the serenity of contemplation which a life devoted to arduous pursuits would entitle him to indulge. His mind was of too vigorous a mould and his faculties too acute to permit him to rust in inglorious ease, and we have before us a portion of the fruits of his learned leisure, which show that he grows old without losing his zest for affairs, or his interest in questions either speculative or practical. In politics he was a war democrat. The reader will find more interesting matter than the discussion of old issues in the miscellanies, which form the bulk of the volume.

W. C. S.



## REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF THE STATE OF ARKANSAS, and the Eclectic Society of Little Rock, Ark., fixing the pronunciation of the name Arkansas. Pamphlet 8vo. Printed for the Eclectic Society, Little Rock, Arkansas, 1881.

REPORT UPON ALASKA AND ITS PEOPLE. By Captain George W. Bailey, of the U. S. Revenue Marine, giving statistics, &c., and of the commerce, ocean currents, etc. Pamphlet 8vo. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1880.

REPORT OF THE CRUISE OF THE U. S. REVENUE STEAMER CORWIN in the Arctic Ocean. By Captain C. L. Hooper, U. S. R. M., November 1, 1880. Pamphlet. 8vo. Government Printing Office. Washington, 1881.

MEMORIAL BIOGRAPHIES OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY. Towne Memorial Fund. Volume I, 1845-1852. 8vo. Published by the Society. Boston, 1880.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF REGENTS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION for the year 1879. 8vo. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1880.

CURIOUS SCHOOLS, BY VARIOUS AUTHORS. D. Lothrop & Co., Boston, 1881.

THE ORDERLY BOOK OF COLONEL WILLIAM HENSHAW, of the American Army, April 20-Sept. 26, 1775, including a Memoir by Emory Washburn, and Notes by Charles C. Smith, with additions by Harriet E. Henshaw. 8vo. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1881.

A BRIEF REVIEW OF THE FINANCIAL HISTORY OF PENNSYLVANIA, and of the Methods of Auditing Public Accounts, 1682-1881, by Benjamin M. Nead. 8vo. Lane S. Hart, State Printer, Harrisburg, 1881.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHARLESTOWN, MASS., AND BUNKER HILL. By James F. Hunnewell. 8vo. James R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1880.

THE MEMORIAL HISTORY OF BOSTON, including Suffolk, Mass., 1630-1880. Edited by Justin Winsor, in four volumes. Vol. II. The Provincial Period. Royal 8vo. James R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1881.

POPULAR HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By John Frost. Continued to the inauguration of Gen. Garfield. By John G. Shea. 8vo. R. Worthington, New York, 1881.

THE NUMISMATIC DIRECTORY FOR 1881. Also a List of Numismatic Societies, Authors, Publications, etc. 8vo. Edited by Robert W. Mercer. Cincinnati, O., 1881.

FLORIDA; ITS SCENERY, CLIMATE AND HISTORY, with an account of Charlestown, Savannah, Augusta and Aiken. Being a Complete Hand-book and Guide. By Sidney Lanier. 16mo. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1875.

MEMOIR OF MAJ.-GEN. GEORGE H. THOMAS. By Richard W. Johnson, Brig.-Gen. 8vo. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1881.

THE LIFE OF GEORGE THE FOURTH, including His Letters and Opinions, with a view of the Men, Manners and Politics of His Reign. By Percy Fitzgerald, M.A., F.S.A. 16mo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881.

POLITICAL ELOQUENCE IN GREECE. DEMOSTHENES; with Extracts from His Orations and a Critical Discussion of the Trial on the Crown. By L. Brédit. Translated by M. J. MacMahon. A.M. 8vo. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, 1881.

LITERARY STYLE AND OTHER ESSAYS. By William Matthews, LL.D. 8vo. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, 1881.

REPORTS FROM THE CONSULS OF THE UNITED STATES on the Commerce, Manufactures, etc., of their Consular Districts. No. 6; April. 8vo. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

John Austin Stevens, Editor of the Magazine of American History, has published a Yorktown Centennial Hand-book, an historical and topographical guide to the Yorktown peninsula, Richmond, James River and Norfolk. For the cheap sum of twenty-five cents it supplies all the information that the traveler or general reader may require concerning this historic peninsula. It contains narratives of the campaign of the allies, biographies of the generals, the disposition and order of battle of the armies, with portraits, maps and plans. Account of all the proceedings of Congress, States and societies in reference to the Centennial. A complete guide to the Peninsula and James River, with full descriptions of Williamsburg, Yorktown and Hampton, illustrated by plans of the towns and a large number of pictorial views. For sale by The American News Co., New York, and by the author, whose address is Lock Box 37, Station D, New York City.



THE LEDYARD HOUSE--HARTFORD, CONN.

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

II

SEPTEMBER 1891

No. 3

## THE MASSACRE AT FORT GRISVOLD.

SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1781.

THERE were several elements in the drama of the fall of Fort Grisvold at noon on the 6th of September, 1781, which combined to make it one of the most thrilling and dramatic incidents in the history of the Revolution.

The theatre of the tragedy was the summit of a high hill. The actors were a little handful of combatant farmers on the one side, and on the other two of the best equipped, best disciplined, and bravest of the Continental service. It relied on its discipline and efficiency. A potentious command was the audience, and the accessories were plentiful: ships, laden with harvests, a smiling bay, and a pillaged and ruined city in the background. The centennial anniversary of this event is soon to be celebrated.

Multitudes will assemble, civic dignitaries will be present, and the display will add its pomp and circumstance to enhance the solemnity of the occasion. There seems to be a wisdom then in the commemoration of the heroic deeds of those who suffered in the massacre, in the simple, graphic language of the participants in it. The year of 1781 closed with the brightest prospects for the Continental

Cornwallis at Yorktown, closely besieged in front by Lafayette, Rear Admiral de Grasse, with Washington but a few days' march away, was already in the Continental grasp, his commander, Sir Henry Clinton, being left in New York by Washington's superior generalship. In his dilemma Cornwallis decided on a retreat, in the hope of recalling Washington from the coast and chose New London as the scene of his *extrême passage*. He sent out the most active and daring privateers to scour the coast and a convoy from under the guns of a British frigate. The prizes were then lying at its wharves, and its stores, boxes of West India goods, provisions and military stores. The British

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## THE MASSACRE AT FORT GRISWOLD

SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1781



**T**HERE were several elements in the capture by assault of Fort Griswold at noon on the 6th of September, 1781, which combine to make it one of the most thrilling and tragic incidents in the war of the Revolution.

The theatre of the tragedy was the summit of a lofty hill; the actors were a little handful of embattled farmers on the one side, and on the other two of the best equipped, best disciplined regiments in a service that prided itself on its discipline and efficiency. A populous community was the audience, and the accessories were peaceful fields, laden with golden harvests, a smiling bay, and a pillaged, ravished city in flames. The centennial anniversary of this event is soon to be celebrated. Multitudes will assemble, civic dignitaries will be present, military display will add its pomp and circumstance to enhance the importance of the occasion. There seems to be a fitness then in recounting the heroic deeds of those who suffered in the massacre, chiefly in the simple, graphic language of the participants in it. The summer of 1781 closed with the brightest prospects for the Continental cause. Cornwallis at Yorktown, closely besieged in front by Lafayette, in the rear by Count de Grasse, with Washington but a few days' march distant, was already in the Continental grasp, his commander, Sir Henry Clinton, being left in New York by Washington's superior generalship, too far distant to render material assistance. In his dilemma Clinton determined on a feint, in the hope of recalling Washington from the south, and chose New London as the scene of his *ruse de guerre*. This town had sent out the most active and daring privateers that ever snatched a convoy from under the guns of a British frigate. Several rich prizes were then lying at its wharves, and its storehouses were filled with West India goods, provisions and military stores. Further, it would

be a convenient base for certain predatory excursions into New England, which it is probable Clinton had long meditated, but, most important of all, it was within a day's march of Lebanon, the quiet country town where dwelt Governor Jonathan Trumbull—Washington's "Brother Jonathan,"—and which contained the little store and counting-house, which had long been recognized as the real "war office" of the Continental Government, and the chief source of supplies for its army; and no doubt the hope of disturbing "Mr. Trumbull" in his operations, and of ravaging the rich agricultural region near him, from which he drew his supplies, was one of the motives of the expedition.

Clinton having decided on the locality for the blow, proceeded to put his designs in execution. Thirty-two transports and sloops-of-war were got ready, and placed under the command of Captain Brazeley of the frigate *Amphion*. The troops detailed for the expedition were the Thirty-eighth, Fortieth and Fifty-fourth Regiments of the regular army; the regiment of Loyal Americans, under Colonel Beverley Robinson; the American Legion Refugees, and a detachment of Yagers and artillery, comprising in all some two thousand men. To command this armament, Clinton selected Benedict Arnold, who was born and reared in Norwich, but thirteen miles distant from the doomed town, and whose knowledge of its approaches, as well as his native ferocity of character, marked him as a fit instrument for the leadership. Arnold had but just returned from the congenial employment of ravaging the Virginia coasts, and undertook the commission with alacrity. On the 4th of September, 1781, the expedition, thus organized and commanded, embarked on transports, and, led by the *Amphion* and sloops-of-war, proceeded up Long Island Sound towards its destination. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 5th the fleet came to anchor in Gardiner's Bay, on the Long Island coast, nearly opposite New London, and about thirty miles distant. Here it lay until 7 o'clock in the evening, when it set sail for the harbor, taking advantage of the southwest breeze, which in the afternoon, through the summer and autumn months, blows with the regularity of the trade-wind. This breeze Arnold calculated would place his fleet before the town by two o'clock in the morning, when a bold stroke might capture it. But nature refused her aid; the wind died away a few hours after he set sail, and at dawn the watchers in Fort Griswold discovered his fleet in the Sound, at some distance, bearing down upon the town. Orderly Sergeant Rufus Avery had charge of the garrison in Fort Griswold on this eventful night. At three in the morning

he discovered the hostile fleet beating into the harbor, thirty-two in number—"ships, brigs, schooners and sloops"—and immediately communicated the startling news to Colonel William Ledyard, Commander-in-Chief of the harbor defences. This brave officer had ample cause for concern. The handful of militia and continentals under his command scarcely exceeded one hundred and fifty men, and although there were several companies of raw levies within signaling distance, they could be little depended on in a contest with regular troops; nor were the defences of the town such as its importance would seem to have demanded. On the New London side, near the entrance to the harbor, was a breastwork or water battery, open behind, and untenable if attacked from the rear. This, called Fort Trumbull, in honor of the Governor of the State, occupied the site of the present fort of the same name.

Directly across the Thames from this battery, on the summit of Groton Hill, was Fort Griswold, a battery of considerable strength, and which, had it been properly manned, might have given a far different turn to the events of the day. There remains no more complete relic of the Revolutionary struggle than the grassy ramparts of this fort. The pickets, platforms and barracks are dust, but the ramparts are as perfect as when left by the hand of the builders. The tourist, who inspects these solid walls, can but admire the skill and judgment of the farmer engineers who constructed them. The hill which they crown rises steeply from the water's edge to a height of several hundred feet, and commands the harbor and the city on the opposite shore, a mile away. The central area of the fort is nearly square, being 150 feet in length by 110 in width. The walls are of stone, ten or twelve feet in height, and sodded. On the wall was a row of pickets, projecting over twelve feet, and above these was built a parapet with embrasures for guns, and within, a platform for cannon. The entrance, twelve feet wide, was in the northern wall, and protected by a gate and a triangular battery, one hundred and twenty yards distant, on which was mounted a three-pounder. Bastions at each corner enfiladed the walls, and a ditch, thirty feet wide and seven feet deep, surrounded the fort except on the southwest, where a ledge of rock formed a natural wall. Half way down the hill-slope, towards the river, was a small battery, communicating by a covered way with the fort, but which was of no service at all except in case of a water attack. On the summit of Tower Hill, in the rear of the City of New London, a small earthwork, which, from its utter uselessness as a means of defense, was called in vulgar parlance "Fort Nonsense," completed the defenses of the city.



From the reports of Captain Lemoine and Lieutenant Horndon, of the Royal Artillery, it appears that Fort Trumbull was mounted with twelve iron 18-pounders, and three 6-pounders; and Fort Nonsense with six 12 or 9-pounders, while Fort Griswold was provided with thirty-five guns—as enumerated by Captain Lemoine—one 18-pounder, two 9-pounders, fifteen 12s, one 6, one 3, three 4s, and on travelling carriages, three 4-pounders, four 6s, and two 12-pounders. The fort also contained 80 pikes and 106 French muskets.

Despite his meagre resources, however. Col. Ledyard at once began his dispositions for defence. Signal guns were fired announcing the enemy's approach, and expresses sent to the Captains of the different militia companies ordering them to hasten to the defense of the forts. None responded, however, and after waiting five hours, Col. Ledyard shut himself up with one hundred and thirty men in Fort Griswold, leaving to Captain Adam Shapley and his company of twenty-three artillerymen the defence of Fort Trumbull. At ten the enemy began landing his troops. Arnold landed his force in two divisions, one on the New London and the other on the Groton side. The first, under his own command, comprised the 38th regiment, the Loyal Americans, the American Legion Refugees, and a detachment of sixty Yagers or German riflemen. The second, under Lieut.-Colonel Eyre, consisting of the 40th and 54th regiments, the third battalion of New Jersey (Loyal) Volunteers, and a detachment of Yagers and artillery, was intended for the assault of Fort Griswold.

I shall first follow the fortunes of Arnold's column. The spot where it landed is still pointed out to the tourist, near the lighthouse, about three miles below the city. On landing, Arnold immediately put his column in motion, and when nearly opposite Fort Trumbull, detached Captain Millet with four companies of the 38th regiment to carry the fort. Sturdy Captain Shapley, who commanded the fort, seeing himself likely to be overpowered, spiked his guns, and with his twenty-three men embarked in boats and pulled for the Groton shore, not so quickly, however, but that several of his men were wounded before getting out of the enemy's range. Arnold, in the meantime, with the rest of the column, marched along the main road leading to the village to the westward of Fort Trumbull, and pausing but a moment to capture Fort Nonsense, near his line of march, was in a few moments in undisputed possession of the town.

Between the sea and the foot of the headlands or series of hills on which New London is chiefly built, is a level plateau, now known as

Water Street, then called the Beach, which was the business portion of the city. Here were the docks, shipping, warehouses, stores and offices of the merchants; the warehouses filled with West India goods, rich cargoes of captured vessels, and provisions and munitions of war stored here by the patriotic Trumbull. This point was first occupied by the enemy, who applied the torch in a dozen different places at once, so that in a few moments the whole vast accumulation of property was a mass of flame. Not satisfied with this, the troops scattered in small bands along the mill-cove and the hill-sides, where were many pleasant, even elegant, private residences, and enacted much the same scenes of burning and rapine as had been witnessed at Fairfield and West Haven, two years before.

Arnold, however, was not with the pillagers. Accompanied by a small detachment, he had swept through the shaded village streets and gained the summit of the hill in the rear of the town. By the old churchyard he paused to cast an anxious eye over toward the Groton heights, where, grim and defiant, Ledyard and his band of martyrs stood awaiting the onset of the foe. To gain a better view, it is said, Arnold stood upon the tomb of Governor Winthrop, near the northern wall. Perhaps there is no more dramatic figure in American history than Arnold presented at this moment.

From this position, Arnold with a field-glass could study critically the earthwork on the Groton Heights, which he had ordered Colonel Eyre to assault, and discovered at once that it was far stronger and contained a much larger garrison than his Tory advisers had described. In his report of the battle he says that he at once dispatched an aid to Colonel Eyre, countermanding the order of assault; but if so, the messenger arrived too late. At this time, however, Eyre had not led his regulars to the assault of the fort. He had landed without opposition at Groton Point, three miles from the fort, and marched his column to a thick wood, about a mile southeast, where he halted for an hour. At 10 o'clock he sent a flag of truce, demanding the instant surrender of the fort. Forty rods from the walls it was halted by a musket ball fired before it, and Captains Elijah Avery, Amos Stanton and John Williams were sent out to receive the message. Before returning an answer, Colonel Ledyard called a council of his officers. He was a resolute man. "If I must lose to-day honor or life," he had remarked as he stepped into the boat which conveyed him from New London to the fort that morning, "you who know me well can tell which it will be." Many others had come with a like resolve. There was Captain William

Latham, who had seen service at Bunker Hill; Captain Adam Shapley, a bold privateersman and an excellent gunner; Captain Amos Stanton, a man of herculean frame and of indomitable spirit; and there were the Allyns, the Averys, Williams, Burrows, Moore, Perkins, Lewis, Ward, Chapman, Halsey, and scores of other names that one may read on the lofty granite pillar erected to their memory, hard by the scene of their exploits. Colonel Ledyard could muster one hundred and fifty men in the fort; the attacking party numbered eight hundred. Surely there could have been no dishonor in yielding with such odds against them; but not a man in the deliberating council was found to advocate this course, and the answer was returned "that the fort would not be given up to the British." Eyre immediately sent a second message, declaring "that if he was obliged to take the fort by storm, he should put martial law in full force; that is, what we do not kill by ball shall be put to death by sword and bayonet." "We shall not give up the fort," said Ledyard in reply, "let the consequences be what they may." Eyre then divided his troops into two divisions for the assault, taking command of the first himself, and entrusting the second to Major Montgomery of the Fortieth Regiment. Colonel Eyre formed his column behind the ledge of rocks, which now forms the eastern boundary of the Ledyard cemetery, about one hundred and fifty rods southeast of the fort. Major Montgomery's column was formed in the rear of a hillock, a short distance from this point. At the word of command the battalions sprang gallantly forward and up the hill, Eyre leading his column toward the southwest bastion, where, from the falling away of the ground, there was no ditch, while Montgomery advanced farther toward the north, where was the redoubt with its main entrance to the fort. Captain Elias Halsey, an old privateersman, who had smelt powder in the French and Indian wars, stood on the ramparts by his eighteen-pounder, loaded with grape and canister, as the British advanced, and when they were but a few yards distant discharged it into their ranks. This discharge made a fearful rent in the column, and laid twenty men, dead and wounded, on the ground. The solid mass, broken by this loss of men and officers, wavered for a moment, then broke into squads and dashed up under the very walls of the fort. Montgomery was equally prompt, and at the same moment his division struck the northeast bastion, thus investing the fort on all four sides at once.

A terrible struggle ensues. The ditch is full of infuriated men, shouting, cursing, tearing away the pickets, seeking to force an entrance

through the embrasures of the guns. The besieged are not idle; the nine-pounders on the bastions, enfilading the ditch, are discharged into the struggling mass with terrible effect; round-shot and other available missiles are thrown from the ramparts; boarding pikes are thrust through the embrasures to repel the invader. First-Sergeant Stephen Hempstead is in command of an eighteen-pounder on the south side of the gate, and while in the act of sighting his piece a ball passes through the embrasure, strikes him a little above the right ear, grazes the skull, and cuts off some of the veins, which bleed profusely. A handkerchief is tied about the wound, and he continues at his duty. At the southwest bastion, which bears the brunt of several fierce assaults, Captains Shapley and Richards, with Lieutenant Chapman and a score of other brave spirits, gallantly withstand the assault. At the moment of surrounding the fort the enemy had "marched at a quickstep" into the little battery, of which we have spoken as protecting the main entrance; but here the garrison sent such heavy and repeated discharges of grape into their ranks that they broke into platoons and made a dash for the walls; at the same time a soldier attempted to open the gates, but was shot down in an instant. Forty minutes of fierce fighting followed. Colonel Eyre was mortally wounded; Montgomery was killed at the bastion by a pike in the hands of Jordan Freeman, a gigantic negro slave. Twice the enemy had been driven back, when, at the critical moment of the second repulse, a shot cut the halcyards and brought down the flag. This the enemy regarded as a token of submission, and returned to the attack. The sequel Sergeant Avery gives so graphically and concisely that I adopt his narrative literally.

"Now I saw the enemy mount the parapets all at once seemingly. They swung their hats around and discharged their guns into the fort; then those who had not fallen by ball they began to massacre with sword and bayonet. I was on the west side of the fort with Captain Edward Latham and Mr. C. Latham, standing on the platform, and had a full view of the enemy's conduct. I had then a hole through my clothes by a ball, and a bayonet went through my coat to my flesh. The enemy approached us, knocked down the two men I mentioned with the brith of their guns, and I expected had ended their lives, but did not. By this time that division which had been commanded by Montgomery, now under charge of Bloomfield, unbolted the gates, marched into the fort and formed in solid column. I at this moment left my station and went across the parade towards the south end of the barracks. I noticed Colonel William Ledyard on the parade, stepping towards the enemy and Bloomfield, gently raising and lowering his sword as a token of submission. He was about six feet from them when I turned my eyes off from him and went up to the door of the barracks and looked at the enemy, who were discharging their guns through the windows. It was but a moment that I had turned my eyes from Colonel Ledyard and saw him alive, and now I saw him weltering in his gore. \* \* \* We are informed that the wretch who murdered him exclaimed, as he drew near, 'Who commands this fort?' Ledyard handsomely replied, 'I did, but

you do now,' at the same moment handing him his sword, which the unfeeling villain buried in his breast. The column continued marching toward the south end of the parade, and I could do no better than to go across the parade before them amid their fire. They discharged three platoons as I crossed before them at this time. I believe there were not less than five or six hundred of the British on the parade and in the fort. They killed and wounded every man they possibly could, and it was all done in less than two minutes. I had nothing to expect but to drop with the rest. One mad-looking fellow put his bayonet to my side, swearing that 'by Jesus he would skipper me.' I looked him earnestly in the face and eyes, and begged him to have mercy and spare my life. I must say I believe God prevented him from killing me, for he put his bayonet three times into me, and I seemed to be in his power as well as Lieutenant Enoch Stanton, who was stabbed to the heart and fell at my feet at this time. I think no scene ever exceeded this for continued and barbarous massacre after surrender. There were two large doors to the magazine which made a space wide enough to admit ten men to stand in one rank. There marched up a platoon of ten men just by where I stood and at once discharged their guns into the magazine among our killed and wounded, and also among those who had escaped uninjured; and as soon as these had fired, another platoon was ready, and immediately took their place when they fell back. At this moment Bloomfield came swiftly around the corner of the building, and raising his sword with exceeding quickness, exclaimed, 'stop firing or you will send us all to hell together.' I was very near him when he spoke. He knew there must be much powder deposited in and scattered about the magazine, and if they continued throwing in fire, we should all be blown up. I think it must before this have been the case had not the ground and everything been wet with human blood. We trod in blood. We trampled under foot the limbs of our countrymen, our neighbors and dear kindred. Our ears were filled with the groans of the dying, when the more stunning sound of the artillery would give place to the death-shrieks. After this they ceased killing and went to stripping, not only the dead, but the wounded and those who were wounded so bad as not to go off of themselves. Mr. Samuel Edgcomb, Jr., and myself were ordered to carry out Ensign Charles Eldridge, who was shot through the knee joints; he was a very large, heavy man, and with our fasting and violent exercise of the day, we were but ill able to do it, or more than to sustain our own weight; but we had to submit. We, with all the prisoners, were taken out upon the parade and ordered to sit down immediately, or they would put their bayonets into us. The battle was now ended. It was about 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and since the hour of eight in the morning, what a scene of carnage, of anxiety and of loss had we experienced. The enemy now began to take care of their dead and wounded. They took off six of the outer doors of the barracks, and with four men at each door, they brought in one man at a time. There were twenty-four men thus employed for two hours as fast as they could walk. They deposited them on the west side of the parade, in the fort, where it was the most comfortable place, and screened from the hot sun which was pouring down upon us, aggravating our wounds, and causing many to faint and die who might have lived with good care. Side by side lay two most worthy and excellent officers. Captain Youngs Ledyard and Captain N. Moore, in the agonies of death. Their heads rested on my thighs as I sat or lay there. They had their reason well and spoke. They asked for water. I could give them none, as I was to be thrust through if I got up. I asked the enemy who were passing by us to give me some water for my dying friends and myself; as the well was near, they granted this request; but even then I feared they would put something poisonous into it that they might get us out of the way the sooner; and they had said repeatedly that the last of us should die before the sun set. \* \* \* But I must think they became tired of human butchery, and so let us live. They kept us on the ground the garrison charged, till about two hours had been spent taking care of their men, and then ordered every man of us that could walk 'to rise up.' Sentries were placed around with guns loaded and bayonets fixed, and orders given that every one who would not in a moment obey commands should be shot dead or run through. I had to leave the two dying men who were resting on me, dropping their heads on the cold and hard ground, giving them one last and pitying look. Oh God, this was hard work!

they both died that night. We marched down to the bank of the river so as to be ready to embark on the British vessels. There were about thirty of us surrounded by sentries. Captain Bloomfield then came and took down the names of the prisoners who were able to march down with us. Where I sat I had a fair view of the enemy's movements. They were setting fire to the buildings and bringing the plunder and laying it down near us. The sun was about half an hour high. I can never forget the whole appearance of all about me. New London was in flames. The inhabitants deserted their habitations to save life, which was more highly prized. Above and around us were our unburied dead and our dying friends. None to appeal to for sustenance in our exhausted state but a maddened enemy—not allowed to move a step or make any resistance but with loss of life—and sitting to see the property of our neighbors consumed by fire or the spoils of a triumphing enemy."

Sergeant Avery, it will be remembered, was forced to leave his more severely wounded comrades in the fort to the tender mercies of the enemy.

"These were soon gathered up and loaded into the large ammunition wagon that belonged to the fort, which twenty men then drew to the brow of the hill leading down to the river. The declivity is very steep for the distance of thirty rods to the river. As soon as the wagon began to move down the hill it pressed so hard against them that they found they were unable to hold it back, and jumped away as quick as possible, leaving it to thrash along down the hill with great speed till the shafts struck a large apple-tree stump with a most violent crash, hurling the poor dying and wounded men in a most inhuman manner. Some of the wounded fell out and fainted away; then a part of the company where I sat ran and brought the men and wagon along."

The above is Mr. Avery's account. Sergeant Stephen Hempstead, who was one of the wounded men in the wagon, in his published statement gives a slightly different version of the barbarous act. He says:

"Those that could stand were then paraded and ordered to the landing, while those that could not (of which number I was one), were put in one of our ammunition wagons and taken to the brow of the hill (which was very steep and at least one hundred rods in descent), from whence it was permitted to run down by itself, but was arrested in its course near the river by an apple tree. The pain and anguish we all endured in this rapid descent, as the wagon jumped and jostled over rocks and holes, is inconceivable; and the jar in its arrest was like bursting the cords of life asunder, and caused us to shriek with almost supernatural force. Our cries were distinctly heard and noticed on the opposite side of the river (which is a mile wide) amidst all the confusion which raged in burning and sacking the town. We remained in the wagon more than an hour before our humane conquerors hunted us up, when we were again paraded and laid on the beach preparatory to embarkation; but by the interposition of Ebenezer Ledyard, brother to Colonel Ledyard, who humanely represented our deplorable situation, and the impossibility of our being able to reach New York, thirty-five of us were paroled in the usual form. Being near the house of Ebenezer Avery, who was also one of our number, we were taken into it. Here we had not long remained before a marauding party set fire to every room, evidently intending to burn us up with the house. The party soon left it, when it was with difficulty extinguished, and we were thus saved from the flames. Ebenezer Ledyard again interfered and obtained a sentinel to remain and guard us until the last of the enemy embarked—about 11 o'clock at night. None of our own people came near us till near daylight the next morning, not knowing previous to that time that the enemy had departed. Such a night of distress and anguish was scarcely ever passed by mortal. Thirty-five of us were lying on the bare floor, stiff, mangled, and wounded in every manner, exhausted with pain,

fatigue, and loss of blood, without clothes or anything to cover us, trembling with cold and spasms of extreme anguish, without fire or light, parched with excruciating thirst, not a wound dressed, nor a soul to administer to one of our wants, nor an assisting hand to turn us during these long, tedious hours of the night. Nothing but groans and unavailing sighs were heard, and two of our number did not live to see the light of the morning, which brought with it some ministering angels to our relief. The first was in the person of Miss Fanny Ledyard, of Southold, L. I., then on a visit to her uncle, our murdered Commander, who held to my lips a cup of warm chocolate, and soon after returned with wine and other refreshments which revived us a little. \* \* \* The cruelty of the enemy cannot be conceived, and our renegade countrymen surpassed in this respect, if possible, our British foes. We were at least an hour after the battle within a few steps of a pump in the garrison well supplied with water, and although we were suffering with thirst, they would not permit us to take one drop of it, nor give us any themselves. Some of our number who were not disabled from going to the pump, were repulsed with the bayonet; and not one drop did I taste after the action commenced, although begging for it after I was wounded, of all who came near me, until relieved by Miss Ledyard. We were a horrible sight at this time. Our own friends did not know us; even my own wife came in the room in search of me and did not recognize me, and as I did not see her she left the room to search for me among the slain, who had been collected under a large elm tree near the house. It was with the utmost difficulty that many of them could be identified, and we were frequently called upon to assist their friends in distinguishing them by remembering particular wounds, &c.

Being myself taken out by two men for this purpose, I met my wife and brother, who, after my wounds were dressed by Dr. Downer, from Preston, took me—not to my own house, for that was in ashes, as also every article of my property, furniture and clothing—but to my brother's, where I lay eleven months as helpless as a child, and to this day feel the effects of it severely."

"Such" (concludes the worthy sergeant) "was the battle of Groton Heights, and such, as far as my imperfect manner and language can describe, a part of the sufferings which we endured. Never for a moment have I regretted the share I had in it. I would for an equal degree of honor, and the prosperity which has resulted to my country from the Revolution, be willing, if possible, to suffer it again."

Arnold having burned and plundered the town of New London, captured the forts and massacred the garrisons, quickly collected his forces and re-embarked, hastened in his departure, no doubt, by a wholesome fear of the militia, which was rapidly gathering. His own wounded were first carefully rowed on board the ships, and then came the turn of the weak and wounded prisoners. I quote again from Avery's narrative:

"Now the boats had come for us who could go on board the fleet. The officers spoke with a doleful and menacing tone; 'Come, you rebels, go on board!' This was a consummation of all I had seen and endured through the day. This wounded my feelings in a thrilling manner. . . . When we, the prisoners, went down to the shore to the boats, they would not bring them near, but kept them off where the water was knee deep to us, obliging us, weak and worn as we were, to wade to them. We were marched down in two ranks, one on each side of the boat. The officer spoke very harshly to us to 'get aboard immediately.' They rowed us down to an armed sloop, commanded by one Captain Thomas, as they called him, a refugee tory, and he lay with his vessel within the fleet. As soon as we were on board, they hurried us down into the hold of the sloop, where were their fires for cooking, and besides being very hot, it was filled with smoke. The hatchway was closed tight, so that we were near suffocating for want of air to breathe. We begged them to spare our lives, so they gave us some relief by opening the hatchway, and permitting us

to come on deck by two or three at a time, but not without sentries watching us with gun and bayonet. We were now extremely exhausted and faint for want of food, when, after being on board twenty-four hours, they gave us a mess of *hog's brains*—the hogs which they took on Groton banks when they plundered there. After being on board Thomas' sloop nearly three days with nothing to eat or drink that we could swallow, we began to feel as if a struggle must be made in some way to prolong our existence. . . . In the room where we were confined were a great many weapons of war, and some of the prisoners whispered that we might make a prize of the sloop. This in some way was overheard and got to the officers' ears, and now we were immediately put in a stronger place in the hold of the vessel, and they appeared so enraged that I was almost sure we should share a decisive fate, or suffer severely. Soon they commenced calling us, one by one, on deck. As I went up they seized me, tied my hands behind me with a strong rope-yarn, and drew it so tight that my shoulder bones cracked and almost touched each other. Then a boat came from a fourteen-gun brig, commanded by one Steele. Into this boat I was ordered to get, without the use of my hands, over the sloop's bulwarks, which were all of three feet high, and then from there I had to fall or throw myself into the boat. My distress of body and agitated feelings I cannot describe. They made us all lie down under the seats on which the men sat to row, and so we were conveyed to the brig. Going on board, we were ordered to stand in one rank by the gunwale, and in front of us was placed a spar, within about a foot of each man. Here we stood, with a sentry to each of us, having orders to shoot or bayonet us if we attempted to stir out of our place. All this time we had nothing to eat or drink, and it rained and was very cold. We were detained in this position about two hours, when we had liberty to go about the main-deck. Night approached, and we had no supper, nor anything to lie upon but the wet deck. We were on board this brig about four days, and then were removed on board a ship, commanded by Captain Scott, who was very kind to the prisoners."

Arnold having embarked his forces, crossed the Sound and anchored his fleet under the lee of Plum Island on the Long Island shore, and the next morning proceeded on his way to New York. While at Plum Island he drew up his report to Sir Henry Clinton. One looks through this document in vain for any justification of his wanton destruction of life and property, or for an announcement of any substantial results of the victory. Eighty men were then lying dead in Fort Griswold, massacred by his troops, but this little episode he evidently deemed of too little importance to mention. He ascribes the destruction of private property (in New London, 65 houses, containing 97 families, 18 shops, 20 barns and 9 public buildings; in Groton, 1 school-house, 4 barns, 2 shops and 12 dwelling houses) to "the explosion of powder, and a change of wind soon after the stores were fired," which "communicated the flames to that part of the town, which was, notwithstanding every effort to prevent it, unfortunately destroyed." This denial goes for little, however, in face of the fact that in many instances houses situated at a great distance from any stores, and containing nothing but household furniture, were set on fire in spite of the earnest cries and entreaties of the women and children in them. The Connecticut Gazette for September 21, 1781, reported: "Indeed, two houses



were bought off for ten pounds each, after an officer, who appeared to be a captain, had ordered them fired, which was the sum proposed by the officer, upon condition, however, that he should not be made known."

Arnold's report gives us some interesting particulars of the British loss in the attack. Colonel Eyre, a brave officer and a favorite of Clinton, was fatally wounded, and died on board the fleet. Major Montgomery, one captain, one lieutenant, two ensigns, two sergeants and forty-four rank and file were killed, and two captains, one lieutenant, two ensigns, eight sergeants, two drummers and one hundred and twenty-seven rank and file wounded. As an offset to this loss, no military result of value was attained.

Washington was not in the least disconcerted in his movements by the feat, and the only thing of moment accomplished by it seems to have been the destruction of the military stores and the eight or ten vessels that were unable to slip their cables and retreat up the Thames before the marauder struck them, and these could be very easily replaced.

I have before spoken of the nearly perfect condition of the earth-work, about which the stirring events above described took place. Next in interest to the relic itself are the graves of its brave defenders, nearly all of whom lie within a radius of a mile or two of the scene of their death. Colonel Ledyard lies buried in the Groton cemetery which now bears his name, and which lies about four hundred and fifty yards southeast from the fort, in the rough formation known as the Amasa Packer's Rocks. His original tomb-stone was a slab of blue slate, which in 1854 was found to be so nearly destroyed by relic-hunters that Connecticut appropriated fifteen hundred dollars for the erection of a suitable memorial. The present monument was erected in accordance with that act. It consists of a base and shaft enclosed by an iron railing, with posts cast in the form of cannon. On the west face of the shaft an unsheathed sabre in an inverted position is carved in relief. Across the cap of the base the word Ledyard in raised letters, and on the die beneath the following inscription:

SONS OF CONNECTICUT  
BEHOLD THIS MONUMENT AND LEARN TO EMULATE  
THE VIRTUE, VALOR, AND PATRIOTISM  
OF YOUR ANCESTORS

On the south face the die is inscribed:

ERECTED IN 1854  
BY THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT IN REMEMBRANCE OF THE  
PAINFUL EVENTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN THIS NEIGHBORHOOD  
DURING THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

IT COMMEMORATES THE BURNING OF NEW LONDON  
THE STORMING OF GROTON FORT, THE MASSACRE OF  
THE GARRISON, & THE SLAUGHTER OF LEDYARD, THE  
BRAVE COMMANDER OF THESE POSTS, WHO WAS  
SLAIN BY THE CONQUEROR WITH HIS OWN SWORD.

—o—  
He fell in the service of his country  
Fearless of death and prepared to die.

On the north face is inscribed :

COPY OF THE INSCRIPTION ON THE HEADSTONE ORIGINALLY ERECTED OVER THE  
GRAVE OF COL. LEDYARD.

Sacred to the Memory of WILLIAM LEDYARD, Esq.  
Col: Commandant of the garrisoned post of New London  
& Groton who after a gallant defence was with a part of  
the brave garrison, inhumanly Massacred by British troops  
in Fort Griswold Sep. 6, 1781, ætatis suæ 43.

By a judicious and faithful discharge of the various duties  
of his station, he rendered most essential service to his  
Country : and stood confessed the unshaken Patriot and  
intrepid Hero : He lived the Pattern of Magnanimity :  
Courtesy : and Humanity : He fell the victim of  
ungenerous rage and cruelty.

In 1830 the State of Connecticut set up a monumental shaft on  
Groton Heights, the scene of the conflict, which bears the following  
inscription upon a slab set into its base :

THIS MONUMENT

WAS ERECTED UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF THE STATE OF CONNECTICUT, A. D. 1830  
AND IN THE 55TH YEAR OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE U. S. A.

IN MEMORY OF THE BRAVE PATRIOTS

WHO FELL IN THE MASSACRE AT FORT GRISWOLD NEAR THIS SPOT

ON THE 6TH OF SEPTEMBER, A. D. 1781

WHEN THE BRITISH UNDER THE COMMAND OF

THE TRAITOR BENEDICT ARNOLD

BURNT THE TOWNS OF NEW LONDON AND GROTON, AND SPREAD  
DESOLATION AND WOE THROUGHOUT THIS REGION.

In the First Cemetery, New London; the Starr Burial Ground,  
Groton; the old cemetery, near Gale's Ferry; the old burial ground  
at Allyn's Point; the Turner ground in Ledyard; at Noank, Pequonnoc,  
and in the old White Hall Ground on Mystic River, the tourist is con-  
tinually stumbling upon grassy mounds, some marked by quaint head-  
stones and some unmarked, which cover the dust of victims of "traitor  
Arnold's murdering corps." Some of the inscriptions on these stones

are exceedingly pathetic; and in their expressions of stern grief and indignation at the inhuman conduct of the foe, show how the settled dislike and hatred toward Great Britain, which endured for generations after the Revolution, was produced.

CHARLES BURR TODD

## THE SLAIN AT GROTON

Zebulon and Napthali were a people that jeopardized their lives unto the death in the high places of the field.—Judges, V. 18.

## LIST OF MEN WHO FELL AT FORT GRISWOLD

SEPTEMBER 6TH, 1781

WILLIAM LEDYARD, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commanding

|                    |                   |                    |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| ELIJAH AVERY,      | DANIEL CHESTER,   | YOUNGS LEDYARD,    |
| EBENEZER AVERY,    | RICHARD CHAPMAN,  | DANIEL LESTER,     |
| SOLOMON AVERY,     | PHILIP COVIL,     | JOHN LESTER,       |
| JASPER AVERY,      | ELLIS COIT        | JONAS LESTER,      |
| ELISHA AVERY,      | JAMES COMSTOCK,   | WAIT LESTER,       |
| DANIEL AVERY,      | WILLIAM COMSTOCK, | JOSEPH LEWIS,      |
| DAVID AVERY,       | JOHN CLARK,       | JOSEPH MOXLEY,     |
| CHRISTOPHER AVERY, | DANIEL DAVIS,     | NATHAN MOORE,      |
| THOMAS AVERY,      | SAMUEL HILL,      | SIMEON MORGAN,     |
| JOHN P. BABCOCK,   | HENRY HALSEY,     | EDWARD MILLS,      |
| JOHN BILLINGS,     | JOHN HOLT,        | THOMAS MINER,      |
| ANDREW BILLINGS,   | RUFUS HURLBUT,    | LUKE PERKINS,      |
| SAMUEL BILLINGS,   | NATHAN ADAMS,     | LUKE PERKINS, JR., |
| EZRA BAILEY,       | SIMEON ALLYN,     | ELNATHAN PERKINS,  |
| ANDREW BAKER,      | SAMUEL ALLYN,     | ELISHA PERKINS,    |
| WILLIAM BOLTON,    | BELTON ALLYN,     | ASA PERKINS,       |
| JOHN BROWN,        | MOSES JONES,      | SIMEON PERKINS,    |
| HUBBARD BURROWS,   | ELIDAY JONES,     | DAVID PALMER,      |
| JONATHAN BUTLER,   | BENONI KENSON,    | PETER RICHARDS,    |
| FREDERIC CHESTER,  | BARNEY KENNY,     | AMOS STANTON,      |
| ELDRIDGE CHESTER,  | THOMAS LAMB,      | ENOCH STANTON,     |

CAPT. ADAM SHAPLEY, of Fort Trumbull.

|                 |                   |                 |
|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| DAVID SEABURY,  | THOMAS WILLIAMS,  | PATRICK WARD,   |
| JOHN STEDMAN,   | JOHN WILLIAMS,    | JOSEPH WEDGER,  |
| NATAN SHOLES,   | HENRY WOODBRIDGE, | BEN ADAM ALLYN, |
| THOMAS STARR,   | CHR. WOODBRIDGE,  |                 |
| NICHOLAS STARR, | JOHN WHITLESEY,   | SAMBO LATHAM,   |
| DANIEL STANTON, | STEPH. WHITLESEY, | JORDON FREEMAN. |
| HENRY WILLIAMS, | SYLV. WALWORTH,   |                 |

NOTE.—For years a marble slab on the south face commemorated the names of the slain, but becoming disintegrated by the weather, it was taken down and placed within the entrance to the base. It has lately been built into the wall on the inside, where it will long remain. EDITOR

## THE LEDYARD FAMILY

The name of Ledyard is indissolubly connected with the history of the country by the tragic fate of one of the sons of this old and worthy race; the murder of Colonel William Ledyard, and the death of many of his kinsmen who fell with him in the defence of Fort Griswold, Groton and New London, their birth-place and home, against the paricidal raid of the renegade Arnold and his new-found companions. And here it is fitting, in justice to the British officers, to say that the American traitor was not a welcome recruit to their ranks. His companions they were perforce, his friends they scorned to be. His future life was a striking example of the unfailing truth, that though he who, through honest convictions, may take sides against his countrymen and kinsmen in a period of civil war, may not therefore lose their regard, yet he who abandons the cause he has once espoused, and for considerations of personal advantage deserts to the enemy and takes up arms against his companions, thereby forfeits his claim to conscientious motives, and can justly hold no other fame than that of his prototype who sold his master for pieces of silver. This is here insisted upon, because of late an effort has been made to seek condonation for the atrocity of Arnold's crime in an exaggerated estimate of his previous service, which a careful study will show to have been always controlled by personal motives. As well seek an apology for Judas in his life as an apostle, as to attempt to vindicate Arnold from the just despal of mankind because of his previous conduct. The baneful connection of Arnold with the family of Ledyard is sufficient warrant for these words in this place.

The name of Ledyard seems to have been Welsh, and although there is the authority of ancient usage for the more general English form of Lediard, as in the name of Lediard-Tregoze, the family seat, yet that found in the American branch has the warrant of closer conformity to its patronymic. Lord Edward Herbert of Cherbury, in his charming autobiography, makes mention of Llwydyard as a place in Wales, and it is hardly questionable that the Ledyards are a branch of the innumerable race of Llwyds, or Lloyds, who trace their ancestry to the early Britons who fought with Arthur against the Saxon Kings. On the other hand, Bishop's Lydiard in Somerset appears in Domesday Book

as Lidegar, whence the varieties of Ledgard, Ledgiard, Ledeward, hamlets in England and Scotland.

There is an element of romance in the history of many of the old American families, of which that of Ledyard has its full share. This arises from the close connection of families on the two sides of the water holding a common name, a common origin and bearing common arms, and from the destruction of church and family records in England during the many periods of civil commotion. The family of St. John, of whom the first Viscount Grandison was the first English peer, and whose brilliant scion Henry St. John was the great Bolingbroke, prince of orators and letters, were of the Lydiard or Ledyard stock. Their family seat was Lydiard-Tregoze, a small village three miles from Swindon, in the county of Wiltshire. The old church at this place contains numerous monuments of the St. John family whose pedigree with their arms and quarterings is curiously painted on the folding doors on the north side of the chancel, and within these doors is also painted the tomb of St. John and his lady who died in 1594 and 1598. The descent of the St. Johns' is traced in a quaint pedigree, from which it appears that Tregoze was a well-known hereditary estate at the time of the Norman Conquest, that "Tregoze was a great baron in his age," and that marriage brought to the St. Johns' and

"Has kept the land of Lydiard in our race  
Where at this day is St. John's dwelling place."

Henry St. John, Baron of Lydiard-Tregoze during his short period of favor as minister of Queen Anne, was created Viscount Lord Bolingbroke, but, on her death and the fall of the Tory party, was attainted of high treason in 1714, and his estates confiscated. He was stripped of his titles and compelled to fly the kingdom. He had married Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Winchombe, who died leaving no issue. After a residence in France, where he married the Marquise de Villette, a niece of Madame de Maintenon, he returned to England. His estates were restored to him by Act of Parliament. He died childless in 1751. Under the settlement established by Parliament his estates descended to the heirs of his father's body under the law of entail. The inheritance was contested and the case passed into the courts, where the great Bolingbroke cause, as it was called, was tried in the King's Bench in 1807. The question turned upon which of the brothers was the eldest. The Attorney General proved that St. John was the eldest, and that he was the father of a son John who was lost. In this missing heir to the

entail of St. John and the title of Bolingbroke is found the central point of the mystery which has for a half century disturbed the minds or excited the curiosity of the Lediards of England and of their "Kinsmen beyond sea." Who was the missing John Lediard, the "lost St. John," the rightful heir? Despairing of finding him in England, he has been sought for in America. The Hon. Horatio Seymour, who descends from the Ledyards, has been repeatedly importuned to urge the claims of the American branch to the vast estate.\*

A similar cloud of mystery hangs over the parentage of John Ledyard, the first of the name in America. Sparks in his life of John Ledyard, the traveller, says that "his grandfather, named also John Ledyard, came in early life to America and settled at Southold, Long Island, as a small trader in dry goods. He was a native of Bristol, England, and had been bred a merchant in London. Being prosperous in business at Southold, he was soon married to a lady of amiable qualities and good fortune, the daughter of Judge Youngs, a gentleman of character and influence in that place. From Southold he removed to Groton, where he purchased an estate and resided many years." Sparks is correct as to the relationship. John Ledyard, the traveller, was the grandson of the original settler, but there is quite another tradition in the family as to the occupation of the first emigrant, a tradition born out by the fact that his pursuits in Connecticut were not those of a trader. Not that there was or is anything derogatory in trade, but that his early education had been of a character which, rare in the colonies, fitted him for positions for which the training of the higher faculties was necessary. He was born in England and in the year 1700, as the inscription on his tomb-stone in the old burial ground at Hartford, Connecticut, shows, but in what part of England is not known; and it does not appear that he imparted that knowledge to his children, one of whom lived until 1846, and would surely have passed it to her children, some of whom survived until after 1875. There is reasonable conjecture, however, that Sparks was right in his statement that he was born in Bristol, though it is not probable that it was more than reasonable conjecture on his part. Investigations were made in England about the year 1850 by Mr. George S. Ledyard, of Cazenovia, who visited Wiltshire and found a remote kinsman in a Mr. John Ledyard Phillips, of Melksham, whose arms were the same as those handed down in this country. viz.: *Arms*, Ermine on a chevron or, five mullets gules. *Crest*; a demi-lion rampant, argent, holding in his dexter paw a mullet gules. *Motto*, Per crucem ad Stellas. These

were the arms which, painted on a carriage, attracted the attention of John Ledyard, the traveller, in the streets of Bristol, from their similarity to those used by his grandfather in America. The same arms are borne by the Lediards of Chelsea, England. From information gathered from Mr. Phillips it appears that John Ledyard, of Wiltshire, married Elizabeth Hillard, of Bradford, Wiltshire, in 1665, by whom he had two sons, Ebenezer and John; the latter of whom married Sarah Windom, of Bristol, in 1690, and their son John married Sarah Allen, of Frome. It is supposed that the Ebenezer Ledyard above named married Miss Yarborough; a lady of this name is known to have been the mother of the first John Ledyard, who emigrated to America. The name of Yarborough appears also among those of the children of Colonel William Ledyard. Letters are extant from the first American John Ledyard, written from Groton in 1739-1741, to John Ledyard, Bristol, England, in which he addresses him as his cousin. He was probably the John who married Sarah Allen. The letters indicate great intimacy; John Ledyard, of Groton, complains that "since his arrival in New England" he had no letters from any of his relations in London. He appears to have visited London the year before the first letter was written. Miss Caulkins, in her history of New London records, "26th Oct., 1738, John Ledyard, of Groton, sailed for England in a new snow built by Capt. Jeffrey."

Further enquiries at Bristol resulted in ascertaining that the first of the name of whom there was any knowledge was John Ledyard, a merchant, of Bristol, who bought lands at Bradford, in Wiltshire, in 1658, part of which are in the possession of the Phillips branch of his descendants. There is a portrait of him in the possession of Mr. John Ledyard Phillips. He is painted in half armor with long auburn hair hanging in ringlets over it and wearing a blue sash. He was therefore probably a royalist in those troublous times. He married Elizabeth Hillard, of Bradford, in 1665. The Morgan Genealogy gives some account of the Ledyard family. So also a biographical sketch of John Ledyard, the traveller, by Charles B. Moore, in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record for January, 1876, and the writer of the present article supplied a paper for the same number, entitled "The Family of Ledyard, descendants of John Ledyard in two generations," compiled from notes taken from information from the widow of Gen. Ebenezer Stevens of New York, who was the daughter of the first John Ledyard of America, and not the grand-daughter, as incorrectly printed in the preliminary note to that paper. Mr. Moore, in his sketch, says that "John



Ledyard, after visiting London, abandoned his household to seek his fortune by travel, came to Southold, Long Island, in 1717, and became first a teacher and then a trader there, a competitor, assistant or successor of the first L'Hommedieu, the successful merchant. He was a young traveller and well educated. He was prosperous in business and presentable in manners and person, and he married a daughter of Judge Benjamin Youngs, grandson of the Rev. John Youngs, one of the chief men of the place. \* \* \* He removed in 1727 to New London or to Groton adjoining it in Connecticut, and thence afterward to Hartford." The tradition in the family is that John Ledyard commenced life in Groton as a teacher of Latin, and his later career supplies abundant evidence that his mind and attainments were of a high order.

The family of Youngs was the most important of Southold. The Rev. John Youngs led the colonists who, in 1638, made the settlement on this the most eastern point of Long Island, then one of the towns in the jurisdiction of the New Haven Colony. The company under his guidance emigrated from Norfolkshire, chiefly from the towns of Southold and Great Yarmouth. Mr. Moore states that Youngs was of an old commercial family well known at Bristol, which may account for the selection of Southold by the youthful emigrant. It may be here noticed in passing that there is no statement or evidence of any previous family connection with any of the inhabitants of the Long Island village. Mr. Moore gives the date of John Ledyard's removal to Groton as 1727. If this be correct, it is probable that his marriage with Deborah, the only daughter of Judge Youngs, was of a later date, as the first offspring of the marriage, John Ledyard 2d, was not born until 1730.

The name of John Ledyard first appears in the Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut in May, 1732, when he joined with Thomas Seymour, John Curtiss, John Bissell, Solomon Coit and others in a memorial to the Assembly for the charter of a "Society for the Promoting and Carrying on Trade and Commerce to Great Britain and his Majesty's Islands and Plantations in America and other of his Majesty's Dominions, and for encouraging the Fishery, &c., as well as for the common good as their own private interests," under the name of "New London Society, united for Trade and Commerce," which was duly granted. In May, 1731, he was appointed by the Assembly one of the Justices of the Peace for the County of New London, and was successively so appointed each year till 1749. In 1739 Messrs. Thomas Prentice, John Ledyard and Christopher Avery 2d were appointed a Committee for the defence of the Port at New London and the security of

the seacoasts, to provide for and bring to the battery at New London "ten good cannon," with their carriages and ammunition, and in 1740 to procure ten additional pieces for the same battery. In 1741 he was the Auditor of the Superior Court, with Gurdon Saltonstall and Joseph Coit. He was chosen Deputy for Groton in the General Assembly, held at Hartford, May 13, 1742, and continued to represent that town until 1749. In 1744, he is found with James Wadsworth and others making report in obedience to the appointment of the assembly to provide for the instruction of "the men on board the country sloop in the method of fighting at sea," in the event of a French war. The same year he was alone empowered to purchase additional cannon for the defence of New London, and again the year following to see to the repair of the battery. Nor were his services alone called for in matters referring to New London. In 1746 he, with Jonathan Trumbull and Christopher Avery, was appointed to examine into the memorial of the Second Society for the division of the parish of Norwich into two distinct districts . . . in 1747, to inquire into the claims of one Minor, of Stonington, in the case of "sundry bills and notes of hand," consumed by fire in his dwelling house. In 1747 he reorganized the Societies of of Lebanon, and, with others, was empowered to act as a Court of Chancery in the cast of a claim for £5,000 realized for prizes taken by the sloop Defence in the Colony's service on the expedition against Cape Breton in 1745.

In the year 1748 or 1749 his first wife, Deborah (Youngs), died. Her last child, Experience, was born in 1747, and John Ledyard soon after married, for his second wife, Mary, the widow of John Ellery, who brought to Mr. Ledyard a large estate. This lady was connected with the most important families in the colony. She was the only child and heiress of John Austin and Mary Stanley, daughter of Nathaniel Stanley, all of Hartford. John Austin brought with him from England a large fortune, which he greatly increased. At the time of her second marriage she had one son, William Ellery, by her first husband, who later married Experience (Ledyard), the youngest daughter and last born child of her second husband. Mr. Ledyard found entire happiness in the new connection, his wife adapting herself to his generous hospitality, which made of his house a home for his numerous grand-children, some of whom seem to have been its permanent residents.

His ceasing to represent the town of Groton in the Assembly, and his appearance as Deputy for the town of Hartford in the session of 1753, indicate that between these dates he changed his residence. He con-

tinued to represent Hartford till 1762. His last appearance was at the May Session of 1769, but he did not represent the town at all the intermediate Sessions between 1762 and that date. In 1754 he also received the appointment of Justice of the Peace for the county of Hartford, an office he retained by successive appointments until 1771, the year of his death.

He was one of the committee appointed "to settle the differences of Mr. Joshua Elderkin, gospel minister of West Haddam Parish, and his congregation," who were in sore difficulty as to what should be done about his homestead, he having been regularly dismissed from his charge. In 1754 he was appointed one of the Committee of War, with full power to send out men for the defence of the frontier towns in case of an invasion, and to adjust all accounts that might arise in consequence thereof. He was appointed one of the Auditors of the Colony's accounts in 1755, and one of the committee on the pay table of the trainbands, with full power in the premises. In 1757 he was appointed on the committee to settle and adjust all the expenses for billeting the forces raised by the Colony for the current year.

In May, 1758, he was appointed, together with John Chester, Thomas Wells, Roger Wolcott, Jr., and Daniel Edwards, Esquires, and Colonel Joseph Pitkin, to attend his Honour the Deputy Governor 'to hear the records of the acts and doings of the Assembly, and see the same signed by the Secretary as perfect and compleat,' and at the following Session was selected 'to repair to the executor or administrator of Col. Nathaniel Stanley, late of Hartford, deceased, and request of him or them to deliver to the said Ledyard the several bonds given by Col. Elisha Williams, deceased, Col. Samuel Talcott and the rest of the officers appointed in the late intended expedition to Canada (for to provide them suitable clothing), which said bonds were lodged with the said Stanley, deceased, as Treasurer of the Colony.'"

In May, 1760, he was chosen by the Assembly to receive the sums collected in each congregation in the county of Hartford, in aid of the sufferers by the great fire which occurred at Boston on the 20th March of that year, when, according to the representations of Governor Pownall, "two hundred and twenty families were turned out of doors and became objects of charity, and the calamity was so great and extensive that the means of relief from among themselves, and by the contributions of their own inhabitants, was greatly inadequate to the loss. In the same month he was appointed, with Daniel Edwards and Joseph Talcott, to inspect the drawing of the lottery authorized upon the

memorial of Joseph Buckingham, Thomas Seymour and other inhabitants of the town of Hartford, to raise three hundred pounds lawful money, on a deduction of ten per cent on the sale of tickets for the repairing the main streets in the town on the west side of Connecticut river. In October he appears with Jonathan Trumbull and David Rowland, Esquires, as a creditor of the Colony, having advanced money to the Treasurer upon his notes. In 1758 and 1761 he was one of the Auditors of the Colony's accounts with the Treasurer.

John Ledyard was greatly interested in the movement made in Connecticut for the protection and education of the Indians. The Moravians established a mission among the tribes at Sharon and Kent, the security of which "being threatened by foreigners straggling about in the Colony upon evil and dangerous designs, and alienate and to estrange, the minds of the Indians." Messrs. James Wadsworth, Elihu Chauncey, John Ledyard, and Joseph Blackleath made report to the assembly that there was "common rumor that the plantations would be destroyed by the Europeans settled in the southwest, and the north joined with the Flatheads in the west, and that the school set up among the Indians westward of Kent, was discouraged by the influence of the said foreigners to endangering of his majesty's interest;" and the assembly passed an Act to provide relief against these evil and dangerous designs.

In 1754 Eleazar Wheelock made the first attempt to carry out the long cherished desire of the best men of the Hartford Colony to educate the Indians, an effort which resulted in the foundation of Dartmouth College. Mr. Joshua Moor, of Mansfield, gave a small teneement in Lebanon for the foundation of a charity school for the teaching of Indians' youth. In the success of this enterprise Mr. Ledyard took a deep interest. A letter on this subject is among the few that have come down to us. It is now printed from a copy kindly made by Baxter Perry Smith, Esq., the learned historian of Dartmouth College:

HARTFORD, Oct. 3, 1763

Rev. and Dear Sir :

Enclosed is a letter to Mr. Sparrow respecting your Indian school. Wish 'twas in my power to afford some further substantial assistance, but in the rule of the Just, of charitable Mr. Hervey, my charity purse is empty.

Last Sabbath afternoon I heard, at Mr. Davis' Meeting House, a sermon from these words : "I through the Law am dead to the Law," preached by an able and I believe godly Divine from Newark, whose name I have not got ; 'twas a most excellent discourse, the congregation, all attention, watching for their lives, as indeed it was for their Lives. I pray Almighty God to give the increase, and that it will please Him also abundantly to succeed, prosper and Bless the precious design you are in pursuit of.

Rev'd Sir, Your very humble servant,

To the Rev'd Mr. Eleazar Wheelock, Lebanon.

JOHN LEDYARD

In 1768 "Colonel Wyllis and Esquire Ledyard" were among Dr. Wheelock's legal advisers, and no doubt continued in that capacity during the succeeding year when the charter for an Academy or College was laid before Governor Wentworth for his approval. The College was located at Dartmouth, and instruction began at the close of 1770. Ledyard's death, soon after, deprived him of the satisfaction of seeing the success of the undertaking.

John Ledyard did not live to take part in the Revolution, but the towns of New London and Groton, in whose defences he had been actively engaged, became the scene of one of the most tragic events of the war, and his sons and kinsmen, in direct and collateral lines, gathered and fell in numbers the extent of which recalls the bloody tales of border war when whole clans went down together beneath the sword of the foe.

In December, 1775, the Groton Fort was begun under the direction of a committee appointed by the Governor and Council the month previous, of whom Ebenezer Ledyard, third son of John Ledyard, and one of the most influential citizens of the town, was one; and at the same time a fort was begun on the New London side of the Thames River, but it was a year before these works really deserved the name of fortifications; when they were called Forts Trumbull and Griswold, the latter being the Groton work. They satisfactorily served the purpose of defence until September, 1781, when the inhabitants of the towns were alarmed by the sudden appearance of hostile vessels in the offing. Col. William Ledyard (the fourth son of John Ledyard) was the officer charged with the defences. He hastily rallied his command, in the numbers of which were more than twenty of his immediate kin, including his nephews, Captain Youngs Ledyard and Captain William Seymour, of Hartford, who joined him as a volunteer, and, crossing the river, threw himself into Fort Griswold. The story of the assault, the brave defence, the courteous surrender and barbarous massacre of the heroic Ledyard and numerous of his officers and men, after all resistance had ceased, is well known. It is graven on monuments, and lives in the imperishable page of American history. No incident of the direful day will be forgotten in this Centennial year. Only such details as are immediately connected with the family of Ledyard need be recounted here. Captain Youngs Ledyard, seeing his uncle fall and that quarter was not given, rushed upon the enemy with a number of the garrison, determined to sell their lives as dearly as possibly. All were cut down in the fruitless effort. Captain Seymour,

the son of Colonel Thomas Seymour of Hartford, who had fallen, his knee shattered by a ball, was pierced thirteen times with bayonets. He was the only one of the garrison whose wounds were dressed by a British surgeon. Miss Caulkins, the faithful chronicler of New London town, accounts for the exception by the fact of the interference of Captain Beckwith, whom Seymour had met in New York City.

Ebenezer Ledyard, the brother of the Colonel, was not in the fight, but humanely interposing to prevent the removal of the unfortunate wounded to New York, was taken by the British as a hostage for the paroled prisoners left behind. The capture of Lord Cornwallis soon altered the fate of the prisoners, however, and on the 3d November a flag of truce, sent from New London, "returned from New York and brought one hundred and thirty-two American prisoners, among them Ebenezer Ledyard and Lieutenant Jabez Stow on parole, with the remainder of the prisoners who were captivated and carried off from New London and Groton by Benedict Arnold's burning party;" but the prisoners, says the report in the Connecticut Gazette, were "chiefly from the Prison Ship, and mostly sick." Nor is this generous vicarious suffering of Mr. Ledyard the only touching incident in the dark tragedy. Robert Hempstead, one of the wounded men, relates that "the light of the morning of the 7th brought with it some ministering angels to the relief of the wounded. The first was in the person of Miss Fanny Ledyard of Southold, Long Island (the daughter of Capt. John Ledyard, and sister of John Ledyard the Traveller), then on a visit to her uncle. She brought with her chocolate and wine and other refreshments to the house of Ebenezer Avery, where thirty-five wounded lay." Hempstead reports that "some of the wounded, who were not disabled from going to the pump, were repulsed with the bayonet," and that his first relief was from Miss Ledyard. From the fact that Ebenezer Ledyard gave the name of Guy Carleton to a son born in 1787, it is fair to presume that during his captivity he experienced the kindness of this most accomplished British officer and worthy gentleman, who succeeded Sir Henry Clinton in the command of New York.

The State of Connecticut in 1830 erected a monument to the brave men who fell at Forts Griswold and Trumbull, and the remains of Colonel Ledyard, his wife and a daughter, were removed from their graves and laid within the enclosure. The old burying ground now bears the name of Ledyard Cemetery, and the name of the town itself was by act of Legislature changed to Ledyard, in perpetual commemoration

of the services of her gallant son. A century has elapsed since the skies were lurid with the glare of villages burned by the miscreant Arnold and his contemptible Tory companions, supported by British officers and British troops, as cruel and as merciless as themselves. The memory of such deeds does not fade with time. It is well to preserve and at fitting seasons dwell upon them, not to revive the bitter animosities which they engendered and kept alive, but to strengthen the patriotic ties which hold our people together, by keeping ever present to the mind the sacrifices which our fathers made to establish the liberties and lay the foundation of the American nation.

Among the tomb-stones in the old burying ground at Groton there is one which has thus far puzzled the genealogists. It stands among those of the Ledyard family. In 1858, when the writer copied the inscriptions, the stone was already deeply sunken in the earth. Upon it, beneath a quaint device of a head with wings, is the following epitaph: "Here lies ye Body of Mr. Benjamin Ledyard he Departed this Life April 7th 1777 in ye 76th year of his age." He was born, therefore, a year after John Ledyard, but what the relationship between them, and whether he was married and left descendants or not, the writer has been unable to ascertain, and the notes collected from the various branches of the family show that the same question has puzzled other investigators also. Nor yet has the writer been able to discover the parentage of the Isaac Ledyard who married Elizabeth, the widow of Captain Richard Christophers, the King's Naval Officer in the port of New London. She was the daughter of Gurdon Saltonstall, Governor of Connecticut from 1708-24, by his first wife, Jerusha, daughter of James Richards of Hartford. Captain Christophers died June 9, 1726. By the Public Records of the Colony, she, with her husband Isaac Ledyard, appears in May, 1737, as a petitioner to the General Assembly of the Colony for a settlement of the accounts of her former husband. She was born in 1690, and is said to have been much older than her second husband, Isaac Ledyard, of whom no other information has been found than that his name again appears in the Records of the Colony as at New London in May, 1741.

From the non-appearance of other Ledyards than those mentioned, it is a natural presumption that Benjamin Ledyard and Isaac Ledyard were kinsmen of John—that Benjamin was a bachelor, and that the wife of Isaac, advanced in life at the time of her second marriage, gave him no children.

John Ledyard died in 1771. A freestone tomb in the old Centre Burying Ground at Hartford bears this inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of JOHN LEDYARD, ESQ., who departed this life on the 3d day of September, A. D. 1771, aged 71 years. The memory of the just is blessed." His services are not forgotten, and he is remembered as an eminently just man. His descendants are numerous and have intermarried with distinguished families. They look back with honest pride to their first American ancestor.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS

ARMS OF LEDYARD



## APPENDIX

### WILL OF JOHN LEDYARD OF HARTFORD

In the Name of God, Amen.

I, JOHN LEDYARD, of Hartford, in Hartford County, in the Colony of Connecticut, being of a disposing mind and memory, do with my own hand write and make this my last will and testament in Hartford, this eighth day of May, Anno Domini 1771.

I beseech Almighty God that with becoming humility and gratitude of heart I may be enabled to commit my soul to his most mercifull hand, trusting and confiding in the all sufficient merits of Christ Jesus my Lord and my Saviour, for the eternal Salvation of it, as for such worldly estate as the divine being has bestowed upon me, I give and dispose of it as follows. *Imprimis*

Let my just debts be punctuall paid. *Item*

I give and bequeath to my dear wife (in lieu of Dower), my negro called Didge, one half of my Estate, Horses, Sheep and Hogs, one half of all my farming utensils and household furniture, excepting what I shall hereby otherwise dispose of all to be hers for ever, and also Twenty pounds to be paid her yearly from year to year so long as she continues my widow, and in case she shall marry again, it is my will that my Executors pay her One Hundred pounds in a reasonable time after such Marriage as hereafter provided. *Item*

I give to my two sons, Ebenezer and William, Two Hundred pounds each. To the children of my son Youngs one hundred and Twenty pounds, a Double share in which I give to my Grand-son Youngs, the rest of these children to have share and share alike in this Legacy, and bequest my son Youngs estate of what it was indebted to me. *Item*

To the children of my late daughter Coleman I give One Hundred pounds. *Item*

To my daughters Elizabeth and Experience I give Two Hundred pounds each. *Item*

To my daughters Lucy, Lucretia and Anne I give One hundred and Twenty pounds each. My daughters Seymour and Vandervoort are supposed to have had an equivalent to the former Legacies to their Sisters, and my daughter Talcott more than such equivalent considering her interest by her Grandfathers. By the foregoing Legacies I have (as near as I can) placed my sons and daughters and Grandchildren hitherto mentioned in such equality or proportion as I think right in disposition of my estate thus far. *Item*

I consider my son John, deceased, as having a large portion out of my estate. I also consider he was my first born, this last consideration determines me to say 'tis my will that my executors let to interest One hundred and fifty pound, and as the children of my said son come of age or marry to pay out to them that money with the interest in proportion, viz.: To the eldest son a double portion, and to the other of these children share and share alike, and if any or either of the children of my son John die before they have a right to demand and receive his or her or their part in this Legacy, the survivors to have it in the same proportion as given, and this is the whole that I may (consistent with what I suppose to be just towards my children) give to the heirs of my son John.

I give to my son Austin my right in the upper mills in Hartford, and to the adjoining house and land, also the lot of land formerly Humphrey's lot and the Barn on it, and the small lot I bought of Daniel Hall, and the lot in the meadow that I bought of Capt. Jonathan Seymour, and all the land [in] Town that I bought of my son-in-law William Ellery and one Bunce (called the oil mill lot, and two lots of land being contiguous that I bought of Cole and of Crow, being part of what was called Common lands, also one half of all the Horses, Cattle, Sheep, Hogs that I shall be possessed of, and also I give to my said son Austin, one half of my utensils and instruments for farming and husbandry. *Item*

The residue of my estate not hereafter otherwise disposed of, I give amongst all my children now living (excepting my son Austin who has a full share in my estate in the above provision made for him) and the children of my son Youngs, and of my daughter Coleman in manner as follows, to such of my sons now living (my son Austin excepted) a double share in proportion to their sisters. To such of my daughters now living half as much as to one of their brothers, only enjoining that my daughter Talcott pay Eighty pounds (out of what will be coming to her) towards discharging the Legacy of One Hundred and twenty pounds to one of her sisters, which will about make my four youngest daughters equal; to the children of my son Youngs, I give as much as to one of my living sons, and to the children of my daughter Coleman as much as to one of my living daughters; my children are all near equally and dear to me, and in this disposition of my estate I have aimed at doing them justice; the children of my first wife seem to have some advantage in the above disposition occasioned by my considering that I have great part of their mother's portion (who was heiress to one third of a handsome estate) and the children of my present wife have laid up for them by the will of their Honored Grandfather Austin what will make them more than equal in parental interest to the former, and this I approve of as 'twill help them in point of education. *Item*

I give to my children-in-Law William Ellery and Jane Ellery and to Eunice Ellery, daughter of my late Son-in-Law John Ellery, all the silver utensils and vessels which Mr. John Ellery, my wife's former husband had, that descended to him from his natural ancestors or that he had with his first wife, to be equally divided between said William, Jane and Eunice Ellery, and if said Eunice die childless then her part to be equally divided betwixt said William Ellery and Jane Ellery, further if it appears that said Eunice Ellery has legal right to the whole of an estate which belonged to her grandfather Ellery at Malden in Essex in Great Britain, then and in such case, 'tis my will that said Eunice have no share or part in the above mentioned Silver utensils and vessels, but that all of them be equally divided between said William Ellery and Jane Ellery. *Item.*

It was my design to have given my negro Didge to my son-in-law Seymour for that he formerly saved the life of my said negro in a manner without endangering his own, but as I know this negro more agreeable to my wife than any other I have, he is given unto her, and in his stead I do give to my said son-in-law Seymour any other of the negroes I may be possessed of that he shall chuse.

I do hereby empower my executors hereafter to be named to sell any of my estate, real and personal, not hereby otherwise disposed of, and the same to turn into money to be let out to enable them to make the yearly or other payments to my wife, children and Grandchildren, but not more than sufficient, and if my wife shall not incline to accept (in lieu of Dower) what I have given her as above, then it is my will that the moveable estate and what else is before given to her, be divided amongst my children and grandchildren, viz.: To such of my sons now living a double share in proportion to their sisters. To such of my daughters now living half as much as one of their brothers. To the children of my son Youngs as much as to one of my living sons. To the children of my daughter Coleman as much as to one of my daughters now living. As my wife is advancing in years, am sensible would be too great a burthen to lay on her the weight of Executorship, and her land being brought into very profitable order, and the provisions for her in this will are quite sufficient to render her life easy and happy as to this world's goods.

And I do appoint my sons Ebenezer and William to be the Executors of this my last Will and Testament, and if my son Austin shall be Twenty-one years of age at the time of my death, I do hereby appoint and join him an Executor with them.

JOHN LEDYARD, the above mentioned Testator, signs, seals, pronounces and declares the foregoing instrument to be his last will and testament.

JOHN LEDYARD, (L. S.)

In presence of John Laurence, Samuel Olcott, Wm. Lawrence.

*From Book 12, page 120 of Hartford Probate Records.*

At a Court of Probate holden at Hartford for the district of Hartford, on the 6th day of September, A. D. 1771. Present, I. Talcott, Esqr., Judge.

The last will and testament of John Ledyard, late of Hartford, deceased, was now exhibited in Court by Ebenezer and William Ledyard, sons of the said deceased and executors named in said will, who accepted the trust thereof, said will being proved by the witnesses thereto is by this Court approved and ordered to be recorded and kept on file.

TOMB OF JOHN LEDYARD—OLD CENTRE BURIAL GROUND, HARTFORD, CONN.

## DESCENDANTS OF JOHN LEDYARD IN TWO GENERATIONS

### ISSUE BY FIRST MARRIAGE

JOHN LEDYARD had by his first wife Deborah, daughter of Judge Benjamin Youngs, ten children; five sons and five daughters. Of the sons:

I. JOHN LEDYARD followed the sea as captain of a vessel in the West India trade, a dangerous occupation in days when the entire Atlantic coast was infested by privateers and pirates who differed from each other but in name. He married Abigail, daughter of Robert Hempstead, of Southold, by whom he had six children. 1. JOHN, the traveller, companion of Captain Cook in the disastrous voyage on which he came to his death. 2. FREDERICK, who died young. 3. FERDINAND, who died young. 4. THOMAS GROVER, of Southold. 5. GEORGE. 6. Fanny, who appears in the story of Fort Griswold as the ministering angel, and who was later married to Richard Peters, of Southold.

II. YOUNGS LEDYARD, born 25th Jan., 1731, died 4th April, 1762, also traded with the West Indies, and died on one of his voyages. There is a tradition in the family that suspicions of foul play rested upon Benedict Arnold, later notorious, who sailed with him as clerk or supercargo, and on his return it is said made no accounting of the venture, a proceeding quite in character with his later career. Youngs Ledyard married in June, 1748, Aurelia (Morgan in his genealogy gives the name as Mary) Avery, of Groton, where he resided. By her he had eight children: 1. Deborah, born 19th May, 1749, married to Col. Christopher Morgan, of Groton. 2. YOUNGS, born 24th June, 1751, killed 6th September, 1781, who was captain of a company in the command of his brother Colonel William, and mortally wounded in Fort Griswold when it was stormed; he died the next day. 3. BENJAMIN, born 6th March, 1753, died 9th Nov., 1803, married 1st Catharine Forman; 2d, Ann Rhea. 4. ISAAC (Doctor), born 5th Nov., 1754, died 30th August, 1803, married 13th March, 1785, Ann McArthur. 5. Mary, born 3d Sept., 1758, who was married to General Jonathan Forman. 6. WILLIAM, born 11th March, 1760, died 30th

Jan., 1761. 7. Lucy, who was married to — Phelps. 8. CALLEB, born 18th Oct., 1762, who was midshipman with Commodore Nicholson in the Trumbull, and died at sea at the age of 19.

III. DEBORAH LEDYARD was married to John Coleman, of Massachusetts.

IV. MARY LEDYARD was married to Colonel Thomas Seymour, of Hartford, Connecticut.

V. EBENEZER LEDYARD lived at Groton and died there in 1811. He married, *first*, Mary Latham, of Groton, by whom he had: 1. EBENEZER. 2. JONATHAN. 3. DAVID. 4. GURDON. 5. GURDON. 6. WILLIAM PITT. 7. AUSTIN. 8. NATHANIEL. 9. BENJAMIN. 10. JOSEPH. He married, *second*, Elizabeth Gardner, of Stonington, by whom he had: 11. JONATHAN. 12. HENRY G. 13. GUY CARLETON.

VI. WILLIAM LEDYARD, Colonel of the Connecticut militia, who commanded at Fort Griswold and fell mortally wounded, thrust through the body with his own sword by the British officer to whom he surrendered it after a brave but hopeless defence against superior numbers. The vest worn by him, showing the rents made by the sword as it entered and came out from the body, is still preserved, a witness of the atrocity, by the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford. More than twenty of the name and connections of Ledyard were engaged in this action.

The following memoranda are taken from his Family Bible in the Connecticut Historical Society:

On the 8th January, 1761, he married Anne Williams, of Stonington. She was born 21st March, 1744, died 8th September, 1790. Their children were: 1. Mary Ann Ledyard, born 16th February, 1763, died 9th March, 1782; unmarried. 2. Sarah Ledyard, born 6th May, 1765, died 25th July, 1781; unmarried. 3. WILLIAM LEDYARD, born 30th December, 1766, died 14th Sept., 1777. 4. Deborah Ledyard, born 27th January, 1769, died 20th December, 1791, married 28th November, 1786, — Smith. 5. JOHN YARBOROUGH LEDYARD, born 24th June, 1773, died January, 1792; unmarried. 6. PETER VANDERVOORT LEDYARD, born 2d September, 1775, died 16th April, 1829, married 22d September, 1796, Maria, daughter of Andrew and Maria Van Tuyl, of New York. 7. WILLIAM

LEDYARD, born 1st September, 1777, died 9th September, 1796; unmarried. 8. HENRY YOUNG LEDYARD, born 27th August, 1781, died 20th February, 1790.

VII. NATHANIEL LEDYARD, Doctor of Medicine, born 1740, died at Hartford 1st June, 1766, from wounds received in an explosion of powder while celebrating the repeal of the Stamp Act. The school house, a large brick building, on the site where the Hartford Hotel was erected later, was blown up and a number of persons injured. Doctor Ledyard, who was then in the 26th year of his age, had one of his thighs broken. He died unmarried. The rejoicing which was ordered by the General Assembly was at its height. The young gentlemen of the city were preparing fireworks for the evening when the accident occurred. A full account of it appeared in Parker's Connecticut Gazette for May 31, 1766, and was reprinted in Barber's Connecticut Historical Selections. In the old Centre Burying ground at Hartford there is a tomb-stone over the remains of Doctor Ledyard with the following characteristic inscription: In memory of | DOCTOR NATHANIEL LEDYARD | who Departed this Life | June ye 1st A.D. 1766 | in ye 26th Year of his age |

Just when deliver'd from her boding fears  
My chearful country wip'd away her tears,  
Materials wrought the public Joys to aid,  
With dire explosion snapp'd my vital thread,  
And Life's rich Zest, the Bliss of being free  
Prov'd the sad cause of bitter death to me.

VIII. ELIZABETH LEDYARD died unmarried.

IX. SARAH LEDYARD married to Peter Vandervoort, of New York.

X. EXPERIENCE LEDYARD, born 1747, died 5th March, 1773, was married to William Ellery, of Hartford, stepson of her father John Ledyard.

#### ISSUE BY SECOND MARRIAGE

JOHN LEDYARD married, *second*, Mary, the widow of John Ellery, of Hartford, and daughter of John Austin and Mary Stanley (widow of Nathaniel Hooker). John Austin was also an emigrant, a midshipman in the service of Queen Anne, who, attracted by the progress of the religious colony, left the service, and, turning his fortune into gold, settled in Hartford early in the eighteenth century, and became a merchant

of note. His mother, a lady of large fortune, is said to have lost a considerable portion of her estate in John Law's famous Mississippi scheme which turned the heads of Europe at this period. Nathaniel Stanley, the father of Mary, wife of John Austin, was a man of note and the Treasurer of the Colony. They were all of Hartford. The children of John Ledyard by his second wife, Mary Stanley (widow of John Ellery) were:

XI. ABIGAIL LEDYARD, married to Samuel Talcott, of Hartford.

XII. AUSTIN LEDYARD, born at Hartford, 1751, died at Hartford 11th September, 1776. He married Sarah Sheldon by whom he had Mary Austin Ledyard, who was married to Dr. Coggs, of Hartford.

XIII. LUCY LEDYARD, died unmarried.

XIV. LUCRETIA LEDYARD, born at Hartford 22d February, 1756, died at Astoria, Long Island, 2d July, 1846, was married, *first*, to Richardson Sands, of Sands Point, L. I., by whom two sons; *second*, to Ebenezer Stevens, of Boston, later of New York, Lieut. Colonel of Artillery in the revolutionary army, and Major General N. Y. State Artillery.

XV. ANNE LEDYARD, born Dec. 14, 1757, died Nov. 8, 1848, married to Andrew Hodge, of Philadelphia.

In closing this sketch of the descendants of John Ledyard in two generations, the remarkable, perhaps unique, fact, noticed in the account contributed to the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record may be here repeated, viz.: That six grandchildren of John Ledyard, born in 1700, were alive in 1869; two in 1876. The last survivor Mary, daughter of General Stevens and Lucretia (Ledyard) his wife, the widow of Frederick William Rhinelander, of New York, died at Newport 26th August, 1877, the three lives thus covering the unusual period of ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVEN YEARS; the last survivor dying one hundred and six years after her grandfather.

#### ISAAC LEDYARD

ASSISTANT SURGEON IN THE CONTINENTAL ARMY

Dr. Isaac Ledyard, born at Groton, Nov. 5, 1754, began life as a merchant, but soon wearied

of the occupation, and, according to Thompson's sketch of him (*History of Long Island*, II, 525), "travelled to New York, where he sought an introduction to Dr. John Bard, a distinguished physician then at the head of the medical school of that city, and finally was admitted a student in his office, where he met the most affectionate encouragement, which ripened into a firm and lasting friendship. When hostilities began with Great Britain and his brother Benjamin was commissioned captain in McDougall's regiment, First New York Battalion, Dr. Ledyard obtained the post of surgeon in the same regiment. He was soon after made hospital surgeon, and later raised to the post of second officer in that department. He continued attached to the army until the peace in 1783, after which he practiced medicine in the City of New York. He was one of the original founders of the New York State Branch of the Cincinnati in 1783.

After the peace, he resided until 1785 at the famous Roger Morris House, well known as Washington's Headquarters on Harlem Heights, and still one of the most attractive residences on Manhattan Island. At that time it was celebrated for the beauty of its surroundings, its luxuriant foliage and beautiful gardens.

On the 13th March, 1785, Dr. Ledyard married Ann, daughter of John McArthur, of New York. In 1794 he erected a mansion on a farm which he had purchased at Newtown, Long Island, to which he removed with his family the next year. Here he was in constant association with De Witt Clinton, who lived at the same place, and attended him as his surgeon on the occasion of his duel with John Swartwout in August, 1799, when the latter was wounded. He was fond of literary pursuits and an occasional contributor to the newspaper polemics of this excited political period. A strong opponent of the Federal party, he was chosen a presidential elector in 1800, and cast his vote for Thomas Jefferson. He was appointed health officer at Staten Island, where he died of an infectious disease August 28, 1803.

Thompson says of him "he was a gentleman of polished manners, affable and of wonderful conversational powers. His reading was expressive, his observation acute and his information on most subjects large and accurate. The death of

such a man was not only a great calamity to his family, but to the public."

## THE LEDYARDS OF NEW YORK

### BENJAMIN LEDYARD AND ISSUE

The New York branch of the family of Ledyard, descends from Benjamin Ledyard, grandson of John Ledyard, the first of the name in this country, and the third child of his second son Youngs Ledyard and Aurelia Avery, of New London, his wife.

BENJAMIN LEDYARD was born at Groton on 5th March, 1753. He was brought up partly in the family of his grandfather, John Ledyard, at Hartford, with his brother Isaac and his cousin John, later known as the Traveller. Afterwards he went into the store of Peter Vandervoort of New York, husband of his Aunt Sarah (Ledyard). Mr. Vandervoort was engaged in the hardware business and as an importer of this class of merchandise before the revolution, and his nephew had been admitted to partnership about that period.

On the outbreak of hostilities Benjamin Ledyard, although but recently married (he had married Catharine, daughter of Samuel Forman, of Middletown, Penn., on the 22d January, 1775,) at once enlisted and raised a company which, according to a tradition in the family, was known as the Hairy Caps. They were enrolled in the First Regiment of New York Continental Infantry, Colonel Alex. McDougall commanding, in which Benjamin Ledyard was commissioned captain on the 28th June, 1775. McDougall's regiment went to Quebec in the winter, but apparently Captain Ledyard was left behind, as he appears issuing warrants to a recruiting officer of the 3d Company New York Continentals in February, 1776. In the arrangement of the New York Line by a committee of the New York Convention, November 21, 1776, he was promoted to a majority, Henry B. Livingston being made colonel in the place of McDougall, who was already serving as Brig. General. General McDougall wrote to the committee recommending Ledyard's promotion as the second in the regiment, and "the man the corps have their eye on for major," and added that he thought

him by far the best qualified for it. There seems to have been some uncertainty as to his acceptance, probably on account of his health, which, never strong, soon broke down entirely. He was engaged at the battle of White Plains in 1776. He was at the battle of Monmouth either with his command or while at home on a furlough, his regiment being stationed at West Point with the forces posted there for the protection of the Hudson Highlands. At Monmouth his horse was shot under him. There is tradition that after this battle a British armed vessel driven ashore was captured by the militia, and that Major Ledyard prepared the articles of capitulation paroling the officers. His health failing him, he found himself unable to perform field duty, and on the 26th March, 1779, as appears from the petition of his son for his father's share of the lands allotted revolutionary soldiers, he resigned his commission, and withdrew from active service. He continued, however, to render effectual assistance as a volunteer with the militia in cases of invasion till the close of the war.

The army was in sore need of salt and the government urged its manufacture. Major Ledyard became superintendent of a company engaged in this business at Barnegat. He was one of the original founders of the New York State Society of the Cincinnati in 1783. At the peace he returned to New York and renewed his commercial pursuits, forming a partnership with Colonel Walker, aid of Baron Steuben. This partnership was dissolved April 20, 1785, after which he continued his mercantile pursuits with his brother, Dr. Isaac Ledyard, for a time. He finally withdrew to Middletown and opened a country store. In 1793 the military bounty lands of New York were allotted in Onondaga County, and Major Ledyard receiving the appointment of clerk of the county, removed to the village of Aurora, and there established his office and built a cottage in which he resided with his family, and which was standing in 1843. Here he was visited by his fellow soldiers, some of whom, among others Aaron Burr, bought lands in the neighborhood. The fever for speculation in western lands, from which Washington and Robert Morris and George Clinton were not ex-

empt, was high at the close of the last century, and the fertile valleys of New York were the favorite field. The town was first named Scipio, but later was divided. The new town set aside embraced the village of Aurora, in which he had his home, and received the name of Ledyard in his honor.

By his wife Catharine Forman, who was born 29th April, 1753, and died 22d July, 1797, he had ten children. 1. Mary, born 16th October, 1775, married to Glen Cuyler; 2. Helen, born 15th Nov., 1777, married 22d February, 1797, to John Van Lincklaen, of Amsterdam; 3. BENJAMIN, born 27th August, 1779, died, New York, 26th Oct., 1812, married, New York, April 3d, 1811, Susan French, daughter of Brockholst Livingston; 4. SAMUEL, born New Jersey, 29th Jan., 1782, died 27th Nov., 1866, married Ann Phelps; 5. ISAAC, born 9th March, 1784, died 21st March, 1787; 6. CALSB, born 24th Sept., 1786, died —; 7. Catharine, born 6th Jan., 1789, married to Perry G. Childs; 8. Margaret, born 4th April, 1791, married to Cornelius Cuyler; 9. JONATHAN DENISE FORMAN, born 10th June, 1793, to Jane Strawbridge; 10. AARON BURR, born 15th June, 1790, died 1st October, 1795.

BENJAMIN LEDYARD, in 1801, married *second* Ann Rhea, of Monmouth, New Jersey, by whom he had no issue. He died at Aurora, Cayuga County, New York, on the 9th November, 1803.

#### SAMUEL LEDYARD AND ISSUE

SAMUEL LEDYARD, fourth child of Benjamin Ledyard and Catharine Forman, his wife, was born in New Jersey 29th Jan., 1782, and died 27th Nov., 1866. He married *first*, 23d May, 1805, Ann Phelps, who died 17th Feb., 1815.

Their children were, 1. Catharine Lucy, born 3d Dec., 1806; 2. Helen Lincklaen, born 26th Nov., 1811; 3. Mary Forman, born 5th May, 1814.

He married, *second*, Sophia Childs, 15th Jan., 1816. Their children were: 1. Rachel Childs, born 10th Dec., 1816. 2. BENJAMIN, born 27th April, 1819. 3. SAMUEL FORMAN, born 27th Feb., 1821. 4. TIMOTHY CHILDS, born 3d Aug., 1822. 5. JOHN HENRY, born 17th May, 1824. 6. T. SCOTT, born 12th June, 1827. 7. Mar-

garet Cuyler, born 11th June, 1830. 8. GLEN CUYLER, born 21st Jan., 1834.

#### JONATHAN DENISE FORMAN LEDYARD AND ISSUE

JONATHAN DENISE FORMAN LEDYARD, ninth child of Benjamin Ledyard and Catharine Forman, his wife, was born 10th June, 1793, and died 7th Jan., 1874. He married 26th October, 1819, Jane Strawbridge. Their children were: 1. LINCKLAEN (later Ledyard Lincklaen, see the Lincklaens of Cazenovia), who was born 17th October, 1820, and died April 24th, 1864. He married 7th December, 1843, Helen Clarissa Seymour. 2. JONATHAN DENISE, born 1st May, 1828, married 2d March, 1853, Elizabeth Fitzhugh; they were both drowned 26th June, 1859, from the steamer Montreal on the St. Lawrence River. 3. GEORGE STRAWBRIDGE born 19th Feb., 1825, married Anne Fitzhugh. 4. CORNELIUS CUYLER, born 8th March, 1827, died 7th October, 1836. 5. Helen Lincklaen, born 5th May, 1829, married Aug., 1864, to John F. Seymour. 6. L. WOLTERS, born 8th April, 1836, married 1st June, 1867, Elizabeth Vail.

#### THE LEDYARD-LINCKLAENS OF CAZENOVIA

Jan Lincklaen, who had been an officer in the Dutch navy, came to America from Amsterdam, where he was born in 1763, and, with William Bayard, was appointed under the general direction of Theophile Cazenove, who made his residence in Philadelphia, agent for a Dutch company, which in 1795 purchased the four tracts of land in the central and western part of the State of New York, known as the Holland patent. Mr. Lincklaen settled at Chittenango Falls, in Madison County, and built the first saw and grist mills there in 1794. He was also the founder of the town of Cazenovia, one of the most beautiful villages in the State, which lies on the western margin of the lake of the same name, calling it after his friend Cazenove. Here in 1806 he erected the stately mansion which bears the name of the Lincklaen Manor House. Lincklaen place is beautifully situated and adorned with grand maple and linden trees, and the streets of the town are bordered with the same varieties,

luxuriant in leaf and branch, which were planted by the first tasteful proprietor.

On the 22d February, 1797, Jan Lincklaen married Helen, second daughter of Benjamin Ledyard and Catharine Forman. Issue failing, the Lincklaen estate passed to LINCKLAEN LEDYARD, the nephew of Mrs. Jan Lincklaen, (son of her brother Jonathan Denise Forman Ledyard), who, on taking the property, changed his name to LEDYARD LINCKLAEN. He married Helen Clarissa Seymour 7th December, 1843, and died 24th April, 1864.

#### THE LEDYARDS OF RHODE ISLAND

##### HENRY LEDYARD AND ISSUE

HENRY LEDYARD, the only child of Benjamin Ledyard, of New York, and Susan French Livingston, his wife, was born at New York 5th March, 1812, and died at Paris, France, 7th June, 1880. He married at Paris, France, 19th September, 1839, Matilda Frances, daughter of the Hon. Lewis Cass, of Michigan. She was born July 11th, 1818. At the time of his marriage, Mr. Ledyard was attached to the American Embassy. Mr. Cass was then Minister to France. A gentleman of elegant manners and high culture, Mr. Ledyard was eminently suited for diplomatic position. In 1839 he was made Secretary of Legation, and in 1842 Chargé d'Affaires, a position which he filled with credit to himself and to the satisfaction of his countrymen. He returned to America in 1844. Later he withdrew entirely from public affairs and made his permanent residence at Newport, taking part in public affairs with discretion and public spirit.

By his wife Frances Matilda Cass, who survives him, he had issue: 1. Elizabeth, born at the U. S. Legation, Paris, 10th October, 1840, married at Newport, R. I., to Francis W. Goddard, of Providence, R. I. 2, 3. HENRY BROCKHOLST and Susan Livingston, twins, born at U. S. Legation, Paris, 20th Feb., 1844—H. B. L. married 15th Oct., 1867, Mary R. L'Homme-dieu—S. L. married to Hamilton B. Tompkins. 4. LEWIS CASS, born at Detroit 4th April, 1851, graduate of Harvard College, 1872, married, April, 1878, Gertrude, daughter of Col. Wm. E. Prince, U. S. Army. 5. Matilda Spencer, born at Washington, D. C., 27th May, 1860.



# EPITAPHS FROM LEDYARD CEMETERY

GROTON, CONN.

*The numbers correspond with the view annexed.*

## I

Here  
lieth reunited  
to Parent Earth in  
the 46th Year of her Life  
ANN, for a few years the  
disconsolate RELICT of  
COL: WILLIAM LEDYARD,  
who in a Fort adjoining this Ground  
fell gallantly defending these TOWNS  
& HARBOUR. At her fond request her  
youngest son CHARLES aged 8  
years lies interred in her arms.

Those who know how to  
estimate female accomplishments  
in the Person of a tender Mother will  
judge of the melancholy reverence  
with which this Stone is erected  
to her memory by her only  
Surviving child Peter Y. Ledyard

(Footstone)

A. L.

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument)*

## II

Sacred  
to the Memory  
of

WILLIAM LEDYARD, Esqr

COL COMMANDANT of the Garisoned Post  
of NEW LONDON AND GROTON who, after  
a gallant defence, was with a Part of the  
brave Garison, inhumanly Massacred  
by British troops in

FORT GRISWOLD

Sep 6th, 1781, Actatis Suae 43

By a judicious and faithful discharge  
of the various duties of his Station, He  
rendered most essential Service to his

Country: and stood confessed the  
unshaken Patriot and intrepid Hero:  
He lived the Pattern of Magnanimity: Courtesy  
and Humanity: He died the Victim of  
ungenerous rage and Cruelty.

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument.)*

## III

In Memory of

MISS SARAH LEDYARD

the amiable daughter of  
COL: WILLIAM & ANNE  
LEDYARD: who departed  
this Life July 21st 1781 in  
the 17th Year of her Age

Each tedious Task, Life's toilsome pains  
are o'er  
Her Sorrows cease, Care now she  
knows no more  
The Conflict's past, she took the plea  
sing Road  
From us ascended to that bright  
abode  
Where Faith on Angel's wings mounts  
us on high  
To see her there immortal in the  
sky

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument)*

## IV

WILLIAM, Son of Major William  
and Mrs. Anne LEDYARD,  
died Sept the 14th 1777  
in the 11th Year of his Age

Whoe'er thou art that doest approach  
The dreary mansions of the Dead,  
Let not thy hasty feet encroach  
Or on these sacred manes tread  
But if soft pity moves thy breast  
Or innocence invites thy thoughts  
If blooming youth or lovely crest  
With beauties brightest raptures wrought  
If all that flattering hope could boast  
Or fondest wishes centred here  
Think wh [stone broken]

(Footstone)

WILLIAM  
LEDYARD

1777

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument)*

## V

[broken] YOUNG

SON OF COL  
WILLIAM & ANNE  
LEDYARD WHO  
DIED MAY 23D  
1782 AGED 3 YEARS

(Footstone)

HENRY YOUNG  
LEDYARD

1782

*(Now within the inclosure of the monument)*

## VI

Here lies ye Bo  
dy of Mr Benja  
min Ledyard he  
Departed this Life  
April 7th 1777 in  
ye 76th year of  
his age

(Footstone)

Mr  
Benjamin Ledyard

## VII

In Memory of  
CAPT: JOHN LEDYARD Junr  
Who departed this Life  
March 17 1762  
aged 32 years

Once did I stand amid Life's busy throng  
Healthy and active, vigorous & strong  
Oft' did I traverse Ocean's briny waves  
And safe escape a thousand gaping graves  
Yet dire disease has stopd my vital breath  
And here I lie, the prisoner of Death  
Reader, expect not lengthened days to see  
Or if thou dost, think, think, ah think of me

## VIII

In Memory of  
William ye Son  
of Capt Youngs  
Ledyard & Mary  
his wife, who  
died Janr 30th  
1761, aged 10  
Mo & 19 Days

## IX

In Memory of  
Mrs. ELIZABETH AVERY  
the Wife of  
Ensign EBENEZER AVERY  
Who died  
Octr 31st 1784  
In the 36th Year of her Age

(Footstone)

Mrs  
Elizabeth  
Avery

## X

In Memory of  
Mrs ELIZABETH AVERY

the 2d Wife of  
Ensign EBENEZER AVERY  
Who died  
Octr 2d 1789  
In the 30th Year of her Age  
(Footstone)  
Mrs  
Elizabeth  
Avery 2d

## XI

In Memory of  
Mrs ELIZABETH AVERY  
the 3d Wife of  
Ensign EBENEZER AVERY  
Who died  
Jan 21st 1797  
In the 40th Year of her Age

(Footstone)

Mrs  
Elizabeth  
Avery

## XII

In Memory of  
ORLANDO AVERY  
Who died  
Sep 18th 1821  
Aged 25 Years

(Footstone)

O. A.

## XIII

In Memory of  
Miss MARY COLEMAN  
Who died  
April 1st 1795  
In the 37th Year  
of her Age

(Footstone)

Miss  
MARY  
COLEMAN

## XIV

GUY CARLTON  
LEDYARD, Son of  
EBENR & ELIZA  
LEDYARD Died  
July 17th 1793  
Aged 6 Years  
& 13 Days

## XV

JONATHAN (Son  
of EBENEZER  
LEDYARD ESQr  
& ELIZABETH his  
Wife) Died FEB:  
12th 1782 Aged 1  
Month & 4  
Days

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## XVI

IN MEMORY OF  
CAPT. YOUNGS LEDYARD  
who was mortally wounded  
making heroic exertions  
for the defense of  
FORT GRISWOLD  
Sep 6th, of which he died  
the 7th A D: 1781  
in the 31st Year of his Age  
(Footstone)

CAPT  
YOUNGS  
LEDYARD

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## XVII

IN MEMORY OF  
JOSEPH Son to EBEN  
EZER LEDYARD  
ESQr & MARY his  
Wife. he Died Sepr  
ye 5 1778 Aged  
7 Days

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## XVIII

Sacred lies here ye Body  
of GURDON LEDYARD Son  
to EBENEZER & MARY LED:  
YARD He Departed this  
Life August ye 19th 1770  
Aged eleven Months

The children are to Parents Given  
Yet soon they may be called to Heaven  
The Rarest Blessings from Heaven obtained  
Must be Returned again with hearts Unfeign'd  
For Him neither Sigh Mourn or Weep  
Since in Jesus (trust) he now doth Sleep  
Sleep on Sweet Babe & take thy Rest  
Since Heaven thought it to be Best

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## XIX

In Memory of  
Mr. EBENEZER AVERY

who died  
Jan 10th 1828  
Aged 81 Years

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## XX

(Not of Ledyard family)

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## XXI

IN MEMORY OF  
EBENEZER LEDYARD Junr  
who died  
Nov 17th 1796  
Aged 36 Years  
(Footstone)  
EBENr  
LEDYARD JR

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## XXII

Sacred  
to the Memory of  
EBENEZER LEDYARD  
who died  
Sep 29th AD 1811  
aged 75 years  
& 5 months

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## XXIII

IN MEMORY OF  
MRS MARY LEDYARD  
the amiable wife of  
EBENEZER LEDYARD ESQr  
Born Janry 6th 1739  
Died Febry 15th 1779  
being 40 Years one  
Month & 12 days old

(Footstone)

No Inscription

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## XXIV

BENJAMIN (Son  
of EBENEZER  
LEDYARD ESQr  
& MARY (his  
Wife) died APRIL  
15th 1788 Aged  
9 Years 7 months  
& 18 Days

(Footstone)

B. L.

## XXV

Sacred  
to the Memory of  
**HENRY G. LEDYARD**  
Son of  
**EBENEZER LEDYARD ESQr**  
who died  
March 4 1823  
aged 38 years

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## XXVI

Not of the Ledyard family

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## XXVII

In Memory of  
**FANNY LEDYARD**  
Late consort of  
**GURDON LEDYARD**

who departed this Life

Dec 18th 1795

in the 24th Year of her Age

Midst joyous scenes, in life's propitious gale  
Sickness and Death with Vigour me assail,  
While Hope fair blooming from celestial skies  
Cheers up my heart and bids my soul arise

(Footstone)

**FANNY  
LEDYARD**

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## XXVIII

In Memory of  
**CHARLES FREDERICK LE  
DYARD**, Son of John  
and Abigail Ledyard  
who died Decr 9 1759  
aged 3 Mo & 20 Days  
Happy the Babe  
Who Privileged by Fate  
To shorten Labour  
And a lighter weight  
Received but yesterday.

## PARTIAL VIEW OF LEDYARD CEMETERY

From a sketch drawn in 1858

## THE LEDYARD HOUSE—HARTFORD

The Old Ledyard House at Hartford was built by John Ledyard (Judge Ledyard as he was called), who died in 1771, and whose remains lie near a shapely tomb in the old centre Burial Ground, at Hartford, stood on the northeast corner of Arch and Prospect Streets, facing south on Arch Street, a two story heavily timbered frame wood house, with plain straight roof. Its front extended from fifty to sixty feet, and its depth from thirty-five to forty. A wide hall, with a long straight and broad staircase of easy ascent, ran through the building. The rooms were large and lofty. There were two chimneys in the body of the house between the rooms. There were two windows on the west, and three on the east side of the front door. The doors were without porches. An L construction, in which was a kitchen and a well-room, joined the main building at the northeast corner. The cellar was under east half of house, with a Canto entrance on the east side from the L. There was a window at each of the east and west ends of the long attic or garret, in which a staircase led up the northwest corner. At each side of the front door stood a cedar tree, that on the east side of great size. About thirty feet from the house, on the west side, stood a row of elm trees, and a tree of the same kind near the house in the rear. The grade of the ground inclined upwards towards the north. In order to adapt the building to the accommodation of two families, a brick kitchen was erected about 1830, connecting with the main building, at the northwest corner. In the rear of the house, within one hundred and fifty feet, stood a small one-and-a-half story house, probably originally built for the accommodation of the negro servants. It was occupied by colored families for many years, and was torn down between 1835 and 1860. It was not included in the property in 1835, but was entered from Prospect Street.

Ledyard House must have been one of the handsomest residences of the town, and was torn down between 1865 and 1870. The site of the whole property described is at this time (1878) covered with the lawn of a residence in Prospect Street. The cedar trees were destroyed several years, but most of the elm trees are still standing. Prospect Street was laid out and opened I believe by Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth, probably about 1790. The drawing of the house is as I remember it in 1835. It was owned by my father.

*Hartford, Conn.*

EDWARD W. WELLS





## THE SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN

1781

### FROM GUILFORD COURT HOUSE TO THE SIEGE OF YORK

*Narrated in the letters from Judge St. George Tucker*

#### THE PENINSULA CAMPAIGN

There is now a gap of two months in this series of letters. Major Macker belonged to the militia, and so returned home on his body received its discharge after the battle of Guilford Court House. The winter, though short, was of the utmost importance.

Cornwallis, broken with the force of his victory, pursued the march to Wilmington. His route could have been tracked by the number of unmade graves, if he had left no other traces behind him of the progress of a distressed army. The rapid removal of the wounded succeeding the action at Guilford now began to tell upon the royal troops, hardly disciplined men though they were, and in a strange and remote country many of these poor fellows sick on the roads or fallen there, were hastily buried by the rude hands of soldiers left to mould in unmarked graves, and were forgotten. A truly melancholy fact. General Greene, under innumerable and humiliating difficulties, pursued the retreating victors for sixty miles with great spirit, but an unequalled detention gave Cornwallis a day's advantage, and made the pursuit hopeless. The American General then turned his face towards South Carolina, and Cornwallis accomplished the remainder of his journey unopposed. In a letter written to General Phillips, April 24th, the British commander bemoans his situation [*vide Tarleton's Campaigns*, p. 328]. Greene had taken advantage of the Earl's necessity and marched into South Carolina, and the only thing left for the British to do was to turn their attention toward Virginia. This they did, and on the morning of April 25th the journey was begun which led them to their fate. It was that Cornwallis should unite the two branches of the army, meeting Phillips, the General of the "Convention troops," at Petersburg, a traitor, at Petersburg. However, General Phillips died on the 20th of May, and the command of the forces fell upon Arnold, who had formerly been taken on account of the contempt and





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Cornwallis, broken with the force of his victory, pursued his march to Wilmington. His route could have been tracked by the number of new-made graves, if he had left no other traces behind him of the progress of a distressed army. The rapid removal of the wounded succeeding the action at Guilford now began to tell upon the royal forces, hardy, disciplined men though they were; and in a strange and hostile country many of these poor fellows sank on the roadside, died, were hastily buried by the rude hands of soldiers, left to mould away in unmarked graves, and were forgotten. A truly melancholy fate! General Greene, under innumerable and humiliating difficulties, pursued the retreating victors for sixty miles with great spirit, but an unavoidable detention gave Cornwallis a day's advantage, and made the pursuit hopeless. The American General then turned his face towards South Carolina, and Cornwallis accomplished the remainder of his journey unmolested. In a letter written to General Phillips, April 24th, the British commander bemoans his situation [*vide* Tarleton's Campaigns, p. 328]. Greene had taken advantage of the Earl's necessity and marched into South Carolina, and the only thing left for the British to do was to turn their attention toward Virginia. This they did, and on the morning of April 25th the journey was begun which led them to their fate. The plan was that Cornwallis should unite the two branches of the army by meeting Phillips, the General of the "Convention troops," and Arnold, the traitor, at Petersburg. However, General Phillips died on the 13th of May, and the command of the forces fell upon Arnold, from whom it had formerly been taken on account of the contempt and hatred in

which he was held by the soldiery. On the 20th of May Cornwallis entered Petersburg, and the union between the two armies was effected. Cornwallis' chief design was to prevent the junction between General Wayne, who was approaching from the north with a large body of Continentals, and Lafayette, who was at that time in Richmond; but the intrepid young Marquis was entirely too old a bird to catch at the chaff thrown out by the English Earl, and, despite all the stratagems directed against him, fell back to Culpepper Court House, where he was joined by General Wayne and eight hundred men of the Pennsylvania line.

Foiled in this undertaking, Cornwallis directed his attention to two objects in another quarter. The first of these was Thomas Jefferson, whom General Phillips had contemptuously termed the "American Governor of Virginia," and the Legislature, then assembled at Charlottesville. Accordingly Tarleton was dispatched "with one hundred and eighty dragoons, supported by Captain Campagne of the Twenty-third Regiment and seventy mounted infantry," to catch the Governor and the lawmakers together. However, the future President of the United States escaped through a back door into the woods that encircled his mountain home, and the Legislature, at the approach of the British, disbanded to meet at a later date in Staunton. Seven members of this Assembly were, nevertheless, captured by the enemy.

The other design that occupied the mind of Cornwallis at this time was the seizing of the fort at the junction of the James and Rivanna Rivers, and known as the Point of Fork. At this place there was a large quantity of military stores, defended by Baron Steuben and, according to Burk (*History of Virginia*, Vol. IV., p. 496), six hundred new levies intended for the army in the south, with as many more militia under General Lawson, among whom was St. George Tucker, now elevated to the grade of lieutenant-colonel. In Marshall's *Life of Washington*, however, it is stated that there were between five and six hundred men under the Baron, together with a *few* of the militia, at the fort at this time. This latter statement is more nearly correct, to judge from these letters. Colonel Simcoe, with five hundred men, was detached by Cornwallis to attack this fort at the same time that Tarleton proceeded against the Sage of Monticello, Charlottesville, and the Conscript Fathers there assembled. When Simcoe reached the fort, to his great surprise he found it vacant and the forces under Baron Steuben stationed on the south bank of the James. The cause of this movement on the part of the Americans was the approach of Tarleton, which they supposed was directed against them. When the British found their prey was

nearly beyond their grasp, their commander resolved upon a stratagem which proved effectual beyond his expectations. The British forces were stretched in a long line upon the northern bank of the river, the baggage was placed upon the summit of a hill in a small body of woods, which mystified the amount, and numerous camp fires were lighted in every direction—and all this was done to lead the Prussian soldier to believe that the whole of the royal army was pursuing him. The unsuspecting Baron was completely duped. He ordered the boats to be destroyed, and in the middle of the night retreated, leaving behind him the greater part of the supplies which had been transported from the fort. Among the booty taken by the British were several brass howitzers, which were remounted at Yorktown, and there retaken by the Americans. These are supposed to be the same guns which were afterwards exhibited at the armory at Richmond. St. George Tucker's letters, which were resumed at this period, will now speak for themselves. The first was written at Callan's Ordinary, and has no date, but its contents plainly indicate the period at which it was written:

"The Baron is retreating from the Point of Fork, and proposes, as I hear, to go to Prince Edward Court House. This being the case, you will lose no time in endeavoring to remove yourself and our little ones out of the way. \* \* \* Be not alarmed, as you will have time to set out between this and twelve to-night."

Mrs. Tucker was residing at this time at a large plantation called Bizarre, lying on the north bank of the Appomattox River, just opposite Farmville. Mr. Edgar Ward, the artist, has spent much of the past summer in making a painting of this farm as a specimen of an old Virginia tobacco plantation. Upon the reception of the above laconic epistle, Mrs. Tucker, very much alarmed at the approach of an undisciplined and retreating army, retired to another plantation in Charlotte county. This plantation has since become celebrated by the name of Roanoke, the home of the eccentric John Randolph, who was Mrs. Tucker's youngest son by a former marriage. After the arrival of the fugitives at Roanoke, there came a letter saying that this refuge was unsafe. The British were at Buckingham Court House, marching southward. Hemmed in on one side by friends and on the other by foes, Mrs. Tucker was at a loss to find a place of safety for herself and five little children, when the following letter was received:

"PRINCE EDWARD C. H., Friday, half after six P. M.

"I wrote to you at one o'clock by Syphax (his body servant). I am now happy enough to inform you that there is not that necessity for your removing that I apprehended at that time. We have since received certain intelligence that the enemy are not at Buckingham Court House, nor

have they crossed James River any where but at the Point of Fork, and there only to the number of about one hundred. When I wrote; the Baron was apprehensive that they aimed at intercepting his baggage, and throwing themselves between him and the Roanoke. Had this been the case, you would have been in some danger; as it is not, you may be assured that you are in perfect security."

"CAMP AT WILKES' CREEK, THREE MILES BELOW CHARLOTTE COURT HOUSE,  
June 10th, 1781.

"Your letter relieved me from a good deal of anxiety which I felt lest you should have set out before Guy reached you with my last letter. I am now very happy in reflecting that the alarm which my letter produced was of such short duration. \* \* \* The Baron took leave of me at eleven o'clock yesterday with these words:—'Perhaps I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you so soon again.' Accordingly at four o'clock the militia halted at this place, while the regulars proceeded on their march over the Roanoke. We have since received no further intelligence of the enemy, except that they had not crossed at Carter's Ferry at ten o'clock yesterday. Gen. Lawson is now at the Court House. If I can obtain leave to visit you when he returns, I shall be the bearer of this myself: otherwise, I shall subjoin a postscript, in which I shall give you the best account I am capable of, of what we expect to do. I am told that a general exchange has been agreed on between Gen. Greene and Lord Cornwallis relative to the southern department, and that our prisoners are to set out from Charlestown on board of flags on the 15th instant, to be delivered at James Town. Should this be the case, I shall be in hopes of seeing my brother [Dr. Thomas Tudor Tucke., then a prisoner at Charleston, afterwards Treasurer of the United States] before long. Kiss my poor little sick Harry for me, and give Fan a remembrance of the like nature to make up for my not giving her a like token of attachment when I parted from you in the road. Remember me tenderly to the boys."

Harry and Fan became respectively Judge Henry St. George Tucker, President of the Court of Appeals in Virginia, and Mrs. Judge Coalter. The boys were the three Randolphs, the children of Mrs. Tucker's first marriage.

"ORDINARY, CUMBERLAND CO., June 15th, 1781.

"As my last letter was the child of hunger, so this is in some measure the offspring of fatigue—the result of marching at one o'clock this morning before my first nap was well digested. However, as fatigue is more tolerable than hunger, you will probably receive a less laconic epistle than the last. \* \* \*

"I am now to give you the best account I can of our movements. The Baron's corps joined us last night at Prince Edward C. H., and to-morrow they are to march after us towards James river. The Baron himself is now down about Carter's Ferry reconnoitring. We have just received certain intelligence that Cornwallis moved down the river the day before yesterday as low as Goochland Court House; and I believe it may be relied on that the Marquis is moving towards James river, in order, I hope, to form a junction with the Baron and Lawson. But this is rather conjecture than the result of information, as we were only by report made acquainted with the fact that he had crossed the northern branch of the James river, about eight miles below Charlottesville, two days ago. \* \* \*

"As we do not know what is meant by this movement of his Lordship, I wish you to stand your ground until I can advise you to return to Bizarre, which—I flatter myself—will not be long. If the Marquis has a sufficient number of horse, I think he will be strong enough to attack him (Cornwallis) when the Baron and militia join him. Wayne certainly brought 1,200 excellent troops with him. Morgan has or will join in a few days with five hundred riflemen; and I presume Weeden

and Nelson are not without their numbers also. As to ours, we shall make 1,000 I presume, including the regulars. Perhaps the Cumberland and Powhatan militia may augment the numbers still more."

The next letter was dated at Camp near Mr. N. W. Dandridge's, Hanover Co., June 20th, 1781, but contains little of general interest, although in the intervening period the militia had joined Lafayette's army. The following extract is about all:

"Dr. Fayssoux will give you all the news of the camp, which I shall therefore omit, except that we arrived here yesterday. I have not yet had the honor of kissing the Marquis' hand, but as Skipwith and myself are just about to make our congés to him, Fayssoux will probably be able to tell you whether we are able to support ourselves under such a load of honor. If our hopes are confirmed, Cornwallis may in a few days be glad to retire before the Marquis; if our apprehensions, on the contrary, should be justly founded, I may perhaps wish you beyond the mountains. There is a fleet of thirty-four sail of transports arrived in James river. We are induced by circumstances to hope they were sent here empty from New York to convey the army to the relief of that place, which, we hear from *tolerable* authority, is invested by General Washington at the head of the grand army of the States and their allies. Should this conjecture prove false, and the ships bring reinforcement to my Lord, we may be obliged to retreat a second time. My ink is so much exhausted that I can with difficulty squeeze out as much from the cotton as will enable me to send my love to you all."

From the next letter, dated Bottom's Bridge, June 24th, I make only the following extract:

"We have now a considerable, not to call it a formidable, army. The British are moving down to Williamsburg, *we hear*. But whether this movement is a manoeuvre or a retreat, is not for me to determine. Many are sanguine enough to fancy it the latter, while others are not wanting who put the former construction on their conduct. I have not time to add any more than my affectionate regards to you all, except that I think you may return to Bizarre for the present, always observing to hold yourselves in readiness for retreat if necessary. Poor Jack! [John Randolph of Roanoke] I am truly sorry for him on account of the lingering disorder with which he is pestered."

The next letter was written a few hours after the above, and at the same place, and contains a fuller account of the operations of the two armies:

"I wrote you a letter before daylight this morning, and sent it by a person whom I directed to call at Owen's Ferry on his way to Halifax County. As I was in some degree of hurry at that time, I omitted some trifling observations which may serve as chit-chat to fill up this letter.

"By Dr. Fayssoux I wrote you that we had joined the Marquis, but that I had not yet had the honor of seeing him. It is no longer the case, as I had that very evening that pleasure. We dined with him next day. But I have not had an opportunity of forming any fixed idea relative to him. He is tall, genteel, easy and affable, but his face does not appear to correspond perfectly with his person. He has a high forehead, is nearly bald—though very young—and his hair is rather sandy than auburn, though perhaps it may admit of a dispute. Thus much for his person. His extreme popularity renders the idea of his talents indisputable. I shall therefore offer nothing on that head, as it would be the highest presumption to imagine that a few moments could confer an intuitive knowledge of a great man.

"The next day I had the satisfaction of seeing the Pennsylvania Line on their march. They were a splendid and formidable corps. If the laurels which they win bear any proportion to the plumes they are adorned with, the heroes of antiquity will soon sink into oblivion. Were I a native of Laputa, with the assistance of a quadrant I might possibly calculate the altitude of that which nods over the brow of their General. Their military pride promises much, for the first step to make a good soldier is to entertain a consciousness of personal superiority; and this consciousness is said to prevail in the breasts of these men, even to the meanest private in the ranks.

"Our force—as I mentioned this morning—is respectable, not to say formidable. We have from 2,000 to 2,500 regular troops—including the new levies under the Baron—perhaps even a greater number. The militia from different quarters, I believe, will make the amount of our army between five and six thousand men. What number of horse or mounted infantry we have I am not acquainted with, but, as it is a prevailing idea that the enemy are not so formidable in cavalry as they have been represented, this matter is of less importance. Lord Cornwallis is supposed to be marching towards Williamsburg, and we shall lose no time in following him, I hope. Our army is in spirits, and our officers sanguine. What renders our situation still better is that no militia are to be discharged until a relief arrives from their several counties. Thus much for the army. \* \* \*

"CAMP, BEAVER DAM CREEK, NEW KENT CO.,  
23 miles above Williamsburg, June 28th, 1781.

"The whole of the enemy's army has retired to Williamsburg. We hear that they have had a reinforcement within these three or four days, but from whence, and what number, we have not been able to collect, though the fact, I believe, is not to be doubted. It is reported that they were embarking some of their baggage, but whether there is any foundation for this report is quite uncertain. There was a trifling skirmish between our advanced party and Simcoe three days ago, in which a few of the riflemen were hacked about the head, and in return, it is said, killed or wounded some of their antagonists, but I have not heard what number. We are lying pretty still at this place, and I am in hopes we shall continue to do so, as I do not think it would be very prudent for the Marquis to act offensively against an army whose numbers he is for the present unacquainted with. Indeed, I am persuaded he has no such intention. We want more men, for many of the militia have deserted lately, from a presumption that their time of duty had expired. Their conduct has been, in some instances, to the last degree infamous. I am not a little out of humor on that account. You will be surprised to see Hob [his horse] return with Col. Holcombe. He was taken with a violent inflammation in the eyes, and from that moment he has been utterly unfit for service. Rest, and rest alone, can recruit him.

The "trifling skirmish" mentioned in the above letter took place about six miles above Williamsburg, between a detachment of the Pennsylvania line under Col. Butler, who afterward fell in the defeat of St. Clair, and Lieut.-Col. Simcoe, who was returning from an expedition to the Chickahominy, where he had been sent to destroy boats and stores. Both the Americans and British claimed the victory, or rather the advantage, in this skirmish. Upwards of thirty were killed and wounded on each side, and the British took three officers and twenty-eight privates as prisoners. Simcoe then rejoined Cornwallis at Williamsburg, and Butler retired to the American army, which was lying about fifteen miles from the field of battle. Simcoe considered this engagement "the climax of a campaign of five years." [*Vide* Simcoe, p. 234.]

"EIGHTEEN MILES ABOVE WILLIAMSBURG, July 5th, 1781.

\* \* \* "I do not recollect that any very material occurrence has taken place in our own army since that time (*i. e.*, when he last wrote), except the *feu de joie* with which yesterday was celebrated as the anniversary of independence. I shall not be surprised if fame should tell the little world around that we had a most bloody battle, in which numbers of heroes fell victims to the rage of war. But happily no blood was spilt on that occasion, although the morning was ushered in by an unlucky accident which may possibly cost Skipwith's Major Purcell his arm or his life. He was shot in his tent by a gun which was discharged by a careless soldier, and was wounded in the body and in the arm, in the joint of which the ball is now lodged. It is feared he will lose the use of his arm, even if an amputation is not necessary.

"At an entertainment given by the Marquis yesterday, I had the pleasure of seeing Colonel Stewart, who very politely enquired after you. He is the same pretty fellow that he ever was, and wears a plume almost as large as Gen. Wayne's himself. I wrote you before that the Pennsylvania line abounded in these decorations. I will venture to affirm that all the ostriches that ever appeared on the table of Heliogabalus would be insufficient to furnish the whole army in the same profuse style. They put me in mind of the army marching to Dunsinane when mistaken by Macbeth for Birnam wood; for the feathers appear before you can well discover the shoulders to which the head that supports them is annexed. We had a splendid entertainment, and, in order to assist digestion, marched from sunset till the break of day.

"The enemy have certainly quitted Williamsburg. We are told they are embarking at James Town, but whether this is really the case, or whether they mean only to cross to the other side of the river, is a mystery. No news of the Charleston fleet. Order Tony to pay the utmost attention to Hob, who is now on my list of pensioners. His services demand it."

"WILLIAMSBURG, July 11th, 1781.

"My ever dear Fanny: Could I have entertained a doubt of the propriety of my conduct in endeavoring to remove you beyond the reach of the British army, the sight of this unhappy spot must immediately have removed it. The traces of British cruelty were but faint as they marched through the country. Here they remained for some days, and with them pestilence and famine took root, and poverty brought up the rear. Instead of attempting a florid description of the horrors of this place, I will endeavor to give you an account of the situations of a few individuals with whom you are acquainted. Our friend Madison and his lady (they have lost their son) were turned out of their house to make room for Lord Cornwallis. Happily the College afforded them an asylum. They were refused the small privilege of drawing water from their own well. A contemptuous treatment, with the danger of starving, were the only evils which he recounted, as none of his servants left him. The case was otherwise with Mr. McClung. He has no small servant left, and but two girls. He feeds and saddles his own horse, and is philosopher enough to enjoy the good that springs from the absence of the British, without repining at what he lost by them. Poor Mr. Cocke was deserted by his favorite man, Clem; and Mrs. Cocke, by the loss of her cook, is obliged to have recourse to her neighbours to dress her dinner for her. They have but one little boy—who is smaller than Tom—left to wait on them within doors. I believe they are as badly off without. The old gentleman talks of going to Cumberland, as he says he is now entirely ruined. But this is not all. The smallpox, which the hellish polling of these infamous wretches has spread in every place through which they have passed, has now obtained a crisis throughout the place, so that there is scarcely a person to be found well enough to nurse those who are most afflicted by it. Your old friend Aunt Betty is in that situation. A child of Sir Peyton Skipwith, who is with her, was deserted by its nurse; and the good old lady was left without a human being to assist her in any respect for some days. As the British plundered all that they could, you will conceive how great an appearance of wretchedness this place must exhibit. To add to the catalogue of mortifications, they constrained all the inhabitants of the town to take paroles. After tyrannizing ten



days here, they went to James Town, where they were attacked by our advanced parties. In a letter which I wrote you the other day, I gave you an exaggerated account of the skirmish, for it deserves no higher epithet. Our loss, as I was informed by the best authority, was thirty-two killed and missing and fifty-three wounded. Of the missing seventeen were left by the British at James Town, badly wounded. It is suspected by many that the British did not lose more men than we did. Thus, what I represented to you in a former letter as a very important affair, turns out to be little more than a fray. The British have since crossed at Cobham, and their ships have gone down the river. Our army is in motion. I am told we are to cross at Hood's. But I shall not join them for some days, for a reason which you will be acquainted with in the sequel. Among the plagues the British left in Williamsburg, that of flies is inconceivable. It is impossible to eat, drink, sleep, write, sit still, or even walk about in peace on account of their confounded stings. Their numbers exceed all description, unless you look into the eighth chapter of Exodus for it.

"A flag from Charlestown came to James Town the night before last. I went thither immediately; and was happy enough to hear that my brother is actually arrived at Hampton, being on board a hospital ship. For want of pilots, or *for some other* reason, the rest of the fleet have not come up the river yet. I shall remain here, unless peremptorily ordered to join the army, until poor Tom comes up. Gen. Moultrie, with his lady, is well. They are to set out for Philadelphia soon in a private flag. All our brethren who were taken at Charlestown, including those sent to St. Augustine, are either exchanged or paroled to any part of America not within twelve miles of a British army. The wives and children of all these are to be sent out of Charlestown in a few weeks. The number of those men who basely took paroles in Charlestown is too great. Tell — her favorite niece is under close confinement in Gen. Greene's army, having been detected in endeavoring to go into Ninety-six with dispatches of very great importance. The detection of these dispatches has given our old General more pleasure than anything of the kind. I know not whether our laws will hang a lady, but if they would — — seems, from what I am told, to have merited that fate. Mr. Starke is at length on parole in Charlestown. His further enlargement is to be the subject of a further discussion between Gen. Greene and Lord Cornwallis. We have no further news. \* \* \* \* \*

"Tell my poor boys (the Randolphs) that I am unhappy whenever I think of the valuable time they are losing. Beg Dick in my name to set his brother a good example by minding his book; and tell them I am sure they will follow it. Poor fellows! I am more anxious for them than they will ever believe at a future day. Remember me with a tenderness truly parental to them, for such they may be assured I feel towards them." \* \* \* \*

"Our friend Madison" was the Bishop of Virginia, at that time President of William and Mary College. He resided at the President's House, which stands in the college grounds, to the left of the college itself, and but a short distance from it. In the above letter it is stated that he was ejected to make room for Lord Cornwallis, from which I infer that the Earl made this building his headquarters. I have searched various authorities on the subject, but can find no mention of such an occurrence. Bishop Madison and Judge Tucker were intimate and strong friends, both before and after the Revolution, as the letters that passed between them testify, and on that account, if no other, I consider these Revolutionary letters good authority in this instance. The President's House is a building of great historic interest. Its foundation was laid on the 31st of July, 1732. The Rev.

Mr. (Commissary) Blair, then President of the college; the Rev. Thomas Dawson, afterwards Commissary of Virginia and fourth President of the college; Joshua Fry, Professor of Mathematics, and afterwards a Colonel, under whom Washington served; the Rev. William Stith, who became the third President of the college, and wrote a history of Virginia; and a Mr. Fox, Master of the Indian School, placed the first five bricks in regular order, one after another. During the Revolution it was occupied at different times by the British, French and Americans. While it was in the hands of the French it was burned, although the walls were not materially injured. Louis XVI., however, caused it to be restored, and at the same time made a handsome donation of five or six hundred volumes to the College library. These volumes, together with "many curious and rare books, with some manuscripts, chiefly presented by Kings, Archbishops, Bishops and Governors, and the cabinet of apparatus, in which were instruments more than a century old, the gift of the Colonial House of Burgesses," were destroyed in 1859, when the college was for the second time consumed by the devouring flames. The President's House is, I believe, the only building in this country erected at the private cost of a reigning sovereign.

James McClung, the second sufferer from the ravages of the British mentioned by St. George Tucker, was Professor of Anatomy and Medicine in the College of William and Mary.

With regard to the name of the lady who was detected in traitorous designs at the siege of Ninety-six, I propose to give no clue, as I cannot find her name given in any history containing an account of her performances, and I have consulted a great number. On that account I have suppressed all names given in this letter which appertain to that occurrence. The lady's family was a good one, and was connected and brought into daily contact with the first families of Virginia.

The next letter was dated at Williamsburg, Sept. 5th, 1781. For a long time I was unable to account for the interruption in the correspondence, but at last I by accident chanced to examine some letters written at this period by Mrs. Tucker to her husband, and in one dated September 7th I found a solution of the mystery. In that letter she said: "It has now been two weeks since we parted." How did they meet, and where? is the next question. After consulting many dusty tomes, I found that the militia received a discharge in the month of July. Their reprieve, however, was of short duration, as their services were required to assist at the siege of Yorktown, and to share the honors of that illustrious event.

"WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 5th, 1781.

"Let every heart exult with joy and gratitude to that Providence whose arm, I trust, is now raised to protect and defend our country, and establish peace and happiness in the stead of those cruelties and oppressions under which the miserable inhabitants of the Southern States have groaned for a tedious length of time. Let us by our own exertions endeavor to merit those blessings which nothing but the adverse interposition of a superior Being can, in all human probability, now wrest from our hands!

"Let every honest Whig, every American who dares avow himself a friend to the liberties of his country, and every miserable wretch who has felt the horrors of this war, now raise his voice in praise of that Prince whose vigorous arm is held forth to raise us from the deepest distress to the pinnacle of glory, and to restore us to peace and confirm us in independence! Let every aged parent, every tender mother, every helpless orphan, every blooming virgin, and every infant tongue unite, and with one voice cry out, 'God save Louis the Sixteenth!'

"Again, let all these join, and with hearts glowing with grateful acknowledgments to their protector, their deliverer, and the saviour of their country, implore an uninterrupted profusion of blessings on the head of the glorious and immortal WASHINGTON!

"Thus much for rant! But, to a heart overflowing with the most happy presages of felicity, nothing is more difficult than to avoid giving vent to its ebullitions. To you—and it is to you alone that I address myself—I need not apologize for any extravagance of sentiment or of diction that this letter contains. Hear then, my Fanny, from me what perhaps you have not heard yet from good authority. About the middle of last week twenty-nine ships of the line and four frigates arrived in our bay, with four thousand land forces sent to our assistance by Louis the Great. Besides these there are three thousand marines to be landed in case of an emergency. Of the fleet there are ten sixty-fours; eighteen seventy-fours, and one ship of an hundred and ten guns! A fleet of twelve sail of the line has arrived in the West Indies to keep the enemy still employed in that quarter. Of the troops, three thousand five hundred landed at James Town three days ago, and are now on their march to this city. Five hundred are left on board to land at York river. The fleet lies from Lynnhaven bay to the mouth of York river, and some, *we are informed*, have proceeded within two or three miles of the town. The British fleet still lies at York, and their land forces are now in the town. The Count de Grasse, by a flag, declared to the Admiral or the Commodore of the British fleet that he would put every man to the sword who should fall into his hands if the fleet was destroyed. *This from report*. Lord Rawdon is actually a prisoner on board the French fleet, having been taken on his way to London with all his plunder. Gov. Bull of Charlestown is in the like predicament. Our troops lie from four miles beyond this town to near James Town; so that Cornwallis is as effectually hemmed in as our troops were in Charlestown. Our force may now be reckoned to be eight thousand men—of which six thousand are regulars—exclusive of the marines whom I mentioned above. Nor is this all, for, to my great surprise and pleasure, I was this morning informed from undoubted authority that General Washington is at the Head of Elk with five thousand troops, which are to be embarked from thence in transports sent there for that purpose, of which the Marquis last night received official accounts from General Washington in a letter dated at Chatham. I have not yet done. The French fleet of ten line of battle ships, which lay at Rhode Island, are now actually on their way hither, and are daily expected. Whether the Count de Rochambeau, with his troops, is on board, I know not, nor, indeed, is it very material, I conceive. If after such a torrent of good news I could wish to add another article, it would be that Lord Cornwallis, with his whole army, were in our possession. But this I hope in that providence to which I prostrate myself with grateful adoration for the present happy aspect of our affairs, will be the subject of some future letter; or that I may, to the happiness of seeing you again, add that of being able to give you the first notice of so important and so happy an event. My paper would blush to contain matters of lesser moment after what I have written."

The next letter, written Sept. 6th, is nothing more than a recapitulation of the events chronicled in its predecessor, with the following addition :

"Our army lies from the half-way house—six miles below Williamsburg on the Yorktown road—to Green Spring [celebrated as the home of Sir William Berkeley]. The enemy are fortifying York. Their fleet must inevitably fall. And, unless our own ill conduct prevents it, or the immediate hand of providence interposes in behalf of Lord Cornwallis and his army, there is not a doubt but we shall have a *Burgoyne-ade* in Virginia. Let those who dared to revile the French alliance now show their faces, if they can look up with confidence after so glorious an interposition of providence in behalf of America; as such a fleet and such an army—at so critical a juncture—manifests. My spirits are elevated to the highest pitch at the happy prospect now before us; for certainly the affairs of America never wore a more promising aspect than at this moment. The hopes of the whole British nation are centred in Lord Cornwallis. From his exertions they entertain not a doubt of the subjugation of all the Southern States. Yet in the very moment that their gazettes are filled with vaunting predictions of the absolute reduction of those States, to find them wrested out of their hands again, and their whole army—in which such confidence was reposed—captivated, must inevitably open their eyes, and convince them that a speedy peace with America is the only method of healing the deadly wounds which their country has received from the prosecution of the war.

"A militia officer, with eight horsemen, last night took an officer and six privates of the mounted infantry. The officer acknowledged that they were extremely uneasy at the clouds which seemed to gather round them and threatened nothing less than destruction from every quarter. Never was a man more sanguine than I am at this moment. To behold the means of ridding ourselves of such infernal enemies in our own hands, and to reflect that the first General in the universe is at hand to direct our operations, afford a prospect as happy as that of Lord Cornwallis is dreadful. May that providence which seems to interpose at this moment on our side, confirm our hopes!"

"WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 14th, 1781

\* \* \* "The day or day after my last letter was written, a British fleet of fourteen sail of the line appeared off our capes. The Count de Grasse immediately dispatched twenty-two ships in pursuit of them. Four very soon came up with them and sustained a most heavy fire until ten others had also come up. The remaining eight had not yet reached their destined place when the night put an end to Capt. Lilly's observations, who went out in a small boat to reconnoitre. *I am told* that he says one British ship had struck to the French, and that the rest were flying from the victorious Count. Since that time we *have a report* that a schooner lately arrived brings advices that the fleets were seen the next morning—the French still in pursuit, having captured two of the British line. Certain it is the French have not returned; from which it is concluded that they have continued the pursuit to New York, where, perhaps, they may continue to block them up, should it not be judged necessary for them to return hither to join in the reduction of York. We have still six line of battle ships remaining with us, which, when joined by those from Rhode Island, may be sufficient for any purposes we want.

"General Washington is not yet arrived. He is certainly to bring eight thousand—I am told nine thousand—regular troops with him, including the Count de Rochambeau's troops. As soon as this junction is formed, I imagine we shall proceed to business. We shall then have no doubt of the honor of entertaining Lord Cornwallis & Co. in a different character from that in which they have sometimes been our guests, as our regular army at the lowest computation will amount to fourteen thousand five hundred men. The militia—to their eternal shame—have not yet turned out in any numbers, so as to challenge to themselves the smallest share of the honor and glory of reducing an enemy who has ravaged their country hitherto with perfect impunity. We shall be

reviled for our pusillanimity, or our lethargic indifference to the calls of Liberty, Honor, Glory, and even Victory, who seems now standing in front of our army with he: sword ready brandished to smite the foe whenever we give the word to battle. Rant!

"By what channel I know not—but we heard from York yesterday that the British had received an account there of an attack made on West Point, in which they were repulsed with the loss of fifteen hundred men—among whom was the infamous Arnold, who fell before those works on which he would have been executed, had not Fate too partially decreed him the death of a soldier instead of that of a traitor. I do not know that any confidence is to be placed on this story. In telling it, therefore, it would not be proper to consider it as any thing more than vague report; yet I received it from Andrews, who, you know, is in the Governor's family, and possesses his unlimited confidence. \* \* \*

"The vague report" concerning the death of Arnold had of course no foundation; unless the storming of Fort Griswold, which took place about the time that this letter was written, gave birth to the rumor. It simply proves that the human race possessed as great facilities for circulating reports in 1781 as they do at the present day."

WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 15th, 1781

\* \* \* "Amidst the late gloom the dawn of Happiness now appears, and the smiling prospect of Peace begins to be discovered. Can you assign a reason, my Fanny, why my style in several of my late letters so often breaks out into bombast? I wish I could avoid what I so cordially condemn; but I find that I am imperceptibly led from the exultation of mind, which I have for a fortnight experienced, to burst out into a turgid manner of writing which I condemn no less in myself than in others. I will endeavor to drop it, though my Fanny is the only person to whom I address myself. But if against my present resolution I should again transgress, let her impute it to those warm emotions which I find it somet mes difficult to suppress.

"I wrote you yesterday that General Washington had not yet arrived. About four o'clock in the afternoon his approach was announced. He had passed our camp—which is now in the rear of the whole army—before we had time to parade the militia. The French line had just time to form. The Continentals had more leisure. He approached without any pomp or parade, attended only by a few horsemen and his own servants. The Count de Rochambeau and Gen. Hand, with one or two more officers, were with him. I met him as I was endeavoring to get to camp from town, in order to parade the brigade; but he had already passed it. To my great surprise he recognized my features and spoke to me immediately by name. Gen. Nelson, the Marquis, &c., rode up immediately after. Never was more joy painted in any countenances than theirs. The Marquis rode up with precipitation, clasped the General in his arms, and embraced him with an ardor not easily described. The whole army and all the town were presently in motion. The General—at the request of the Marquis de St. Simon—rode through the French lines. The troops were paraded for the purpose, and cut a most splendid figure. He then visited the Continental line. As he entered the camp the cannon from the park of artillery and from every brigade announced the happy event. His train by this time was much increased; and men, women, and children seemed to vie with each other in demonstrations of joy, and eagerness to see their beloved countryman. His quarters are at Mr. Wythe's (George Wythe, signer of the Declaration of Independence) house. Aunt Betty has the honor of the Count de Rochambeau to lodge at her house. We are all alive and so sanguine in our hopes that nothing can be conceived more different than the countenances of the same men at this time and on the first of June. The troops which were to attend the General are coming down the bay; a part—if not all—being already embarked at the Head of Elk. Cornwallis may now tremble for his fate, for nothing but some extraordinary

interposition of his guardian angels seems capable of saving him and his whole army from captivity. As I wish you to participate of every happiness and even every amusement that our country can afford, I beg you would prepare yourself for a trip to Williamsburgh should a similar event to that which brought you here four years ago, give occasion to similar expressions of joy. I assure you I am serious in this request. And should such an event take place I shall be among the first to propose every public demonstration of joy that our situation will admit of, and by no means confine my ideas of general pleasure to our sex. In this case I shall ride post to bring you down. You will, however, for obvious reasons, suppress this part of my letter.

"Since I wrote what follows, a confirmation of the news it contains has arrived. The French fleet brought in the Richmond and Iris, British frigates."

This last passage, with the one which follows inclosed in brackets, was written between the lines after the letter was completed.

"We have no other news worth relating. *It is said*, indeed, that the Count de Grasse has returned with more ships in his fleet than he sailed with. *It is also said* that the Rhode Island fleet has arrived. But neither of these pieces of intelligence are by any means authentic; nor do I believe the smallest confidence is placed in them from the channel through which they were conveyed. Yet neither of them is in the least improbable. On the contrary, they are such as may be reasonably expected; and for this reason, perhaps, it happens that the report has taken place.

("The Rhode Island fleet, I can now tell you, is certainly arrived, and the Count de Grasse returned.")

In the foregoing letters we have seen how, by degrees, the army which invested and captured Yorktown drifted together. First, after the retreat from the Point of Fork, when the militia under Gen. Lawson and the levied troops under Baron Steuben, which were intended for the reinforcement of Gen. Greene, separated, we saw those two bodies come together again with another purpose. In northern Virginia we saw Gen. Wayne, with eight hundred Continentals of the Pennsylvania line, effect a junction with the gallant young Marquis whom Cornwallis contemptuously termed "the boy." Soon after, we saw Lafayette and Wayne, and Steuben and Lawson, unite above Richmond and move down the peninsula on the track of the retreating British. At last, in the ancient and illustrious city of Williamsburg, we welcomed the arrival of Washington and Rochambeau, with the combined armies of France and America. Just before this we saw the Count de Grasse, with a fleet from the West Indies, glide into the Chesapeake, where he was joined soon after by the Count de Barras, with a naval force from Rhode Island. Slowly and surely these separate bodies came together and formed one black cloud, which lowered and finally broke in all its fury and vengeance over the head of the doomed army of Cornwallis.

There now follow three letters written in close succession, which, however, contain nothing to interest the general public, and are, on that

account, omitted. One of these letters contains a specimen of Judge Tucker's muse, which, however, accomplished some more finished and attractive works, one of which elicited some wonderful encomiums from the elder Adams.

[WILLIAMSBURG] "Sept. 24th [1781]

"I have not a word of news. Our army is every day arriving from the northward, but we are not yet in motion towards York. I forgot that a British Colonel was brought to town to-day, having been taken by a single man—there were two others near, I am told—yesterday, as he was taking an airing in his chair a few miles below York, on the Hampton road."

"WILLIAMSBURG, Sept. 27th, 1781.

"The army is to march at five o'clock in the morning. \* \* \* We have now the most formidable army assembled that, I believe, has ever been commanded at any one time by Gen. Washington since the commencement of the war. I estimate our force at about sixteen thousand men, of which thirteen thousand five hundred are regular troops—and of these seven thousand are the flower of the armies of the King of France. No troops on earth, I believe, can surpass them for bodily strength, agility, discipline and dexterity, in performing their manœuvres. Independent of these, we have a number of militia in Gloucester with the Duke de Lauzun's legion of horse and infantry, and about a thousand militia at Swann's Point, and near the same number at other posts on that side of James river, which are now ordered over to join the army on this side the river. With such an army what have we not to hope! I flatter myself that this campaign will, in the most brilliant manner, conclude the war in America. For, if our successes in this quarter in any degree correspond with those of our worthy and exalted Gen. Greene, Britain, in spite of her obduracy, must be convinced of the futility of prosecuting a war so disgraceful to her arms, so destructive to her honor, and so ruinous to her nation. Gen. Greene's late success will immortalize his name. The enemy, in killed, wounded and prisoners, lost one thousand and ten men. Of these upwards of seven hundred were left on the field either killed or wounded. The remainder were made prisoners unwounded. Our loss was also very great. I hear it amounted to near three hundred in killed and wounded. Among these were the greater part of the gallant Washington's corps, every officer of which—except Capt. Parsons—was either killed or wounded. Washington himself, in the midst of a severe charge, had his horse killed, was wounded and taken prisoner. He is enlarged on parole. Col. Campbell of Virginia was killed. Major Edmunds was wounded. Several other officers of distinction shared the same fate. I believe this account is so near the truth that some degree of confidence, if not the *greatest*, may be placed in it—at least as to the general event of the day.

"I have no other news to entertain you with. In a few days I hope matters will begin to ripen here, and that my future letters will continue to be filled with intelligence of the most agreeable nature, until the grand object of our hopes is finally attained." \* \* \*

"CAMP BEFORE YORK, Oct. 5th, 1781

\* \* \* "The day after we took post at our present encampment, about two miles below York, the enemy evacuated several redoubts which they had thrown up on an advantageous piece of ground within point blank shot of their main works. These we immediately took possession of, and such as were calculated for our purpose have been added to them, while others are constructing in places better adapted to the business of commanding their works. They have in the meantime saluted us now and then with their cannon, but to very little purpose, as our men work under cover. In a day or two it is expected we shall return the compliment with interest.

"The day before yesterday Tarleton, having crossed the river in the night, made an excursion into Gloucester with 200 horse and 400 infantry. They were repulsed by the Duke de Lauzun's legion and about 150 militia, with a loss of fifty men killed and wounded. Among

the former was the officer who commanded the infantry, and Tarleton himself was among the latter, and, it is said, is badly wounded. *We are told* that his men rode over him in the precipitancy of their flight, and bruised him very much. Our loss was three hussars (French dragons) killed, and eleven, with an officer, wounded. Lord Cornwallis has in a great measure confessed his weakness, by giving up his advanced works without opposition, and his despair, by destroying about four hundred horses, which may be seen floating about in the river or lying dead on the shore.

"By letters from Gen. Greene, he appears to have obtained a very complete, but at the same time a dear-bought, victory. Our loss amounted to five hundred and twenty-five men in killed, wounded and missing. Of these 395 were Continentals. The enemy, including prisoners, lost above thirteen hundred men. Five hundred were made prisoners. So bloody, and at the same time so glorious, a victory, has scarcely ever crowned the American arms before. If our success here should correspond with his at the south, I have no doubt that a speedy peace must be the result of the present campaign. We have every thing to hope, and less than we ever had heretofore to fear. In short, I think nothing but the intervention of a superior providence can save the British army in York; for should they attempt a retreat, we have four thousand men in Gloucester—of which 2,300 are French troops—to check their progress. In thirty days from the opening of our batteries I am sanguine enough to hope that we shall see the British standard laid at the feet of the Commander-in-Chief of the allied armies. Then welcome domestic bliss, and all the joys of uninterrupted peace! It is that hope alone which could surmount the objections I have to a life which tears me from all I love, and robs me of that felicity—for the want of which no terrestrial good can atone." \* \* \* \*

"CAMP BEFORE YORK, Oct. 15th, 1781

\* \* \* "On Tuesday evening our works were opened on the enemy, and since that time have retaliated on them by returning the fire with interest, which they have so long pestered us with. Last night we stormed two important redoubts, and the French made a like attack with equal success on a third. Our works, which are now creating within two hundred yards of theirs, will probably be opened this evening—and then, my Lord, look out for your head. We took a major and a few other prisoners. I do not know how many the French took, for it is so early in the morning I have had no opportunity of enquiring the particulars of the storm, of which I was an eye-witness at the distance of five hundred yards. It was a most grateful sight, I assure you.

"The Secretary has come out of York. He is of opinion that they (the British) are very uneasy, although he can form no opinion of their resources for holding out a siege. However, I think those resources immaterial, as our works are so important that it is morally impossible the garrison can hold out. We have now possession of two redoubts which command the river. By means of red-hot balls we burnt the Charon—a forty-four gun ship—the Guadalupe—a twenty-eight gun ship—and four or five other vessels three or four nights past. The French ships are expected up the first fair wind. Every thing since the commencement of the siege has gone on as well as the most sanguine expectations would have suggested. We have lost very few men, and our works have been carried on with surprising spirit." \* \* \* \*

Secretary Nelson—mentioned in the above letter—resided at Yorktown. His house was occupied as headquarters by Lord Cornwallis during the siege, and the aged Secretary was permitted to retire to the American camp. No vestige of it remains. General Nelson (the nephew of the Secretary) had also just completed an elegant mansion in the town. Seeing that the gunners avoided firing upon it, he



requested that the guns be turned in that direction; and a cavity made in its walls by the passage of a cannon ball is still exhibited to visitors. This historic building, still standing, is occupied by the descendants of this illustrious patriot of the Revolution, who at the time was in command of the Virginia troops as Governor of the State.

We have now read the last letter of this highly interesting series. What followed the events chronicled in them we all know. On the nineteenth day of October next the country will celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis to the American Commander, at the mention of whose name every loyal heart throbs with pride. The years which have rolled away since seventeen hundred and eighty-one have been eventful years. Through them our country has advanced in every blessing showered on man by Almighty God, a prosperous and a united people, until in our own time, when brother met brother as foe meets foe. But in October next the North and the South will come together and clasp hands on the spot where, one hundred years before, their ancestors, with the generous assistance of the French, wrenched from England its last hold of dominion over the Thirteen States.

CHARLES WASHINGTON COLEMAN, JR.

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## ST. MÉMIN PORTRAITS

### ST. GEORGE TUCKER, JUDGE OF THE U. S. DISTRICT COURT FOR VIRGINIA

St. George Tucker, whose revolutionary career is recorded in letters which have laid dormant for an hundred years, lived to a ripe old age. The years succeeding the excitement of war were not passed by him in idleness; but through them all he continued to rise to positions of trust and dignity in his profession. Although he never became a man of national eminence he was held in high respect and esteem by the people of his own State, as the important offices to which he was appointed are ample proof. This was more to be prized in his day, when exaltation was a criterion of merit, than national *position* in our time. He was one of the commissioners to the convention which in 1786 met at Annapolis, Maryland, and recommended the convention by which the present constitution of the United States was formed. In 1787, at the early age of thirty-four, he was elevated to the office of a judge of the General Court; and in the following year was elected a visitor to William and Mary College, which university soon after conferred upon him the honorary degree of LL. D. Twelve years later he was chosen to occupy the chair of law in the same institution, which was left vacant by the death of his venerable friend and guide in his professional studies, George Wythe, whose name, inscribed upon the Declaration of Independence, shall be handed down to remotest posterity. In 1804 he succeeded Edmund Pendleton, President of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, just when that body was considering the question of divorce between Church and State. However, he resigned his seat on that bench at the expiration of six years, withdrawing into private life on account of his age and indifferent health. But he was not long allowed to remain in retirement. In January, 1813, President Madison, unsolicited by Judge Tucker, proffered him the commission of Judge of the District Court for the district of Virginia. After much hesitation the position was accepted and retained by Judge Tucker until his death. Thus much for his legal career. That he held lofty positions in his profession leaves no doubt as to his ability as a jurist; that he was appointed to succeed George Wythe and Edmund Pendleton in offices of grave importance proves that his ability was recognized and appreciated; that he was endowed with first one honor and then another shows that he did his duty.

We are next to consider our subject in a political point of view.

This is soon done. Judge Tucker was an enthusiast on the subject of liberty, a condition that he was desirous all should enjoy. To this end he published in 1796 "A Dissertation on Slavery: with a Proposal for the Gradual Abolition of it in the State of Virginia." In this work he unreservedly expressed his dislike of slavery, pointed out clearly why it existed in the South and not in the North, and—as its title implies—advanced a theory for its gradual abolition in the State of Virginia. This rare pamphlet was reprinted in New York, 1861, "not to favor the schemes of political parties, but simply to show what were the opinions of a distinguished professor and jurist of the Old Dominion" sixty-five years previously. Judge Tucker was thoroughly imbued with the republicanism of the revolutionary period, and with violent detestation of the British government, which was to his mind the pseudonym of oppression. He regarded Washington as little less than a deity, and generally celebrated the Fourth of July by an elaborate ode, more characterized by patriotism than poetic fire.

In the literary world Judge Tucker is now little known. The great mass of his writings is still unpublished and, probably, will never be. He left a number of dramas—tragedy and comedy—and a large stock of unarranged shorter poems, some of which still exist in manuscript; but they belong to a day that is dead. However, in this heap of matter are bits of gold that shine out brilliantly amid the verses written for a past generation, and for no other. One of these gems John Adams extravagantly admired, and in a letter to Richard Rush, then Controller of the Treasury, he thus wrote of it: "I know not which to admire most, its simplicity, its beauty, its pathos, its philosophy, its morality, its religion, or its sublimity. Is there in Homer, in Virgil, in Milton, in Shakespeare, or in Pope an equal number of lines which deserve to be engraven on the memory of youth and age in more indelible characters? If there is, pray extract it for me. I had rather be the author of it than of Joel Barlow's *Columbiad*, or his intended history of the United States. Nay, than the *Life of Washington*, Gordon's, Ramsay's and Warren's *Histories*." The poem referred to contains but three short verses, is entitled "Resignation," and—of its kind—is true poetry. This, with several others, although comparatively little known, is worthy to live beside the songs of greater poets. Besides these lighter efforts, Judge Tucker prepared an annotated edition of Blackstone's *Commentaries* published in 1803, and a pamphlet entitled "How far the Common Law of England is the Common Law of the United States;" also various papers on the politics of the period. The edition of Blackstone—never generally known beyond the Potomac—has been gradually

superseded by editions of later years, noticeable among which is that of Henry St. George Tucker, the eldest son of our subject. The political pamphlets are of course of small interest now except to the antiquarian or the historian. All these works upon which he bestowed time, talent and care will live but to the two or three; and the medium by which he will be known to the general public is this series of letters, intended by their author only for the eyes of his wife. In addition to the works mentioned above, Judge Tucker published in 1796 a volume of political satires, with the following title: "The Probationary Odes of Jonathan Pindar, Esq. A Cousin of Peter's, and Candidate for the Post of Poet Laureat to the C. U. S. In two parts."

Socially Judge Tucker was a bright star in a constellation composed of such men as William Wirt, Bishop Madison, Beverley Randolph, Gov. Page, Benjamin Harrison, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, and many others of equal renown; men who belonged to a society never surpassed in America. Between William Wirt and himself a constant correspondence was sustained, even while the former was burdened with affairs of State and no time was his own. Many poetical effusions "written during the intervals of business and stolen moments," upon which "my dear Tucker" was urged to express his candid opinion were constantly forwarded by the Attorney-General to his friend, and they still exist. However, they would add little fame to that already gained by the biographer of Patrick Henry. Judge Tucker also wrote many numbers of the "Old Bachelor," but whether they were ever published I cannot tell. They are certainly not included in the volume published by Mr. Wirt. With James Madison, first Bishop of Virginia, and President of William and Mary College, Judge Tucker was on the most intimate terms. Before the revolution a brisk correspondence was carried on between them; and the letters written to his friend by the worthy divine—when he was in London awaiting consecration, are exceedingly interesting. With Beverley Randolph he went through the war of Independence, with Governor Page he had constant communication, and a quaint gold watch—the gift of Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley—was long preserved by his descendants. These men are simply mentioned to give an idea of a Virginia social circle in "ye olden tyme."

The history of a man's domestic life is generally the most interesting and the most sought after. It is always with relief that one turns from the giddy whirl of the public arena, where men buzz and wheel along with the world and often outstrip it, to the firesides of the contestants where they become but men surrounded by their wives and children.



The domestic life of our subject was truly beautiful. He was devoted to his wife and warmly attached to the children of her first marriage, for whom he ever evinced the deepest interest. In every letter written by him to his wife he expressed concern for their loss of time from their books, and for the delicate health of "poor Jack;" and showed a lively relish for all their amusements. But this happy circle was soon broken. In 1788 Frances Bland Tucker died at the early age of thirty-six, leaving, besides her three Randolph boys, five little ones of her second marriage. She is buried at Matoax, a large plantation near Petersburg, Va. Four years after the death of his first wife, Judge Tucker married Lelia Carter, a widow and a daughter of Sir Peyton Skipwith. The children of this union died in infancy; and Judge Tucker himself, after a useful life of seventy-six years, fell asleep in Warminster, Virginia, where he lies buried, Nov. 10th, 1828.

Henry St. George, the eldest son of St. George Tucker, was a member of Congress; President of the Court of Appeals of Virginia; and professor of law of the University of the same State. He was also the author of several works on law. The Hon. John Randolph Tucker, his son, and at present a member of Congress from Virginia, worthily sustains the two names that he has inherited.

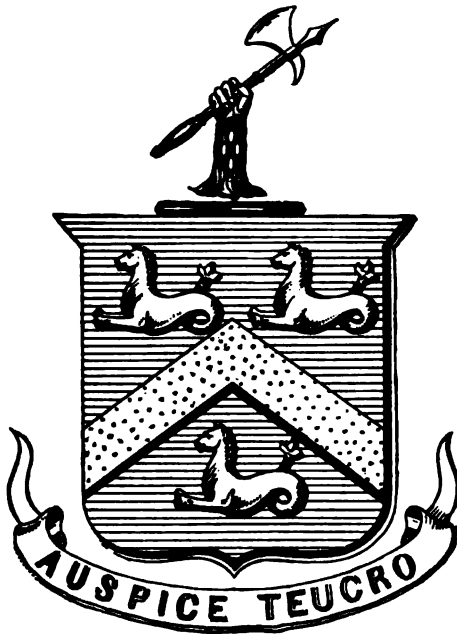
Beverley, the youngest son, was United States Judge in the Territory of Missouri; and he afterward succeeded his father as professor of law in William and Mary College. He was the author of two works on law—*The Principles of Pleading* and *The Science of Government*, three novels, one of which, *The Partisan Leader*, created a considerable excitement; and he was for many years the main support of the *Southern Literary Messenger*. He also contributed largely to the *Southern Quarterly Review* during the editorship of William Gilmore Simms. Just before his death, in 1851, he began a life of his half-brother, John Randolph of Roanoke, for the purpose of refuting many statements made by Garland in his biography of this distinguished man, which had just been published. This work he severely reviewed in the *Southern Quarterly Review*, evincing as withering sarcasm upon his pen-point as his illustrious brother had let fall from his tongue; but death put an end to the greater undertaking, and the fragment of the "Life" which was completed has been hopelessly lost. Of all men in the world Beverley Tucker was the one who should have written the biography of John Randolph. He was closely allied to him by the ties of blood and sympathy, the orator's favorite brother, and the last person to whom the dying statesman clung. Wasted by disease, Randolph sent

out to Missouri, where Tucker was living, a letter, in which he said: "I have only strength to write three words, come to me." The summons was obeyed and the three weeks' journey was undertaken. The brothers remained at Roanoke awhile, and then traveled together as far as Washington, where they separated. Randolph went on to Philadelphia for the purpose of embarking for Europe, but death interposed; and Tucker began his weary homeward journey.

But this brief sketch begins to outrun its bounds. In it I have hurried along, stating facts in chronological order; and I cannot do better than close with the inscription taken from the monument erected to the memory of the man whose life we have thus followed to its end.

"Hic requiescit | Multo varioque perfunctus officio | ST. GEO. TUCKER | Bermudæ natus | ac vitate Virginiensi pro filio adoptatus | Libertate navanda | Miles acer atque animosus | Post libertatem receptam | Judex integer et servantissimus æque | Apud Collegium Gul. et Maræi, diu | Impiger L. L. Professor | Jurisperitus | Scriptis et commentariis notus | Doctus | Physica, literisque versatus | Denique Poeta, Camœnis non ingratus | In republica vigilans, studiosusque | In privita, amore proestans et præclarus, | In omni denique negotio probus ac fidelis: | In omni fortis atque constans | Hoc marmor posuerunt | Filii et nepotes et uxor dilecta superstes, | Benevolentiae ac beniquitatis memores. | Ejus eximia vita vir utibusque honestati, | Mortem quamvis seniorum, moerentes. | Nat. 10 Jul. 1752. Ob. 10 Nov. 1828. | Æt. sæu 76."

CHARLES W. COLEMAN, JR.



## SIEGE OF YORK AND GLOUCESTER VIRGINIA

*From the American Museum or Repository of  
Ancient and Modern Fugitive Pieces, etc.,  
for June, 1787. Philadelphia, 1787*

*September 15, 1781*—General Washington arrived at Williamsburg; received the Marquis de la Fayette's command and Count St. Simon's troops, which had arrived the 30th of August, with Count de Grasse, and landed at James-town the 3d instant.

*September 21*—First division of the northern army arrived in James's river. The 23d and 24th, almost the whole got in, and landed. The 27th, the whole army moved, and encamped in a line, three quarters of a mile advanced off Williamsburg, distant from Yorktown eleven miles.

*September 28*—The whole moved at daylight: after two halts, arrived within a mile and a half of the enemy's works; displayed and lay on our arms all night. Beaver-pond creek and morass in our front, over which bridges were built that night; and general Muhlenbergh's brigade of light infantry formed a picquet in advance.

*September 29*—About sun-rise moved to within three quarters of a mile of the enemy's out-works, and displayed in two lines a ravine in front to view our ground; advanced small parties in front to cover our reconnoitering parties. At four P. M. moved to our ground on the right, and encamped within range of the enemy's artillery in two lines: advanced a line of picquets in front, and increased our camp guards.

*September 30*—The enemy fearing we should turn their left, and get between their out-works and the town, abandoned the whole of them, and retired to town a little before day-light, leaving a few light horse to protect their rear. Colonel Scammel, being officer of the day, advanced to reconnoitre, and report accordingly, when he was intercepted, wounded, and taken, by a few light horse, who had lain concealed. [He died of his wounds in six days.] Both lines were put in motion, and advanced with caution towards their works, suspecting some feint of the enemy. Lay on our arms all that night. The light infantry remained on the ground, as a covering party to the fatigued men, busied in erecting a chain of redoubts to guard our camp and cover our working parties, who were occupied in procuring materials for the siege.

The light infantry relieved by Wayne's division this evening. The redoubts completed this night, and filled with a proper number of troops.

*October 1 to 6*—Employed in preparing materials, getting up our artillery, &c. At six o'clock moved on the ground, and opened our first parallel, about six hundred yards from the enemy's works, under cover by daylight. No accident. Continued working till morning.

*October 7*—The light troops entered in line reversed, with drums beating and colours flying; planted their standards on the top of the line of parallel; continued working on the batteries, which were completed about five o'clock.

*October 9 P. M.*—the enemy received the first shot from us, which was continued with spirit from cannon and mor-

tars. The enemy's fire slackened. Several of their guns were dismounted; and they were obliged to fill up their entrenchments.

*October 10*—Light infantry mounted; and the *Charon* of 44, and two smaller vessels, were burned by some hot shot from the left of the line, commanded by Count St. Simon. This happened about eight o'clock in the evening, the weather being serene and calm, and afforded an awful and melancholy sight. The *Charon* was on fire from the water's edge to her truck at the same time. I never saw anything so magnificent.

*October 11*—In the evening the second parallel opened by B. Steuben's division. This parallel was carried on with amazing rapidity, at 360 yards distance from the enemy's batteries, under a very heavy fire, the enemy's shot and shells directed at the workmen; our shot and shell going over our heads in a continual blaze the whole night. The fight was beautifully tremendous. We lost but one man, shot by our own men, the gun not being sufficiently elevated, or being fired with a bad carriage.

*October 12, 13 and 14*—Continued completing the batteries of the second parallel, and wounding their abattis and frieze-works with our shot and shells. About two o'clock P. M. the out-defences of two redoubts, that were advanced on their left 250 yards in their front, were thought sufficiently weakened to attempt them that evening by storm. The light infantry were relieved, and directed to refresh themselves with dinner and a nap. About dusk they moved on, under the marquis, and were in possession of one in nine minutes. The

other was carried by the French grenadiers and light infantry, under baron Viomenil, nearly about the same time, when the second parallel was continued on, and enveloped these two redoubts, and finished a line of communication between the rights of the first and second parallel of upwards of a mile before daylight next morning. The whole of this was performed under a very incessant and heavy fire from the enemy, with amazing steadiness and expedition.

*October 15*—Employed in repairing the redoubts, and erecting batteries, now within reach of the enemy's grape, rifle and wall-pieces.

*October 16*—This night a timid, ill-conducted sortie was attempted under lieutenant-colonel Abercrombie, with about six hundred men. They entered the parallel about the centre, nearly between the French and American troops, at a battery erecting by the Americans, not completed. They killed a serjeant and two privates of captain Savage's company of artillery: spiked six guns with the end of their bayonets, which they broke off in the vent-holes; turned about, and went off with the greatest precipitation. In their retreat they were pursued, and lost twelve men—six killed, four wounded, two taken; the light infantry in the trenches. Lord Cornwallis, in his account of the matter, says our loss was upwards of one hundred.

*October 17*—Light infantry still in the trenches. Between ten and eleven A. M. *chamade* beat, and propositions for surrender sent out by his lordship: received by the marquis, and forwarded to head-quarters. Cessation of firing about twenty minutes, till flag had re-

turned within their works. On our resuming the fire a second chamade beat : and the officer returning was told that the answer, as soon as received from head-quarters, would be forwarded. The firing on both sides re-commenced, and went on as usual, only small intermissions, during the passage of two or three letters from each side. Light infantry relieved by the baron Steuben's division : and the business being concluded that evening, the firing ceased about five o'clock, P. M. The 18th and part of the 19th taken up in adjusting matters, viz., articles of capitulation, public letters, &c.

*October 19 P. M.*—They marched out and laid down their arms. The whole of the king's troops, including sailors and marines, amounted to 8054, officers included.

Thus ended this business, in nine days from our breaking ground.

The whole of our strength, including every person that drew provisions by the commissary-general's return, amounted to 12,200. Our loss was 324 killed, wounded, and died in the hospital : sick in the hospital about 600 ; unfit for duty 830. So that when the necessary detail of the whole army was completed, his lordship was never opposed by more than equal number. Very frequently, from our great fatigue, parties at a considerable distance from the camp, and trenches two miles, had he come out to us, we could have opposed him with but very few more than two thirds of his number. This, I believe, will be allowed by any officer of discernment, who was acquainted with the details of the victorious combined army.

## OPERATIONS OF ROCHAMBEAU'S CORPS

SUBSTANCE OF A FRENCH JOURNAL  
[BY ROCHAMBEAU]

*From the Supplement to the French Gazette of  
November 20, 1781*

VERSAILLES, November 19.—The duke de Lauzun, colonel of the legion of his name, and the sieur Duplessis Paseau, captain of a ship arrived here this day, charged with dispatches to the king, with an account of a naval engagement on the 5th of September, and to inform his majesty that the army of Lord Cornwallis, consisting of 6,000 men, which had retired and entrenched themselves in Yorktown, on the river of that name, in Virginia, capitulated on the 19th of October last, and surrendered prisoners of war.

Substance of a journal of the operations of a French corps, under the command of Count de Rochambeau, Lieutenant General of the king's armies, since the 25th of August last.

On the 14th of September, General Washington, myself \* and the Chevalier de Chattelux, arrived at Williamsburg, where we found the Marquis de la Fayette, in conjunction with the Count de St. Simon, who had taken an excellent position, waiting for us.

Lord Cornwallis was employed in entrenching himself at York and Gloucester, barring the river of York with some of his ships, and others sunk in the channel. It is computed that his corps of troops, regulars and sailors from the disarmed ships amounted to about 5,000 or 6,000 men.

After all the most inquieting news we

had received in the route, of the appearance of the enemy's fleet, the departure of that of Count de Grasse, of an engagement on the 5th of September, the appearance of two English frigates in the bay, we at length received, in the night of the 14th, by a letter from the Count de Grasse, a circumstantial account of the following facts:

Admiral Hood had joined on the 28th of August Admiral Graves's squadron before New York. They both sailed the 31st to Chesapeake Bay, at the instant our movement by land towards Philadelphia had been discovered.

The English squadron, consisting of 20 ships, arrived the 5th at Cape Charles, intending to get the start of Count de Grasse. The latter then having 1,500 men in his chaloups, which had debarked the troops of Count de St. Simon, and were not yet returned, without hesitation, cut his cables, and went to engage the enemy with 24 ships, leaving the rest to blockade Lord Cornwallis in the rivers York and James. Admiral Graves bore to the windward, and the van guard of Count de Grasse, under the orders of Sieur de Bougainville, came up with the rear of the English, which was roughly handled.

The Count de Grasse having pursued some time, returned the 11th into the bay, where he found the squadron of Count de Barras, which sailed the 25th of August from Newport, with ten transports, having on board our siege artillery, and entered the bay on the 10th of September in good condition.

The two English frigates being between the two squadrons, were taken.

Immediately the ten transports of the

Count de Barras, the frigates, and the prizes of Count de Grasse, were dispatched to carry our troops to Annapolis, under the orders of the Sieur de Villebrunne, commander of the *Romulus*, who, with the Baron de Viomenil, used such expedition, that they arrived on the 25th in Williamsburg Creek, where they disembarked the army on the 26th and 27th.

On the 20th, the allied army marched from Williamsburg at break of day for Yorktown, and the French corps of 7,000 men began the investment from the head of York river to the morass near Colonel Nelson's house, taking advantage of the woods, creeks, &c., in such a manner as to block up the enemy within pistol shot of their works. The three French brigades marked out the ground, and encamped securely from the enemy's cannon. The Baron de Viomenil commanded the grenadiers and chasseurs of the army as the van-guard.

On the 29th the American army passed the morass, and the investment of Yorktown became complete, and was quite blocked up.

The infantry of Lauzun being debarked on the 23d, marched under the Duke de Lauzun to join their cavalry, which had marched by land into Gloucester County, under Brigadier General Wieden, who commanded there a body of 1,200 American militia. The whole legion was joined there on the 28th, the day of the investment of Yorktown.

On the night between the 29th and 30th, the enemy fearing to be insulated in the confined position which they had fortified, abandoned all their out works.

We employed the 30th in lodging our-

selves in the abandoned works, which enabled us to block up the enemy in a circle of very little extent, and gave us great advantages.

The same day the transports, with the artillery for the siege, came down to Trubello landing, seven miles from hence, when we set about disembarking it.

On the 3d of October, the Sieur de Choisy marched to block up Gloucester, and take a position at three miles distance from that place.

The corps of the Sieur de Choisy was composed of the Legion of Lauzun, of his infantry, drafted from the ships, and of 1,200 American militia under Brigadier General Wieden.

Tarleton was with six hundred men in this post, four hundred of which were horse, and two hundred infantry. The Duke de Lauzun attacked him so vigorously, that, notwithstanding the fire of his artillery, he threw them into disorder, wounded Tarleton, and forced the detachment to return to Gloucester, with the loss of fifty men. The Sieur Billy Dillon, and Dutre, second captain, were wounded; three hussars were killed, and eleven wounded.

The entrenchments were opened in two attacks, above and below York river, in the night, between the 6th and 7th of October, and different engagements took place till the 17th, when the enemy began to come to a parley.

The capitulation was signed on the 19th, in the morning, by which Lord Cornwallis and his whole army were made prisoners of war. The American and French troops took possession of the redoubts at noon.

The garrison of Yorktown filed off at two o'clock, by beat of drum, with their arms, which were then piled up, with 20 pair of colors. The same took place at Gloucester.

The companies of grenadiers of Bourbonnois and the Americans are in the redoubts, and the enemy's troops will evacuate it to-morrow, and be conducted to the interior parts of the country.

The Viscount de Noailles and Colonel Laurens have drawn up the articles of capitulation, in conjunction with two superior officers of Lord Cornwallis's army.

It is supposed there are about 6,000 or 7,000 prisoners, and about 170 pieces of cannon taken.—[*From the Pennsylvania Packet, Feb. 21, 1782.*]

\*The word "myself" shows the writer of the journal to have been Rochambeau. He rode from Mt. Vernon, with Washington and de Chastellux, to Lafayette's camp.

EDITOR

## NOTES

THE AMERICAN HEADQUARTERS AT BEMIS' HEIGHTS AND STILLWATER—Morgan and Poor were quartered at Neilson's. This house, now occupied by George Neilson, stands upon the summit of the hill, on the east side of the road leading from the heights to Quaker Springs, and a little north of the road running westward to Saratoga. It is a long, low, unpainted farm-house, and consists of two portions, of which the part furthest from the road is the original house. The larger part is more modern. It was to this house that Major Ackland was brought when wounded.

Gates' headquarters, the E. Woodworth house, has been gone for many

years. Its site may be seen in a field to the south of the bend in the road a few rods below the Neilson house. Its deep well, covered over with a few boards, is still there beneath a tree in the lot. Near the house stood a barn, which was used as a hospital. From the road near Neilson's house, looking southward, the eye takes in the site of Gates' headquarters, and looking northward, the entire battle ground of the 19th of September.

The house of Dirck Swart, where Schuyler was quartered at Stillwater, is still standing in the upper part of the village, a few yards east of the turnpike. It has, however, been changed from its original condition.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

SARAH OR MEHETABEL—Who of us would hesitate in these days between these two names for a child? But no less a worthy than Edmund Sewall, Chief-Justice of Massachusetts, had grave doubts as to which he should give to his daughter, born in 1694. "I named my little daughter Sarah. Mr. Willard baptised her. Mr. Torrey said "call her Sarah, and make a Madam of her" [Sarah in Hebrew means Princess]. I was struggling whether to call her Sarah or Mehetabel; but when I saw Sarah's standing in the Scriptures, viz.: Peter, Galatians, Hebrews, Romans, I resolved on that side."

NEW ENGLAND

THE ONEIDA STONE—I have in my possession a cutting of a newspaper, as follows:

"*Aboriginal Palladium*—At the monthly meeting of the National Institute, on the 18th of June, a brief memoir was

read by Mr. Schoolcraft on the Oneida Stone, a curious and unique monument of the nationality of the Oneida Tribe in western New York. The stone, of which Mr. S. preserved a specimen, has imparted a name to the tribe, who call themselves the People of the Stone. Mr. S. describes it as a boulder of sienite, of the drift stratum, and traces its origin to the primary beds in the north-eastern mountain ranges of that State. But interest arises from the ancient and intimate connection which this extraneous mass of rock has with the tribal origin and liberties of this celebrated member of the Iroquois Confederacy.

Its palladic value furnishes, indeed, a curious coincidence of thought, with a well known fact in Grecian History."

Utica

C. W. HUTCHINSON

LACROSSE—This game is first mentioned in 1608, "Le Jeu de Crosse, in the Relation of 1636 [Relations des Jésuites], by Father Le Jeune. Charlevoix refers to it many years later. A public game at Lacrosse was played in September, 1834, on a race course situated on the Lower Lachine Road, before a large concourse of citizens of Montreal. The players were all Caughnawaga Indians. The first game, between white players only, occurred in 1839 at Montreal, in which the parties were the Montreal Club and the Hochelaga Club. Mr. Alexander Henry, author of a Narrative of travels among the Western Indians, and who was an eye witness of the fearful massacre at Fort Michilimakinak in 1763, by Indians connected with the conspiracy devised by the celebrated Pontiac, calls it "Baggahway,"



explaining that by the Canadians it is named "*Le jeu de la Crosse*."—*One Hundred Prize Questions in Canadian History*. Montreal, 1880. EDITOR

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### QUERIES

SCHOOLCRAFT'S LECTURE ON THE ONEIDA STONE—The Oneida stone was deposited in our Forest Hill Cemetery in this city in the year 1850 with appropriate ceremonies, some 150 of the Oneidas and Onandaga Indians being present. Any matters pertaining to its history and traditions is of both local and historical importance to our citizens.

I have for some time endeavored to obtain either the manuscript of Mr. Schoolcraft or the published matter of the lecture. Perhaps some of your readers may be able to throw some light upon the proceedings of the Nat. Institute at Washington about the year 1850, when the address was delivered, or to tell where full reports of their meetings could be found.

Both the Oneida Historical Society and myself would be under obligations for any information upon the subject.

Utica

C. W. HUTCHINSON

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JAMES WEEMES—I am desirous of ascertaining the ancestry, etc., of "James Weemes, of the City of New York, Esquire, Captain of one of his Majesties Independent Companies of New York," whose will is recorded in our Surrogate's office, page 385, Liber 9, dated 11th April, 1719, proved 10th May, 1723, and witnessed by Rip Van Dam, Teunis Van Woerd and May. Bickley. He

therein mentions his wife, whom he appoints executrix, and his only daughter and heir at law, Isabella, wife of John Outman.

It appears therefrom he was a resident of this city and owned property here, although no conveyance to him is found in our Register's office, and that at the date of the will he was in perfect health.

The only conveyances in our Register's office are the purchase, 3d August, 1725, by Elizabeth Weemes, widow of Colonel Weemes, of a house and lot corner of the Broadway, east side, and the New street, recorded 17th February, 1743, Liber 32, page 415; and the sale thereof by her 24th February, 1729, recorded 20th February, 1743, Liber 32, page 417.

Had he brothers and sisters; in what company was he captain or colonel; who was his wife and where did he come from?

ALEXANDER CAMPBELL

New York

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GALATIN—I find this name thus spelled as one of the French officers who served at Yorktown, and were recommended to the king for promotion by Rochambeau. He was second lieutenant of the regiment of Gatinois, one of those which came up from the West Indies under the Marquis de Saint Simon in the fleet of De Grasse. He was engaged in the storming of the redoubt. Was he of kin to the Albert Gallatin family of Swiss origin?

IULUS

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GENERAL AMHERST—HIS KNIGHTHOOD—Governor Monckton, as royal proxy, invested General Amherst with

an order of knighthood on Staten Island. Some have said that it was the Order of the Garter. But was it? J. B. B.

MINETTA WATER—What was the original Indian name of "Minetta Water," one of the old water courses of the Ninth Ward of New York City?

J. B. B.

SPRINGETTSBURY MANOR, PENN.—Where was "Springettsbury Manor" in Southern Pennsylvania? J. B. B.

PORTRAIT OF GENERAL MONCKTON—In the Governor's room of the City Hall, New York, there is a small painting of General Monckton, royal Governor of New York about 1761. Who was the artist and what is the history of the picture? J. B. B.

COVERLY AND HODGE'S HISTORY OF THE REVOLUTION—In the New York Packet and the American Advertiser, printed at Fishkill, N. Y., October 25, 1781, are proposals for printing by subscription "an impartial History of the War in America between Great Britain and the United States," to be published in monthly numbers, with portraits. The prospectus, nearly a column in length, is dated Boston, August 20, 1781, and is subscribed by Nath. Coverly and Robert Hodge. Was such history ever published? M. M. J.

*Utica, N. Y.*

RARE COLUMBIA COLLEGE TRACT—I desire to obtain the name of the author of the following rare tract, relating to the early history of the present Columbia College: "Some Thoughts on Educa-

tion; with Reasons for erecting a College in this Province, and fixing the same at the City of New York. To which is added a Scheme for employing Masters and Teachers in the mean Time; and also for raising and endowing an Edifice in an easy Manner. The whole concluding with a Poem, being a serious Address to the House of Representatives."

It was printed by James Parker, at New York, in 1752, and sold for one shilling. COLLECTOR

DOES LIGHTNING STRIKE THE BEECH?—Doctor F. E. Beeton, in a letter dated Murfreesborough, July 19, 1824, states, "that in Tennessee it is considered almost an impossibility to be struck by lightning, if protection be sought under the branches of a beech tree. At any time when the heavens wear a nebulous garment, and the thunders roll above the Indians, they betake themselves to the nearest beech tree they can find, let their pursuit at the time of the storm be what it may. The sagacity of observation possessed by these children of nature has long since taught them, that under the beech they may rest, fearless of threatening danger and grumbling thunder. Other trees may be surrounded by these and shivered to splinters, while the beech remains entire and unhurt."

Will some of your readers kindly confirm the above statement in regard to the Indians? MINTO

## REPLIES

STATUE TO WILLIAM PITT—[VI. 222, VII. 67] After the repeal of the Stamp Act in 1766, the Legislature of South

Carolina voted a statue of Pitt in commemoration of his services in effecting that repeal. It was erected at the intersection of Broad and Meeting streets, Charleston. Like the one erected in New York at about the same time, it was pedestrian. During the siege of Charleston in 1780 a small cannon ball from a British gun, upon what was called the "Water-Melon" battery, on James Island, passed up Meeting street and broke off the left arm of the statue. Being mutilated, the statue was regarded as an obstruction in the two thoroughfares, and the City Council ordered it to be removed, without making any provision for its preservation or its erection elsewhere. The workmen employed to remove it took no care to preserve it. When it was dragged from its pedestal and fell to the ground, its head was broken off, but the head itself was not marred. That operation occurred about 1793, during the "Reign of Terror" in France, and the crowd who saw it fall cried out: "Old Pitt is guillotined!" The fragments were stowed away by some one more thoughtful than the rest, and so it remained for many years. Finally the Commissioners of the Orphan Home at Charleston had these remains collected and the statue restored, excepting the shattered arm, as nearly as possible, and placed it upon a handsome pedestal of brown freestone. Judge Grimke, of Charleston, had preserved the marble tablet bearing the inscription, and this was inserted in the new pedestal, with a border of dark slate around it. I saw and made a sketch of the statue in front of the Orphan Home in April, 1866, and

copied the inscription, which is as follows:

IN GRATEFUL MEMORY  
OF HIS SERVICES TO HIS COUNTRY IN GENERAL  
AND TO AMERICA IN PARTICULAR,  
THE COMMONS HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY  
OF SOUTH CAROLINA  
UNANIMOUSLY VOTED  
THIS STATUE  
OF THE RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT ESQ.,  
WHO GLORIOUSLY EXERTED HIMSELF  
IN DEFENDING THE FREEDOM OF AMERICA  
THE TRUE SONS OF ENGLAND,  
BY PROMOTING A REPEAL  
OF THE STAMP ACT  
IN THE YEAR 1766.  
TIME SHALL SOONER DESTROY  
THIS MARK OF THEIR EXTREM  
THAN  
ERASE FROM THEIR MINDS  
THE JUST SENSE  
OF HIS PATRIOTIC VIRTUE.

As the statue was not injured by the ravages of the Civil War, I presume it is still in the place where I saw it in 1866, just one hundred years after the repeal of the Stamp Act.

BENSON J. LOSSING

#### *The Ridge*

RUFUS PUTNAM'S DIARY—[VI. 220.] The diary kept by Rufus Putnam in 1772-3, when he went as one of a commission to explore lands in the lower Mississippi valley, is in the library of Marietta College. It begins Dec. 10, 1772, and ends August 13, 1773.

I. W. ANDREWS

#### *Marietta College*

THE NELSON HOUSE—(VII. 56) The set of china used in the entertainment of Lafayette on his visit to Yorktown in 1824, is now in the possession of Mrs. Lucy N. Howard, née Nelson, a granddaughter of General Thomas Nelson, Jr., of Yorktown, Virginia.

Richmond

R. A. B.

## EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

The condition of the President, notwithstanding the dangerous stages traversed, has steadily improved, until, as these lines go to press, he is pronounced to be out of danger. The country awaits with impatience his complete restoration, that they may express their delight and gratitude for his remarkable escape.

The subscriptions to the fund for the family of the President, which originated with the Chamber of Commerce of New York, have reached the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, and are still progressing. Unsolicited contributions have been received in sums of all denominations and from all parts of the country.

THE Historical Society of Galveston, Texas, held a meeting on the 31st May last, Hon. J. S. Sullivan in the chair. Numerous donations to the library and archaeological cabinet were reported, among the latter a curious pre-historic specimen, evidently a pagan idol found at an early day in Texas history in one of the cañons of Western Texas. The Society's collection of archaeological relics and geological specimens and prints having become extensive, steps were taken for their better arrangement, preservation, and display, and the Secretary was directed to order the annual assessment, the first since April, 1876. The meeting was on the tenth anniversary of the Society.

JOSEPH SABIN, the well known New York Bibliophile, died at his home in Brooklyn on the 5th of June. He was born in Yorkshire, England, in December, 1821. After receiving a common school education he was in 1835 apprenticed to learn the book binding business with Charles Richards, a bookseller, in whose store he met many of the notabilities of the kingdom. When the term of his indenture expired, in 1842, he set up for himself as a bookseller and auctioneer, and occupied his leisure hours in the preparation of catalogues. In 1844 he published the *Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, with Scriptural proofs and references. In 1848 he came to America with his family, and entered the house of George P.

Appleton as a general assistant and salesman. In 1850 he secured an engagement with Cooley & Keese, book auctioneers, of which profession the last named was easily the Prince. In 1863 Sabin established a second-hand book store of the pattern Charles Lamb loved to frequent, continuing his business of preparing catalogues of libraries for sale.

His last appearance as an auctioneer was at the Brinley sale in New York in the spring of 1881. The most serious work of his life was a Dictionary of books relating to America from its discovery to the present time, which was begun in 1856. The first volume appeared in 1867. Twelve volumes were completed, bringing the catalogue down to the letter N, and embracing 52,224 titles, when death overtook him.

UNIVERSALLY known by all who love the French language, and universally regretted, Maximilian Paul Emil Littré, the celebrated French Philologist, died at Paris on the 2d June, 1881. He was distinguished in politics, in medical literature, and for his writings in the positive school of philosophy. But the indestructible monument to his fame is his Dictionary of the French language undertaken in 1844 and finished in 1872 in four huge quarto volumes, to which a supplement was published in 1877. No other similar work can bear comparison with it save the German dictionary by the Brothers Grimm, which is far inferior to it in completeness and arrangement. Mr. Littré ranked among the first scholars of Europe.

MINTHORNE TOMPKINS, a distinguished citizen of New York, died on the 5th June, 1881, at his residence in that city. He was a son of Daniel D. Tompkins, of Scarsdale, Westchester County, who was Governor of the State from 1807 to 1817, and afterwards Vice-President of the United States, a Democrat of the Jeffersonian school. Minthorne Tompkins was also born in Westchester County, was member of the N. Y. Assembly in 1833 and 1834, and afterwards State Senator. In 1852 he was a candidate for Governor against Horatio Seymour and Washington Hunt. Later Tompkins was prominent in the anti-slavery party. He for a long time resided at Stapleton,

Staten Island, and it was at his home that Lafayette passed the night of his arrival on his last visit to the United States in 1824.

HENRY STANBERRY, ex-Attorney-General of the United States in the administration of President Johnson, died at New York City on the 25th June, 1881. He was born in New York in 1803. His family moved to Zanesville, Ohio, in 1814. He entered Washington College, Penn., soon after, and was graduated in 1819. He was admitted to the Ohio Bar in 1824, and began his practice at Lancaster. Later his chief law business was conducted at Cincinnati, when he was made President of the Bar Association, by which he was held in high esteem. He was an intimate friend of Ewing, Stanton and Thurman. His residence of late years has been near Covington, Kentucky.

AN American celebrity of world-wide fame died in New York on the 25th May, 1881. This was no less a man than Commodore George Washington Nutt. He was thirty-seven years of age, and three feet seven inches in height. He was born in Manchester, N. H., and made his first appearance in public at Barnum's Museum in 1860. He died of Bright's disease, leaving a wife whom he married three years since.

ALFRED BILLINGS STREET, the poet, and for many years the Librarian of the State of New York, died at his home in Albany on the 2d June. He was born in Poughkeepsie in 1801. His earliest poetic effusion was published in the New York Evening Post, when he was in his eleventh year. His first volume, the *Burning of Schenectady*, and other poems, was published in 1842. He was thoroughly original and American in his matter and manner, excelling in description of nature. His prose works include "The Council of Revision of the State of New York," with biographical sketches of its members and of the early courts of the State; *Woods and Waters*; *The Indian Pass*; *A Digest of Taxation in the United States*, and *Forest Pictures in the Adirondacks*."

THE Baltimore Sun reports the death, in that

city, of Mrs. Sibby Johnson, a colored woman, aged 102 years, at the Lee Street Home for aged colored men and women. She was employed for thirty-five years at the Maltby House. She had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot.

WE have received from Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, a list of the historic points on the Saratoga battlefield proposed to be marked by the erection of tablets. The committee will visit the battle-ground at an early day to locate the various points, many of which have already been selected by distinguished Americans, and designated by them as places on which they will erect tablets at their personal expense.

1, British Line of Battle, October 7th, when first attacked by Morgan, Poor, and Learned; 2, Freeman's Cottage and the Soldier's Well, where the most bloody encounter took place in both battles; 3, Spot where Fraser fell; 4, Bridge in Fraser's camp which indicated the march of the British centre, September 19th; 5, Burgoyne's headquarters; 6, Balcarras redoubt; 7, Line of American redoubts; 8, Morgan's and Poor's headquarters; 9, Gates' headquarters and hospital; 10, Site of Bemus' Tavern; 11, American redoubts near the river; 12, Position of American Artillery on October 8th; 13, Faylor's House from which Madam Reidesel watched Fraser's funeral; 14, Spot where Fraser is buried; 15, Sword's House; 16, Point where Lady Ackland embarked; 17, Breyman's camp—flank defense and key to the British position, captured at sunset October 7th. Here Arnold was wounded.

THE quiet old town of Sterling, in Worcester County, Massachusetts, celebrated its first centennial anniversary with great glee on the 15th day of June, 1881. Sterling was originally a part of Lancaster, and for some time after its settlement was called Chocksett and Choxett. It is about twelve miles from Worcester, the county seat. Within its borders are two large lakes, East and West Waushacum, upon which the first naval contest in the inland waters of Massachusetts occurred, in 1676, between a band of settlers under Captain Henchman and the Indians. In 1743 the present town was known as the second parish of Lancaster. In 1744 a church was gathered there. April 25th, 1781, the General Court ordered its incorporation as a separate town. It took the name of Sterling in honor of Major-General Lord Stir-

ling, of the Continental Army. Dr. William F. Holcombe, of New York, was the orator of the day, and made an exceedingly happy address. Samuel Osgood, Esq., was the Master of Ceremonies. In the afternoon there was a grand dinner in a mammoth Yale tent. Toasts were replied to by Colonel T. W. Higginson, the Rev. A. P. Marvin, the Hon. C. G. Stevens, the Rev. G. M. Morse, the Hon. C. H. Merriam, William H. Earle, of Worcester, the Rev. E. A. Horton, the Rev. D. Fosdick, the Rev. H. P. Cutting, and Dr. Fred Sawyer. Poems were read by Mrs. Catherine Riley and Miss Harriet Boss, both of Sterling.

ON the 1st June the town of Natick, Massachusetts, celebrated the centenary of her incorporation. The day was glorious and the attendance large. The whole city was decorated. The ceremonies began with a grand military and civic procession. The Governor of the State, assisted by the Rev. J. B. Fairbanks, the President of the day, Assistant Adjutant-General Kingsbury, and the Hon. Henry B. Pierce reviewed the troops from beneath the shade of a thick-leaved maple, after which Governor Long addressed the school children, to whom the exercises of the day were especially dedicated. The life of Senator Wilson, the most distinguished of Natick's sons, was held up as a worthy example for imitation by the rising generation.

WEDNESDAY, June 24, the semi-centennial of the Alumni Association of Westbrook Seminary (Maine) was held in that town. An historical address was delivered by Hon. Israel Washburne, Jr. He gave an account of the influences which led to the establishment of a seminary to propagate the doctrine of the Unitarian movement which began in Massachusetts with Channing, Buckminster, and the Wares, but until 1831 had few adherents in Maine. It however soon drew to itself many of the ablest and foremost citizens of the new State. To-day the majority of the members of the Legislature belong to this "broad church," whose power is greatly due to the teachings of the Westbrook Seminary.

THE centennial anniversary of the first offering of mass in Connecticut was celebrated Sunday, June 26, 1881, with a series of services at the Roman Catholic Church of St. Peter, in Hartford, which stands near the spot where the rite was administered by the Chaplain of the Count de Rochambeau on the occasion of a halt of the French army at Hartford on its way to join Washington's camp at Phillipsburg, on the Hudson. The Chaplain on this occasion was the Abbé Robin, who was attached to one of the French regiments, and left at his death an interesting account of his experiences in America.

The commemoration consisted in four early masses, followed by a pontifical high mass, said by Bishop McMahon, and a sermon by the Rev. Father O'Gorman, of the Paulist Fathers of New York. In the evening Bishop Conroy, of Albany, officiated at Vespers, and an historical address was delivered by Father Felton, of East Boston, who was the first priest settled at Hartford. He stated that at the time of his first coming to Hartford there were forty-five hundred Catholics in Connecticut, and that in thirty-seven years their number increased to one hundred and seventy-five thousand. The Mayor of Hartford attended High Mass in the morning.

THE MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY held its centennial meeting at Boston to general satisfaction. Dr. Samuel A. Green has compiled some of the antiquities of the Society, giving attention to the medical works of the colonial period. Dr. J. Collins Warren addressed the Society upon the organization and aims of medical societies of the several States, and upon international medical societies as well as that of his own State, and showed their necessity for the establishment of a standard for practicing physicians, and for the general protection of the community by positive and negative action.

THE long litigation over the Jumel estate has been brought to a close by a decree of Court ordering its partition and sale, the proceeds to be deposited in the United States Trust Company, to await the order of Court for distribution.

It consists of buildings in New York City, fourteen hundred lots near Kingsbridge, upon which stands the Roger Morris House, Washington's headquarters on Harlem Heights in 1776, and a tract of land in Saratoga county. Stephen Jumel owned the estate and left it to his widow, who was married to Aaron Burr. She died in 1865, and the property has been since in litigation.

THE Anneke Jans case, which has agitated a great many minds for a great many years, has been finally disposed of by the denial of the application of Rynear Van Geisen for letters of administration on the estate of Anneke Jans Bogardus, who died in Albany some two centuries ago, and the affirmation of the decree of the surrogate by the Court of Appeals, with costs to the applicant. This famous estate once included several hundred lots in New York City, since built upon, and of enormous aggregate value.

THE Saint Nicholas Society of New York held a meeting on the evening of the 2d June at Delmonico's; over fifty members were present. Amendments to the constitution to increase the membership from five to six hundred, to increase the initiation fees and annual dues, and the cost of life-membership, was defeated. A supper closed the discussion.

THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND on his recent trip to the Far West presented to Land Commissioner J. H. Drake, of the Sioux City Road, in acknowledgment for his hospitality, a gold blue-enameled scarf pin, representing the garter with the well-known motto, "Honi soit qui mal y pense." In the circle is the letter S, and surmounting it the ducal crown. The St. Paul, Minnesota, Dispatch describes this pin as "unique and beautiful," but adds "there are only thirty-five of the kind in England"—each unique we suppose.

COMMANDANT BROTHERTON sends word from Fort Buford, Dakota, under date of May 20th, 1881, that on that day the steamers Far West and Sherman left the port with 1149 Indians, late prisoners of war, for Standing Rock. The

Indians accepted the situation cheerfully, Crow King being the first to pull down his lodge and lead the movement. Running Antelope, who exercises a wonderful power over his people, was largely instrumental in overcoming their antipathy to Standing Rock. A daughter of Sitting Bull has come in. Sixty lodges are reported as still at Woody Mountain, and thirty at Lake Qu'appelle with Sitting Bull.

THE Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company celebrated its two hundred and fifty-third anniversary on Election Day with great spirit, the usual shower not being present on the occasion. They were received at the State House by Governor Long, and then proceeded to the Hollis Street church, where the sermon was delivered by the Rev. Robert Collyer. At its close they marched back to their armory in Faneuil Hall, where they dined.

THE first meeting of the directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association for 1881-2 was held at the house of the President, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, Brookline, Mass., on Saturday, the 25th June. The standing committee for the ensuing year was appointed. On motion of the Hon. G. Washington Warren the following resolution was adopted:

That the directors on behalf of the Bunker Hill Monument Association which has accepted from a number of patriotic subscribers the statue of Colonel William Prescott, desire to express to Mr. Story, the renowned sculptor, their high appreciation of it as a work of art, felicitous in its design and execution, and appropriate to Bunker Hill and its brave commander; and they do cordially congratulate him upon the eminent success he has achieved, and thank him for the special pains he took in prosecuting a work from the interest he had in its subject as an American and the son of a former officer and early friend of the association.

Acknowledgment was placed on record of the services of civil and military associations, corporations and individuals, at the inauguration of the statue on Bunker Hill. A letter was read from the Hon. Edward F. Noyes, late American Minister at Paris, enclosing an interesting letter to Mr. Winthrop from Edmond de Lafayette, the last of the name.

THE Trustees of the Saratoga Monument Association held a special meeting on the 28th

June at the Delavan House, Albany, Hon. James M. Marvin in the chair. Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth, chairman of the committee on historical tablets, reported that the ground would be visited and the sites located the first week in July. Additional subscriptions were reported from Senator Wagner and Hon. Giles M. Slocum, now of Michigan, but formerly of old Saratoga. George S. Schuyler and Parker Handy, of New York, were elected trustees. P. C. Ford, O. S. Potter, and D. F. Ritchie, were appointed a committee to purchase the land on which the foundation of the monument will be laid. A resolution was adopted requesting Senator Wagner and Assemblymen Husted and Potter to urge on the Legislature to authorize the Governor to extend the courtesies of the State to the representatives of the French Government, the family of Lafayette, and the descendants of the French officers who served at Yorktown who may visit the United States to attend the centennial of the surrender of Cornwallis. The meeting then adjourned to the second Tuesday in August at the United States Hotel, Saratoga Springs.

THE statue of Robert Fulton, which is to be placed by Pennsylvania in the House of Representatives at Washington will be made by Howard Roberts, of Philadelphia. It represents Fulton in the dress and with the surroundings of a workingman, studying a mechanical model, which is held in the right hand. The second subject selected by Pennsylvania is Rev. (General) Muhlenberg. The sculptor is Miss Blanche Nevis, of Lancaster.

THE association formed to erect a monument to Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield, Illinois, met on Thursday, the 19th May, 1881, in that city. It has already sufficient funds on hand to pay for the two groups which are being cast on the models of Mr. Larkins G. Meade, the sculptor, now in Florence, Italy. A letter has been received from him proposing three additional figures of colossal proportions for the monument. These figures represent Freedom, Justice and Peace, to be placed on the same elevation with the statue of Lincoln, on the remaining sides of

the shaft. Sufficient funds are expected from the liberal citizens of the State, and it is further proposed to place in Memorial Hall a bronze or marble tablet inscribed with the names of the donors who meet the expense of these figures.

THE survivors of Perry's Brigade of Florida Confederate troops propose to erect a monument to their dead comrades at Tallahassee, and the committee in charge will report at the next meeting of the survivors, to be held at Tallahassee on the 14th July, 1881. Considerable means have already been procured.

A STATUE of Abraham Lincoln is to be erected in Lincoln Park, the most Central Square in the city of Chicago, and also a bronze fountain in the same park. These ornaments were provided for by a bequest of the late Eli Bates, who died in June, 1881, at Chicago. Forty thousand dollars were appropriated for the statue and fifteen thousand for the fountain. As soon as the arrangements are completed by the committee in charge they will be made public, and competitive designs will be called for.

ON the 19th May the memorial monument to the late George B. Armstrong, organizer of the United States Postal Railroad Service, was unveiled in the presence of over five thousand spectators. Postmaster Frank W. Palmer reviewed the life and work of Mr. Armstrong, and an oration was delivered by ex-Vice-President Schuyler Colfax. The monument was unveiled by Leonard W. Volk, the sculptor. It consists of a bronze bust of Mr. Armstrong, of heroic size, surmounting a granite pedestal three and one-half feet high, and two feet square, with a base three feet square and one and one-half feet thick, on a sub-base four feet square and a foot thick, and stands facing the corner of Clark and Adams streets, on the government grounds surrounding the new Post-office and Custom House. The inscription reads: "To the memory of George Buchanan Armstrong, founder of the Railway Mail Service in the United States. Born in Armagh, Ireland, Oct. 27, A. D. 1822; died in Chicago, May 5, A. D. 1871. Erected by the Clerks in the Service, 1881."



(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.** By HENRY CABOT LODGE. 8vo, pp. 560. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York, 1881.

The first germ of a national spirit in the thirteen original American colonies was developed at the meeting of the delegates at New York in the Stamp Act Congress of 1765. The letters of this period which have come down to us show how little the inhabitants of the different sections knew of each other. Each and all of them had some trade with each other, but the modes of communication were simple and the distances too great to admit of any community of individual interest, or any general personal acquaintance. Mr. Lodge selects this period as the limit of his history of the Colonies, and after a recital drawn from acknowledged sources of the progress of the Colonies up to that period, presents a picture of each as he considers them then to have been. The field is a broad one, and he seems to have shrunk from any general presentation, confining himself to the simpler and easier plan of treating each in detail in monographic form. There are occasional comparisons of the social and economic conditions of the widely differing sections, but, as a whole, the social history of the Colonies yet remains to be written. Each Colony has its separate treatment in one or more chapters, after which are general chapters on New England as a group in 1765; the preparation for revolution; the war for independence; and the peace of 1782.

Fault has been found with the author because he has not chosen to enter the field of original investigation, at least in these pages, as to the date of the earlier attempts at the colonization of the continent; but this is harsh judgment if it be borne in mind that his declared purpose is to present a picture of the Colonies at a typical period rather than a history of the political or other causes which led to the condition which he endeavors to portray. The fidelity of the picture alone is a fair subject of criticism. For his historic facts, where they are questionable, he supplies the authorities on which he relies. He only can give a fair judgment who is as familiar with the whole subject as Mr. Lodge shows himself to be, and probably there is none such. Those only who have made a thorough study of the history of any one colony can be safely trusted in their opinion upon the truth of the picture as it affects that component part of the general work. As far as New York is concerned, we venture to say that Mr. Lodge, first of the historiographers, has shown an apprecia-

tion of the characteristic traits which, as he justly says, "gave in colonial days a cosmopolitan tone to the community, which contrasts strongly with anything that can be found in the other provinces," a tone which it has retained with increasing strength until it has become one of the world centres, typical of the close brotherhood of man, which the wonderful inventions of the present century have made possible. This was due of course to the variety of races which met and mingled in her borders from the early days of European colonization. While neither to the northward or the southward was there any considerable mingling of foreign blood with the original English element, few of the citizens of New York could have been found at the close of the last century, in whose veins did not run the strains of several races. Again in his picture of Virginia, as she appears in 1765 and as she is to-day, Mr. Lodge justly finds far less change than in the other colonies. The towns of Virginia are to-day, to all outward aspect, colonial towns. The material change is far less than is found even in the towns and boroughs of Old England. Manners and habits have of course changed. Even in 1822 John Randolph, of Roanoke, could say with truth that the Virginians were a new people; but no such change as has come over the entire North since the beginning of the wonderful European exodus which first assumed vast proportions in 1848, (and which Everett justly described as exceeding the hordes which overrun Western Europe in the middle ages) has as yet reached the Southern States. In the compensations of life it is perhaps not to be regretted that the Southern States have preserved their thorough colonial type. They will bring to the cauldron, in which the elements of a new composite race are now seething at high temperature, the solid element of pure American blood. Finally relinquishing the idea that their peculiar autonomic characteristics can be retained either in race, habits, or policy, this important element in our population is fast grasping all the appliances of modern progress and entering into competition upon fields which, though not chosen willingly, will yet be heartily worked under the stimulus of the aspirations which are common to us all.

Of New England, Mr. Lodge writes knowingly. There also, in some aspects, there has not been great change. The general air of the New England village, away from the hum of railroads, has not greatly altered. The people are still, as they were, homogeneous in race and character. The ruggedness of the soil has hindered increase of population comparable to that

of more favored States. But the day of change has dawned for her also, and as her sons and daughters are tempted to more genial climes, where labor receives a more bountiful reward, the gap is filling fast with a new element which is bending her stern ways and changing the tone of her population also. But this is to draw a picture of America as it is, for which our justification is found in the fact that Mr. Lodge himself has not been able to escape wholly from the comparison which arises perforce to each thinking mind, between the American of the Colonial and the American of the Cosmopolitan period, of whom it is more easy to discover what manner of man he is than what he may be at the close even of the present century. The times change indeed, and we with them, to a degree unknown in any other race or people on the earth's surface.

**HISTORY OF AMESBURY, INCLUDING THE FIRST SEVENTEEN YEARS OF SALISBURY, TO THE SEPARATION IN 1654; AND MERRIMAC FROM ITS INCORPORATION IN 1876.** By JOSEPH MERRILL. 8vo, pp. 451. Press of FRANKLIN P. STILES. Haverhill. 1880. For sale by JOHN F. JOHNSON, Amesbury, Mass.

For a quarter of a century the author, who has had the custody of the town records and documents for forty years, has been pursuing his investigation of the progress and doings of the town, from the first few who crossed the Powow river to the present day. The table of contents supplies an analytic index, chronologically arranged, from 1637 to 1876, of all the chief incidents treated in the text; and the history is arranged in the same order. In the story of the early settlement of the Massachusetts coast by the Pilgrims, which was in great measure made by small independent companies who explored the country and made permanent residence on favorable spots, it will be found that little regard was paid to the territorial rights of the Indian inhabitants. But there were cases in which conscience prompted some compensation, as in that of Haverhill, where settlement was made in 1642, and the territory purchased of the Indian chiefs Passagus and Saggahen in 1642. The tribe of Naumkeaks owned the land now known as the county of Essex. Salem was first settled here in 1628; soon after which other plantations to the eastward; among which, within ten years, Ipswich, Newberry, Merrimac and Hampton. About 1638 the river was crossed and Merrimac begun. From Merrimac to the sea was the favorite haunt of the littoral tribes. At Salisbury, near the marsh, huge piles of clam shells attested, until recently, their occupation. The beautiful Powow river was another favorite resort of the migratory tribes who lived on the product

of the stream and the sea. On the hill overlooking the river was the coign of vantage of the primitive savage, whence their name of Powows or Powawus. During the colonial period the story of the settlement was similar to that of its neighbors. In 1775 Amesbury stood true to the patriotic cause, and sent her quota to the Cambridge camp, under Capt. John Currier, who enlisted his men by order of the Provincial Congress. The town provided sixty-nine coats, her proportion of the thirteen thousand called for to uniform the men. A prominent incident in the later history of Amesbury was the removal to it, in 1808, of John Greenleaf Whittier from his ancestral home in Haverhill. He made his home on Friend street, at the foot of Whitcher's Hill, and here has written the greater part of his popular poems—poems which have been a factor in the redemption of our common country from one of the greatest iniquities of history, for which it is but just to confess the men of the North and of the South are alike responsible. The want of an index, though partially atoned for by the careful chronological table of contents mentioned, is nevertheless to be regretted.

**THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF GENERAL SULLIVAN'S CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE IROQUOIS IN 1779,** held at Waterloo, September 3d, 1879. Prepared by DIEDRICH WILLERS, JR. To which is prefixed a sketch of the Waterloo Library and Historical Society, by REV. S. H. GRIDLEY, D. D. Published under the auspices of the WATERLOO LIBRARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. 8vo, pp. 350. Waterloo, N. Y. 1880.

In February, 1879, the Waterloo Historical Society resolved to celebrate the centennial anniversary of Sullivan's campaign, and his march across the territory of Seneca county. This volume gives a full account of the interesting proceedings. The historical address delivered by the Rev. David Craft presents the most complete account of this memorable campaign which has yet appeared, and leaves nothing to be desired. It is a source of satisfaction that it is preserved in so excellent a form. The Waterloo Historical Society was organized in April, 1875, and incorporated in January of the following year, when a library foundation was bestowed upon it by Mr. Thomas Fantzinger, in the sum of five thousand dollars, which he later increased by bequest of a similar sum to ten thousand dollars. Three thousand volumes have been collected, and supply reading matter for the community. Twenty-five original papers on local history have been contributed to the society during the last five years, among which are noticeable, as of a

general character: *The March of Gen. Sullivan through Seneca county*, by S. R. Welles; *Border Land*, by W. H. Bogart; *Logan, the Mingo Chief*, by Fred. H. Furniss; *Indian Life and Character*, by John S. Clark; *Life and Adventures of Horatio Jones, Captain and Interpreter of the Seneca Indians*, by S. H. Gridley; *Rev. Samuel Kirkland, Missionary to the Six Nations*, by S. H. Gridley; *Red Jacket, the Seneca Orator*, by S. H. Gridley; all of which, we trust, may soon be printed by the Society.

**THE CHANNING CENTENARY IN AMERICA, GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.** A Report of meetings held in honor of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of William Ellery Channing. Edited by RUSSELL NEVINS BELLOWES. 16mo, pp. 532. GEORGE H. ELLIS (Channing building). Boston, 1881.

Two Americans, the one who, though dead, yet speaketh, the other who still remains with us in the flesh, Channing and Emerson, are already acknowledged by the intellectual universe to have attained the rare rank of Seers—Seers in the true sense of the word, with an insight into the nature and order of things, and a prophetic outlook over the vast plane of human intelligence. The one has been called the Ideal American, the other may as truly be called the Real American. The range of our history may be searched in vain for better types of pure intelligence than these two men present in characters, almost the opposites, or it may be better said the complements of each other.

The Life of Channing has been admirably portrayed by his nephew, William H. Channing, a notice of which appeared in these pages, (V. 227.) Reminiscences of his teachings were related by Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, who sat lovingly at his feet (see Mag. V. 227) and an elaborate account of the Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of his birthday was prepared by the skillful hand of the Rev. George E. Ellis (V. 229). In one of these notices attention was invited to the universality of Channing's fame, the widespread interest in his writings throughout the United States and wherever the English tongue is spoken, and to the exceptional fact that all denominations of worshippers of God united in the honor then paid to his memory as an Apostle of the Church Universal; the church which holds in its broad fold every lover of his kind.

This volume brings additional testimony to the truth of this then acknowledged fact. American Centenary Celebrations of Channing's birthday were held at Newport, Boston, Brooklyn, New York, Chicago, St. Louis, St. Paul, Mead-

ville, Washington, Ann Arbor, Madison, Cincinnati, San Francisco, Montreal, and a host of minor towns, at all of which the eminent of the clergy, the professions, and of men of literary culture, were quick to bring their separate tribute of homage to the pure minded "prophet of the soul;" the Teacher of the moral as distinct from the Preacher of religious code. The Press so gave voice to the general sentiment which pervaded the American mind. All of these have notice in the complete record before us, but we look with more interest upon the record which appears of the celebrations in Great Britain and Ireland, held at London, Liverpool, Manchester, Belfast and Aberdeen, where the late Dean of Westminster, dear to Americans for his broad human sympathies, Hopford, Brooke, Ernest Renan, James Martineau, Thomas Hughes and others of less familiar names, were not less ready, not less pronounced in their demonstration of regard. And to complete the long line of witnesses, Mr. Bellowes refers to the work of René Lavollée, crowned by the Academy of Moral and Political Sciences as the best essay on Channing's Life and work. "The greatest tribute of all," to use the words of the editor of the volume before us, "was that of the illustrious Von Bunsen, who said: 'Channing is an antique hero with a Christian heart. He is a man like a Hellene, a citizen like a Roman, a Christian like an Apostle. People take him for what he is not when they treat him as a learned and speculative theologian.'"

**THE COMMEMORATION BY THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON OF THE COMPLETION OF TWO HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS SINCE ITS FOUNDATION**, on Thursday, November 18, 1880. Also *Four Historical Sermons*. With illustrations. Printed by order of the Society. 8vo, pp. 218. HALL & WHITING. Boston. 1881.

One of the earliest acts of the Colonists, on their arrival in New England, was the formation of a church. The covenant was signed on the 30th July, 1630, and was the beginning of the First church of Boston. The first meeting house was built in 1632, of mud walls with a thatched roof. It stood on State street on the site of the structure known as Brazer's Building. In 1639 a house was built on the site of the present Joy's Building in Washington street. In 1711 this meeting house was burned and rebuilt. In 1808 the Society removed to a new building on Chauncy street, and in 1868 to the beautiful church on Berkeley street, a fine view of which prefaces this memorial account.

The first of the *Four Historical Sermons* which follow the account of the preliminary pro-

ceedings at the commemoration, by the Rev. Rufus Ellis, begins by establishing the point that the 30th of July, old style, or the 9th of August, new style, and not the 18th of November, was the true birthday of the First church in Boston. On that day, 1630, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson and the Rev. John Wilson met at a spot on the north side of Charles River called Mishawam by the natives, and Charlestown by the white man. Here they prepared and subscribed the covenant of the church. Wilson, who had been chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Canon of Windsor, and Prebendary of Rochester, and had preached at Sudbury, in Suffolk, England, for several years, was the first pastor of the little congregation. John Cotton became its Teacher, immediately on his arrival, with the reputation of a Cambridge scholar, and his son, "Seaborn," was baptized into the congregation. The creed of the church was "experimental religion." The three sermons which follow bring down the history of the church to the present day.

Next in order in the volume comes the sermon preached to the First church on the close of the second century, 29th August, 1830, by N. L. Frothingham, which gives an account of the pastors from the beginning to that date: Wilson, Cotton, Norton, Davenport, Allen, Oxenbridge, Moody, Bailey, Wadsworth, Bridge, Chauncy, Clarke, Emerson, Abbot—"a solemn train." To these must be added the names of Frothingham and Ellis.

These admirable discourses are followed by an account of the commemorative services. The address fell to the competent hands of Dr. George E. Ellis, and is full of suggestive points. He notices the disappearance of the copies of the Book of Common Prayer, once in the possession of these exiled members of the Church of England—"as rare here as the holly or the mistletoe"—and the more significant absence of any of the phrases of the once beloved liturgy from the sermons and the letters of the Puritan divines, but in their place, the words and the usage of the primitive Christians, as found in the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles.

The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in his address, claimed for the ancestor he so worthily represented, the authorship of the covenant. Addresses were also made by Governor Long, Mayor Prince, President John Eliot of Harvard, President Noah Porter of Yale, the Rev. Grindall Reynolds, Phillips Brooks, the Chrysostomus of the American church, Professor Everett, the Hon. Robert S. Rantoul and the Rev. G. W. Briggs.

The volume is elegantly printed, and in every way worthy of the ancient theme. We are tempted to linger over its pages in the recollection that this was the faith which was held by

the "Lois and the Eunice" of the writer's forefathers, and that it was in this congregation that they, original Puritans, were taught the worship of God.

OUTLINES OF U. S. HISTORY. A HANDBOOK OF READY REFERENCE FOR STUDENTS, GENERAL READERS AND TEACHERS. By R. HEBER HOLBROOK. 12mo, pp. 107. NORMAL TEACHERS' PUBLISHING HOUSE, J. E. Sherrill, Proprietor. Danville, Ind. 1880.

The purpose of this handy little volume is to help the reader of history to view particular events in their general relations. It appeals to the intelligence through the eye. Its contents are not to be memorized, but to be used currently as an aid to the memory. They are the result of practical experience in a teaching of ten years. Its use will surely fulfill the author's declared purpose in freeing the delightful study of history from the deadness of chronological memorizing. It has already stood the test of experience in manuscript form. We can best commend it by saying that it shall never be out of sight on the table of the Editor of this Magazine. It will save many a search for the precise details of facts which everybody knows generally, but which, nevertheless, are difficult to reach at a given moment.

MAGELLAN; OR, THE FIRST VOYAGE ROUND THE WORLD. By GEORGE M. TOWLE. 16mo, pp. 281. LEE & SHEPARD. Boston. C. T. DILLINGHAM, New York. 1880.

Fernan Magellan, whose adventurous life is treated in a familiar style in this volume, was a Portuguese of noble family, who at an early age entered the service of his king, and accompanied Albuquerque on an expedition to the east coast of Africa and to India. He returned to Portugal on account of a difference with his chief, and being harshly treated by King Manuel, transferred his allegiance to Charles of Spain, who afterward was the great Emperor Charles V. This monarch, appreciating the adventurous disposition of Magellan, gave him command of a fleet of four small ships, in which he set sail from Seville on the 20th of September, 1519, and on the 21st of October, 1520, passed through the Straits which bear his name, and entered the Ocean to which he gave the name of Pacific. He was killed at the island of Matan, one of the Philippines, in an encounter with the natives on the 7th of April, 1521, in the forty-first year of his age. But one of his vessels returned to Spain, being the first to circumnavigate the globe, and to discover that in sailing from east to west a day was apparently lost from the calendar.

W. C. S.

## REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

**A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH COLONIES IN AMERICA.** By Henry Cabot Lodge. 8vo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881.

**TRANSACTIONS OF THE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF QUEBEC.** Sessions of 1880-1. 8vo. Printed at the Morning Chronicle Office. 1881.

**BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF LYMAN C. DRAPER, LL.D., Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.** By Prof. Rasmus B. Anderson. 8vo. Peter G. Thomson, Printer. Cincinnati, O., 1881.

**LIFE AND LETTERS OF JOHN HOWARD RAYMOND.** Edited by his eldest Daughter. 12mo. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert, New York, 1881.

**RESOURCES OF SOUTH WEST VIRGINIA.** Showing the Mineral deposits of Iron, Coal, Zinc, Copper, Lead, &c. By C. R. Boyd. 8vo. John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1881.

**THE COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON,** of the completion of the Two Hundred and Fifty Years since its Foundation, on Thursday, March 18, 1880. Also, four Historical Sermons, with illustrations. 8vo. Hall & Whiting, Boston, 1881.

**THE CAMPAIGN OF CHANCELLORSVILLE.** By Theodore A. Dodge, United States Army. 8vo. James R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1881.

**BULLETIN OF BOOKS** in the various departments of Literature and Science added to the Public Library of Cincinnati during the year 1880. Large 8vo. Published by the Board of Managers, Cincinnati, 1881.

**PENNSYLVANIA IN THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.** Battalions and Line 1775-1783. Edited by John Blair Lewis and William H. Egle, M. D. Vol. II. 8vo. Lane S. Hart, State Printer, Harrisburg, 1880.

**HISTORY OF AMESBURY,** including the first seventeen years of Salisbury to the separation in 1654, and Merrimac from its incorporation in 1876. By Joseph Merrill. 8vo. Press of Franklin P. Stiles, Haverhill, 1880.

**THE LIVES OF EMINENT METHODIST MINISTERS,** containing Biographical Sketches, Incidents, Anecdotes, Record of Travel, Reflections, &c. By Rev. P. Douglass Gorrie. 16mo. R. Worthington, New York, 1881.

**THE CORRESPONDENCE OF PRINCE TALLEYRAND AND KING LOUIS XVIII.,** during the Congress of Vienna, &c. With a Preface, Observations and Notes. By M. G. Pallain. 12mo. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1881.

**THE LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN WESLEY,** with some account of his ancestors and relations; and the Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley. By John Whitehead. 12mo. R. Worthington, New York, 1881.

**A BRIEF HISTORY OF ANCIENT PEOPLES,** with an account of their Monuments, Literature and Manners. Barnes's One Term Series. 12mo. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York and Chicago, 1881.

**HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.** By John Richard Green. 2 vols. 24mo. American Book Exchange, New York, 1881.

**NEZ PERCE JOSEPH.** An account of his ancestors, his lands, his confederates, his enemies, his murders, his wars, his pursuit and capture. By O. O. Howard, Brig. Gen. U. S. A. 16mo. Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1881.

**INDIAN NAMES OF PLACES, ETC.,** in and on the borders of Connecticut, with interpretations of some of them. By J. Hammond Trumbull. 8vo. Hartford, 1881.

**PAPERS OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA.** American Series, I. 1, Historical Introduction and Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico. 2, Report on the Ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos. By A. F. Bandelier. 8vo. A. Williams & Co., Boston, 1881.

**SOLDIERS AND SAILORS HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF RHODE ISLAND.** Personal Narratives of Events in the War of the Rebellion. No. 9, Second Series. Personal Experiences of the Chancellorsville Campaign. By Horatio Rogers. Small 4to pamphlet. N. Bangs, Williams & Co., Providence, 1881.

**RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL TRACTS, No. 12.** The Medical School, formerly existing in Brown University, its Professors and Graduates. By Charles W. Parsons, M. D. Small 4to pamphlet. Sidney S. Rider, Providence R. I., 1881.

**SOCIÉTÉ NORMANDE DE GÉOGRAPHIE.** Bulletin de l'Année. 1881, Mars-Avril. 4to pamphlet, Imprimerie de Espérance; Cagniard, Rouen, 1881.



# JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD

**President of the United States**

DIED OF HIS WOUND AT THE FRANCK-  
LYN COTTAGE, ELBERON, LONG  
BRANCH, AT THIRTY-FIVE MINUTES  
PAST TEN O'CLOCK IN THE NIGHT OF  
MONDAY, THE NINETEENTH OF SEP-  
TEMBER, EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND  
EIGHTY-ONE.

# CHESTER A. ARTHUR

**Vice-President**

TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE AS PRESI-  
DENT AT HIS RESIDENCE IN NEW  
YORK CITY, AT TEN MINUTES PAST  
TWO THE MORNING FOLLOWING.  
THE OATH WAS AGAIN ADMINIS-  
TERED BY THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF  
THE SUPREME COURT OF THE  
UNITED STATES, AT THE CAPITOL  
IN WASHINGTON, ON THURSDAY, THE  
TWENTY-SECOND DAY OF SEPTEMBER,  
AND THE PRESIDENT ASSUMED  
THE DUTIES OF HIS OFFICE.

*September 24th, 1881.*







J. V. Howard

## FOTON-IMPACTS: 1990-1991

5. *Conclusions*

With the conclusion of the 1954-55 season, the Government of India had to face a serious problem in the form of a large surplus of rice. The Government had to take steps to dispose of this surplus. The Government of India had to take steps to dispose of this surplus. The Government of India had to take steps to dispose of this surplus.

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*Thomson*

# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES

### THE SURRENDER OF LORD CHARLES CORNWALLIS

WE have little conception of the difficulties that surrounded Washington and his compatriots during the year and a half preceding the capture of Cornwallis. The resources of the country were well-nigh exhausted; many had been drawn to the battle-field and there perished, and so great a number still remained in the army that the mechanical industries of the people were nearly ruined; villages were more or less dilapidated, while innumerable farms were lying waste for the want of cultivation. The influence of the war overshadowed the whole land, blighting its progress, and interfering with the comfort and success of the people. The Continental money was next to worthless, and that issued by the separate States was even of less value. Distrust of the ultimate success of the struggle discouraged many of the people, yet there was a gleam of sunshine in the hearts of the hopeful few; their zeal never flagged, and their intelligence prompted them to make great personal sacrifices in the expectation of securing for their country liberty and independence for all future time.

Another impediment to the success of the patriots was the multitudes who sympathized with the royal cause, some no doubt from pure, and some from sinister motives. Among these disloyalists were many who were unwilling the Colonies should separate from England, which they characterized by the endearing name of "Home." They were proud of her glories in literature and arms, and claimed them as part of their own inheritance. Another class of the more unenlightened among the Tories were often disloyal from an indefinable reverence for the persons of the royal family, and of their shadow, the aristocracy. These clung to the cause of the king for the reason they were unable to comprehend the vast importance to themselves and their children of being separated from England and untrammelled by her restrictions and influence as a sovereign.

The limited means of movement at that time from one portion of the country to another cannot be fully appreciated by the people of to-day, who have so many facilities for easy and rapid communication with each other. Sir Henry Clinton had his main army in New York City, in whose harbor was also a large and effective British fleet; Cornwallis had an army in Virginia three or four hundred miles distant, and other generals commanded troops stationed still further south in the Carolinas and Georgia; between these points were no places occupied by British troops. These armies were all accessible by sea from Sir Henry's headquarters in New York, while for the patriots the only way was by land—a route long and tedious, with bad roads to be passed over on horseback, on foot or by means of cumbersome wagons. The advantage on the part of the British to transport soldiers and military stores, was in comparison almost incalculable; in addition they were supplied with the most approved war material of the time, while the army of the patriots was as indifferently accoutered as their opponents were well armed and drilled. The war vessels of the United States consisted of only two frigates; the others had been either captured or destroyed.

**ARRANGEMENTS OF THE PATRIOT TROOPS**—In the winter of 1780–81, and spring of the latter year, the troops under Washington were camped so as to threaten New York City, while to repel a movement from Canada, should one be made, a portion of the State forces were stationed at Albany. At West Point and along the Hudson in the Highlands, were troops from New England; at Pompton, New Jersey, were the soldiers belonging to that State, and at Morristown was a portion of the Pennsylvania contingent. The French army, for the most part, was wintering at Newport, Rhode Island, while one legion, that of the Duke de Lauzun, was at Lebanon, Connecticut. Washington had his headquarters in a central position, at Windsor on the Hudson. In different parts of the South were stationed American soldiers—militia and Continentals—under Lafayette, Gen. Greene and the Baron Steuben.

The disposition of troops in the northern division was owing to the fact that the main portion of the British army was located on Staten Island, and in New York on Manhattan Island; in the harbor was moored their fleet—the right arm of their power. Yet they were confined closely to the city, not daring even to make foraging raids very far into the country, because they were liable to be roughly handled by the patriots, who were on the lookout, and their arrangements were such that almost

on the appearance of the marauders, the whole country was immediately roused to repel them. Philadelphia, at that time, had the larger population, but not being so accessible from the ocean as New York, the British commander had his main army in the latter city, in whose harbor he could have his fleet for the purpose of defence, and in readiness to send aid wherever needed.

**AFFAIRS IN THE CAROLINAS**—When Cornwallis captured Charleston, the capital of the Colony of South Carolina (May 12, 1780), he imagined he had subdued the whole region. Thinking, perhaps, capital cities in the Colonies bore the same relation to the surrounding country that they did in Europe, we may judge his surprise when the numerous patriots under Sumter, Marion and others were continually harrassing his foraging parties whenever they ventured out from his main army. There was, it was true, the quiet of a conquered land, but of one in which the people were waiting only for a favorable opportunity to fly to arms. Since the disastrous defeat of Gates at Camden (August 16, 1780), Cornwallis had better reason to suppose the conflict in that section virtually ended, but in a few months Gen. Nathanael Greene appeared as Commander of the American forces; by his indefatigable exertions, and skillful handling of his men, he kept his lordship busy in warding off attacks, especially in unexpected quarters.

In the South the state of affairs was sad indeed; Whigs and Tories were unrelenting foes; they ravaged in turn the whole region, destroying private property and burning the houses of each other. There is no sadder picture of the horrors of the Revolutionary struggle than the fiendish animosity toward each other that seemed to pervade the souls of the Whigs and Tories of these States. Why it was is hard to define. Under such repeated pillagings and raids, that whole section became almost a desolation. The three States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, were in the ordinary sense subdued, as their most important points were occupied by the British.

Early in the year (January, 1781) was fought the battle of Cowpens, in which Gen. Daniel Morgan defeated Col. Banastie Tarleton, the noted British cavalry officer. Then commenced the pursuit of Morgan by Cornwallis with a superior and well equipped army; but after a forced march of two hundred miles, the latter found himself completely baffled and forced to fall back, to be in turn closely followed by Gen. Greene, now in command. At length a conflict took place near Guilford Court House, N. C., from which place Greene fell back, after crippling his

adversary so much that really the gain was on his own side; while Cornwallis marched northward, leaving the Carolinas to the care of Lord Rawdon. About a month later (April 25), was fought the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, S. C.—a drawn battle, but the advantage, if any, was on the side of the Americans. Soon after several fortified places fell into the hands of the patriots, and Lord Rawdon retired to within a short distance of Charleston. Both armies remained inactive during the hot weather, except the skirmishing of foraging parties, till the battle of Eutaw Springs (Sept. 8, 1781), which in the main resulted favorably to the Americans, though in none of these engagements were they equal to their enemies, either in numbers of regular soldiers or equipments. In these various conflicts, and in the movements connected with them, Greene displayed remarkable skill in deceiving his enemies, and in striking where he was least expected.

THE MARCH OF CORNWALLIS TOWARD VIRGINIA—After the battle of Guilford Court House, the army of Cornwallis was so much reduced in number that he resolved to fall back by way of Wilmington, N. C., toward the North. He tarried in the vicinity of the former place sometime, to refresh his troops and await reinforcements, intending as soon as prepared to return southward to aid the royal cause in South Carolina. Meantime he learned that Greene, who had been cautiously following him, attacking his foraging parties and cutting off his messengers, had suddenly turned, and was far on his way toward Camden, S. C., where Lord Rawdon was in command. It was useless to attempt to overtake Greene or to make an effort to aid Rawdon; the risk was too great, for if he went in that direction he might be hemmed in by the patriots and distressed for provisions, as that whole region had been swept over more than once by the opposing forces. His army had been on the move for the greater part of a year, having, it was estimated, marched and countermarched more than a thousand miles, through a country in the main bitterly hostile, the roads being few and very difficult to travel. These considerations induced him to move northward from Wilmington to join Gen. Phillips by appointment at Petersburg, Virginia. He commenced his march about the 1st of May, the distance being more than two hundred miles. Phillips had superseded the traitor Benedict Arnold, about one month before (March 26, 1781), in the command in Virginia.

Previous to this time, Arnold had been marauding for some months in that region, though closely watched, and sometimes attacked, by

Baron Steuben ; he was not prevented, however, from effectually pillaging the country along the James and the lower portion of its tributaries, but did not dare to venture far from navigable waters. On one occasion he appeared before Richmond and offered to spare the place if permitted to carry off the tobacco in store; this was refused by the Governor, Thomas Jefferson, and he burned a portion of the village. This part of the State was specially defenceless, as the slaves were numerous and the planters few in comparison. Baron Steuben was in general command in Virginia; he had, however, a small force of only five or six hundred militia, having sent all the men he could spare to aid Gen. Greene in the Carolinas.

There had been a plan laid to capture Arnold, and Washington in the early spring sent Lafayette with troops and artillery to aid in the enterprise. The French also sent, under the command of De Tilly, a sixty-gun ship and two frigates to surprise the British vessels in the Chesapeake, but Arnold learned of the expedition, and withdrawing his shipping up the Elizabeth river into shallow water, the French had to content themselves in lying off in their large ships, while those of the enemy were safely anchored twelve miles distant. Soon after, another French naval force was sent from Newport to cooperate with that in the Bay, and with the army expected under Lafayette, but they were pursued by the British fleet. These fleets met off the Capes, and after a short conflict, without definite result, they parted. The French were so disabled that they returned to Newport, and the English entered Chesapeake Bay. This was the fourth time the French fleet had failed to cooperate effectually with the American land forces. Arnold was now reinforced by two thousand troops under Gen. Phillips, who, as has been stated, assumed command.

We may imagine the disappointment of Lafayette and his wearied soldiers, who had reached Annapolis, when they learned that the fleet reported at anchor in the Roads was the British and not the French, as they had reason to suppose. The object of the expedition was defeated. After some delay, caused by the blockade of the port by the British vessels, the troops were withdrawn to the Head of Elk, and marched early in April to Baltimore, where Lafayette refitted his men. Marching them southward, he joined Steuben in Virginia, and took command of the forces there.

**BRITISH RAIDS AND OUTRAGES**—When Cornwallis joined his forces with those in Virginia and assumed command, he resolved to crush



Lafayette before he should receive the reinforcements said to be on their march from the North, under the command of Gen. Anthony Wayne. He was so confident of success that, in writing to Sir Henry Clinton, he represented himself as having the Marquis within his grasp ; in consequence the latter, in a dispatch to the home government, said: "Lafayette, I think, cannot escape him." When Cornwallis moved from Petersburg to unite with the fresh troops sent from New York under Gen. Leslie, Lafayette was at Richmond, but having an inferior force, he retreated towards the north to meet Wayne, who was approaching with a portion of the Pennsylvania line. Cornwallis crossed the James below Richmond, and moved rapidly in pursuit, but finding it impossible to prevent their junction, he fell back toward the lower James.

There has been in the American mind a peculiar odium attached to the traitor Arnold, because of his committing so many outrages in Virginia. As much disgrace should attach to the name of Cornwallis for the ravages committed by his immediate command. His cavalry speedily scoured the country, and seized all the horses they could reach ; these were considered at the time to be the finest in the colonies. Gen. Greene, when passing through Virginia on his way to the Carolinas, urged the planters to remove these fine animals into the interior, lest they should be captured to replenish the British cavalry. The advice was disregarded, and ere long about six hundred of Tarleton's men were mounted on horses, great numbers of which had been trained for the races, common in that State. Oftentimes the marauders wantonly cut the throats of colts that were too young to be of service for cavalry. Outrages of this character were not perpetrated elsewhere during the war. Tarleton ravaged the country, destroying stores of provisions and crops ; he attempted by a bold dash to capture the members of the Legislature, then in session at Charlottesville, and came near making a prisoner of the Governor himself, Thomas Jefferson, in his home at Monticello. For some reason he would not permit the premises at Monticello to be injured ; yet, "under the eye of Cornwallis," another farm of Jefferson was thoroughly plundered, the growing crops destroyed, the horses carried off, and the throats of the colts cut, while the barns and fences were burned.

**INDECISIVE CONFLICTS**—Lafayette and Wayne, having united their forces, immediately moved, and by a rapid night march presented themselves in front of Cornwallis and, being joined by large numbers of the

militia, their force made so formidable show that the British general thought it prudent to fall back to Richmond, and finally down to Williamsburg (June 25). Lafayette was now joined by Steuben, and his entire army amounted to about 4,000 men, one-half of whom were regulars or Continentals. He sent detachments that interfered materially with the foraging parties of the British army, meanwhile advancing with his main force toward Williamsburg.

About this time Sir Henry Clinton became much alarmed at the demonstrations making against New York. He expected to be attacked by twenty thousand men, and believed that De Grasse, when he learned that Cornwallis was out of reach, would sail to New York to assist in an attempt on that city. This theory seems to have made him afterward unable to give due weight to evidence coming to his knowledge respecting the movement of Washington toward Virginia. He now sent an urgent demand to Cornwallis for reinforcements from the British army in Virginia.

To comply with this requisition, Cornwallis moved all his force toward Portsmouth in order to embark the troops. Lafayette cautiously followed, intending, if opportunity served, to attack the rear-guard of the British army when the main portion had crossed the river, but the wary Cornwallis, suspecting the design, laid plans to deceive his pursuer. Accordingly on the 6th July he sent over his pack-horses and wagons to an island in the James, and of these he made a great display. Meanwhile Tarleton deputed a dragoon—who pretended to be a deserter—and a negro, to throw themselves in the way of the Americans, and announce to them that the main portion of the army had passed over, and only the rear-guard was waiting to cross. The story seemed plausible, and Wayne was sent to make the attack; he was to be supported by the main body. Wayne, moving rapidly forward, apparently surprised a picket, which, in accordance with orders, after a resistance lasting only a few minutes, retreated. Thus encouraged, Wayne dashed on, when presently he found himself confronted with what seemed the whole British army. In a moment he divined the stratagem by which he had been deceived; his fearless spirit suggested his course. He at once sounded a charge, and his Pennsylvanians, nine hundred strong, and three cannon in full play, with shouts of victory, dashed against the enemy. This vigorous attack continued for a few minutes, when, at his command, the men as speedily fell back, losing, however, their cannon, the horses which drew them being killed. Cornwallis was in turn bewildered; the sudden and

vigorous assault, as well as the rapidity with which the Americans retreated, disconcerted him. He refused, as it was growing dark, to permit his men to pursue, lest they should fall into an ambushade. The following day he passed over the river and proceeded to Portsmouth; but, when in the act of sending a detachment on board the ships, he received another message from Clinton, informing him that he had been reinforced by three thousand Hessians from Europe, and he should not need more troops.

According to Stedman, Sir Henry Clinton at first favorably entertained the idea of Cornwallis, when he had joined Phillips, of making a raid north, along the Chesapeake and up the valley of the Susquehannah. He was led to think of such an expedition by the representations of Tories, who assured him if a British army would make its appearance in that region, there would be an uprising of the loyalists. Cornwallis was not so sanguine; he had little faith in promised uprisings of these gentlemen, and in consequence he was opposed to the whole scheme. Perhaps he also called to mind his experience in being harrassed when marching through the thinly settled Carolinas, and reflected that on the shores of the Chesapeake and up the Susquehannah the population was much more numerous. He would only enter upon the movement when ordered; and he intimated his willingness to return to Charleston and take command there.

Sir Henry Clinton also took occasion to inform Cornwallis of the rumors afloat that the Count de Grasse, then in command of a fleet in the West Indies, intended to visit the American coast. Sir Charles Rodney, who was on the West India station with a British squadron, gave it as his opinion that De Grasse would go to the Chesapeake. This information seemed to allay the fears of Clinton, as a French fleet in the bay could not injure the forces under Cornwallis. It appears never to have occurred to him that possibly Washington, by forced marches, might lead his army from the Hudson to the Chesapeake, nor did he avail himself of the suggestion of Rodney, to send a fleet to counteract the plans of the Count. Cornwallis on his part felt equally safe, as he wrote to Sir Henry Clinton he could spare him twelve hundred men to aid in defending New York.

The home government and Clinton were both unwilling to abandon the control of Chesapeake Bay and Virginia; hence an order was sent to Cornwallis to select some place accessible from the sea, and there fortify himself. This order came with the message countermanding the previous one to send a reinforcement of troops to New York. To

comply with this command, on the 26th July, 1781, Cornwallis chose Yorktown and Gloucester Point. These are on opposite sides of York river, which here narrows to about one mile in width, and are accessible from the bay, which is about fifteen miles distant. His army now amounted to nearly eight thousand effective men. He began to throw up strong entrenchments, while a number of ships of war were moored in the river.

**THE FRENCH FLEET, AND DELAYS**—It was long evident to Washington and Congress that if success was to be obtained, the superiority of the British naval force must be overcome. This could be done only by inducing the French government to send a sufficiently large number of men-of-war to the American coast. Hitherto it had seemed fated that the French fleet should fail to cooperate with the American land forces. Congress some time before had commissioned John Laurens of South Carolina, one of Washington's Aids, to France for the special purpose of inducing that government to send a strong fleet and a large number of troops to the United States. Laurens was remarkable for his pleasing manners no less than for his diplomatic ability; he succeeded in obtaining the promise of a large fleet and a body of troops, and also a loan of money, which amounted to more than a million dollars. In accordance with this promise, Count de Grasse sailed (March, 1781) from Brest with twenty-five sail of the line, on board of which were several thousand troops—the greater portion of the latter, however, were designed for the West Indies.

While the operations already referred to were going on in the southern section of the country, nothing special was done in the northern except to watch the enemy's forces in New York, and make preparations to capture the city. To obtain that result was utterly impossible without a sufficient naval force to overcome that of the British in the harbor, and for this assistance Washington was waiting till it could be sent by France, and also for the States, severally, to furnish more soldiers and supplies.

**INSUBORDINATION**—On the first day of this eventful year (1781) a revolt of an alarming character broke out in the Pennsylvania line stationed at Morristown, New Jersey. Their sufferings were great, and what they deemed the indifference of Congress to their wants roused their indignation, and led them to leave their camp and march in an

orderly manner direct to the doors of that body, then in session at Philadelphia, and demand redress in person. These men, though guilty of military insubordination, were every one of them true to their country's cause, but were for the time exercising, in this irregular way, their rights as freemen to ask a redress of grievances. Says Gen. Wayne, their commander, "they were poorly clothed, badly fed, and worse paid; exposed to winter's piercing cold, with no protection but old worn-out coats, and but one blanket between three men." They received relief for the present, and marched back to their camp, after delivering up to their officers the emissaries of the British commander, who had sent them to seduce the mutineers from their duties as patriot soldiers. In less than a month afterward, influenced by the success of the Pennsylvanians, the same spirit was manifested among the Jersey troops stationed at Pompton; they, too, for the same reason, mutinied. Now there was danger lest insubordination should spread throughout the army, and the latter rebellion was put down with some severity. Yet there was evidently great dissatisfaction in the army; the soldiers were intelligent and understood for what purpose they were in arms, and they had received the impression that Congress wasted much precious time in wrangling over questions of minor importance, while some of the States had apparently grown indifferent, and failed to furnish supplies in food and clothing. The soldiers no doubt compared their hard lot with the comfort enjoyed by other able-bodied men at their well furnished homes. We must bear in mind, however, that Congress had not full power to enforce its own decrees, which took more the form of urgent advisory resolutions than of laws to be obeyed; the weariness incident to a seven years' war: the utter prostration of commerce and industry, except to provide the necessaries of life, had almost paralyzed the energies of the people. It was only the hopeful, the intelligent, the persevering, that bore up—meanwhile encouraging their desponding neighbors—and performed as best they could their own duty, to supply the wants of the soldiers. With this state of feeling in the army, we may imagine what would have been the ultimate issue had it not been for the cheering prospect of help from France, both in fleet and land forces.

THE POSITIONS OF ARMIES—During the summer and autumn of 1781 the British army held two important positions. The capture of either would have a decisive effect upon the contest. One was New York, in which was their main force, and from which reinforcements of men,

ships and war material ~~were sent~~ as required to other points, especially to sustain operations in the South; ~~the~~ other position was that held by the army of Cornwallis in Virginia, where ~~rumor said~~ it was preparing to winter. It was possible, under favorable circumstances, ~~to capture~~ either of these before aid could come from the other.

It was thought best to make an attempt on New York, as the French army, which had been for nearly eleven months at Newport, was ready to move in aid of the enterprise. Preparatory to making the attack, the available roads leading to the city were repaired and new ones cut, while its fortifications were carefully reconnoitered. Washington's headquarters were at Windsor, a few miles from West Point; his entire force did not amount to five thousand effective men, though he had nominally nearly seven thousand. Owing to the defects of the militia system then in force, the army had not been increased to the full number authorized by Congress, which had *resolved* to have thirty-seven thousand men under arms at the beginning of the year. But the resolutions of Congress or of the State Legislatures were of little avail in rousing the exhausted country. British marauding parties in force were continually pillaging the country for miles around the city; they called it foraging. The most effective of these depredators was a band of Tories under Col. Delancy, whose place of rendezvous and stronghold was in the vicinity of Morrisania, Westchester county. Up the country from that place to near Washington's lines, these marauders made the whole region almost a desolation, driving from the farms the live stock, and carrying off the grain when harvested. These worthies were characterized Cow Boys by the inhabitants, because of their aptness in seizing the patriots' cattle.

PLANS FOR A CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES—Word was brought Washington that the Count de Barras had arrived at Boston to take command of the naval force of the French then at Newport, Rhode Island. De Barras also brought intelligence that the Count de Grasse was soon to sail with a large armament to the West Indies; but twelve of his ships were to come to Newport, in order to relieve the French squadron stationed there, and that these ships were to bring an additional number of land forces. This reinforcement was expected to arrive in July or August.

Count de Rochambeau received fresh instructions from his own government, and arrangements were made for an interview between Washington and the Count, at Weathersfield, Connecticut, on the 22d May,

1781. Many plans were discussed; among others to send a land force to aid Greene in the Carolinas. These troops would be compelled to march the entire distance, as the French squadron, which might have carried them, was closely blockaded in Newport harbor by a superior British fleet. The main objections to this plan were the long march, the difficulties of transporting war material, and the season of the year being summer, the heat of which in that climate was dreaded so much as to become an obstruction almost insuperable.

It was therefore thought best to strike a blow at New York. The time seemed propitious, as, owing to the large detachments which had from time to time been sent to the South, the garrison was comparatively weak. To capture this stronghold, with its immense amount of war material, appeared to Washington and the patriots as most important. Here was the British fleet, which had absolute control of the harbor and all the waters accessible to it; its position was central. If once taken, the outposts in the South would succumb, and the struggle, it was thought, must virtually end. Accordingly, to carry out this enterprise, arrangements were made at the council, and soon the French troops were on their march from their quarters at Newport, delighted to be relieved from the irksome monotony they had experienced during the preceding eleven months, and with the hope of seeing active service. Their march through the country was enlivened by the manifestations of welcome made by the inhabitants, who cheered them as friends.

In order to make the capture certain, Washington wrote to the Governors of the New England States and New Jersey, calling upon them to render assistance by filling up their quotas of men. With all these exertions the American army was not materially increased, and his letters written at the time show the mortification caused him by this deficiency. The only apology was the utter prostration of the country, both in respect to its finances and the fewness of the men found to enter the army. The Legislatures passed energetic resolutions, and so did Congress, but neither had the power to enforce them. Meanwhile Rochambeau dispatched a vessel to inform De Grasse of the plan of operations, and urge his cooperation.

ROBERT MORRIS, THE AMERICAN FINANCIER—The efforts of one patriot must here be mentioned. Robert Morris was a successful merchant of Philadelphia, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. He grasped the idea of furnishing the "sinews of war,"

by conducting the money matters of the government on a specie basis (1780). Heretofore the management of the finances had been entrusted to a committee of Congress, no two of whom seemed to have had the same views on the subject. One man of true education knows more than a multitude of the ignorant; and one common sense and thorough practical financier knows more than a regiment of theorists. Morris urged Congress to establish a *bank* as an agent to transact the finances of the government. The Bank of North America—our First National bank—was chartered for ten years, with a capital of \$2,000,000. The fact that it was pledged to redeem its notes in coin, inspired confidence in its success. The public at once looked favorably upon the scheme, and those who had the means invested in the bank, both as a profitable investment and as a patriotic duty. The credit of Congress began at once to revive, and finally attained a point never reached before. By this means Morris was enabled to pay the soldiers to a certain amount, and furnish supplies for the army. He accomplished this by sending as agents discreet men to secure in the way of business, all the coin they could obtain, thus keeping his vaults replenished, and when notes were presented they were promptly redeemed. The result was that soon the notes of the bank were received for all demands, and the Continental money passed out of use. Morris was now of immense service in furnishing provisions for the army on the Hudson.

**DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE CITY OF NEW YORK**—Now began a series of reconnoiterings in the vicinity of the city. New roads were cut through the woods and others repaired. It was known that a large force of the British was absent foraging in New Jersey, and the opportunity was seized to make a sudden and vigorous attack upon New York during their absence, and meanwhile fall on Delancy's Tories who were stationed at Morrisania. The latter attack was to be made by the French, who were to march from Ridgebury, Connecticut, and Washington himself was to throw his troops between the routed Tories and the upper end of Manhattan Island, then to pass Harlem River, capture the posts or stations near at hand, and work his way down some miles to the north side of the city. But soon after the movement began it was ascertained the British force had returned from Jersey, and their boats were in the Hudson. To surprise the forts was now out of the question, yet the expedition was successful in meeting and attacking a large foraging party of fifteen hundred Tories and others which had set out the same morning to ravage the lower end of Westchester county. The latter made haste



to abandon their stronghold and retire over Harlem River to the island, where they reported that they had been attacked by a large force.

These continued demonstrations convinced Sir Henry that an assault was imminent, and when the plan to move against Cornwallis was conceived and the necessary arrangements were making, he would not credit the surmises of the British officers stationed nearer the American lines, who began to suspect that a movement was about to be made other than upon New York. These officers communicated their suspicions to Clinton, but he seemed to be thoroughly impressed that the apparent change of programme on the part of the patriots was purposely designed to mislead him. One of the most earnest of these officers in persisting that the prospective movement would be against Cornwallis and not New York, was Von Wurmb, a Hessian officer, stationed at Kingsbridge. But Sir Henry was stubbornly predisposed to believe all indications that seemed to foreshadow an attack upon his own position.

**THE ALLIED ARMIES**—To secure unity of action, Congress had conferred full and perfect authority upon Washington in the northern and southern departments, and France, for the same reason, had also placed her troops under his command. The two armies were now encamped—at Dobbs Ferry and on the Greenberg Hills—within striking distance of New York, and were waiting for a French fleet to cooperate. Recruits were coming in slowly, notwithstanding the urgency of the occasion, yet there was no relaxation in reconnoitering and making preparations for the grand attack. Count de Rochambeau sent a swift-sailing vessel to inform De Grasse, who was in the West Indies or on his way thither, of the intended effort to capture the city, and to urge his cooperation with his fleet. Meanwhile (Aug. 14) there came a French frigate from him to Newport, bearing dispatches, saying that he would sail on the 3d August with a fleet of some twenty-five or thirty war vessels, having on board a land force—not to New York, but to the Chesapeake. This announcement necessarily changed the whole programme; the disappointment was very great to Washington and his officers.

**THE OVERRULING HAND**—We at this day can see, in the influences that led to this disappointment, the hand of an overruling Providence, which Washington and the Christian patriots of that day so much delighted to recognize. It is very doubtful if the combined forces could have captured New York at all. The situation was such that only on the north end of Manhattan Island could it be assailed by land forces,

and if a landing were made at this point, the city was still several miles distant, every foot of which was capable of being defended, if not successfully, at least sufficiently to cause a great loss of life to the assailants. The Hudson could be patrolled by the British men-of-war, whose cannon shot could easily sink the transports used in conveying troops across below the Harlem River. The British had also control of the harbor, and with the aid of the forts around its shores and on its islands, could have repelled the French fleet if it attempted an entrance; but only the smaller vessels could come in, the pilots giving it as their opinion that the large men-of-war belonging to the French could not cross the bar at Sandy Hook. In addition to this, both the British fleet and the garrison had in the latter part of June been strongly reinforced. The sacrifice of life on the part of the combined army would certainly have been very great, and even if successful, much more than in the capture of Cornwallis, while virtually the result in either case would have been the same; the crippling of the British force in the Colonies to such an extent as to lead ultimately to the acknowledgment of the independence of the United States. Moreover, British military affairs had arrived at such a crisis, that the capture of either New York in the North, or of Cornwallis in the South, would have brought about the end of the contest. The English people were becoming inclined to give up the conflict, as they became more conversant with the true state of the case. We can now see how merciful to the Americans was the non-appearance of Count de Grasse at New York with his fleet, for had he come the effort to take the city would certainly have been made.

CHANGED PLAN OF CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES—The announcement that De Grasse was about to sail for the Chesapeake led at once to the change of plans; there was no alternative. The attack must be made on Cornwallis, and the army must march nearly four hundred miles to accomplish it. To secure success it must be far on its way before Sir Henry Clinton could discover or suspect the object of the march, and to "misguide and bewilder" him, reconnoissances were ostentatiously made on the north of the city towards Kingsbridge, and on the opposite west side of the Hudson, as if an attempt was to be made to throw a force across that river. The British no doubt learned from spies of the boats built at Albany and originally designed for this purpose. These demonstrations had the desired effect on Sir Henry. After it was decided to march to Virginia, letters were written at Washington's headquarters, as if in relation to an impending attack upon the city. These letters were

purposely sent in such manner as to insure their interception, and when brought to Sir Henry they confirmed him more than ever that he was to be attacked without delay. Nor did this system of misleading end here; in addition, a space was marked out for a camp, as if for a large army in New Jersey opposite Staten Island, and numerous ovens were built and fuel provided for baking bread in immense quantities, while numbers of row-boats were prepared and kept in sight as if to ferry troops across the narrow channel to the island. Spies and Tories were unmolested in conveying to the British headquarters accounts of these preparations.

The wisdom of exercising great caution can be seen in the manifold difficulties in the way of this long march in the heat of summer from the Hudson River to the York. These adverse contingencies were all taken into consideration by the Commander-in-chief, and in no instance during the war did he display more sagacity than in the plan and execution of this movement, and in his complete outgeneraling of Sir Henry Clinton. The passage in ships from New York to the lower Chesapeake could be completed in a few days, while it took almost as many weeks for an army to reach there by land. If Sir Henry, who was proverbial for his tardiness, had been prompt, he might have interfered seriously with the expedition, even after he was assured that the movement was against Cornwallis. He could have sent a large number of ships of war, and of men, and perhaps been able to land strong reinforcements at an available position. Keeping the secret so carefully required the greatest caution; only one or two of the officers of the higher rank knew the destination of the allied armies, much less the ordinary soldiers. The armies commenced their march on the 19th of August, and in little more than a month they came in sight of the British works at Yorktown.

**THE MARCH OF THE ALLIES**—The movement covered by a final demonstration against New York, the armies, in two divisions, set out on their march toward Yorktown. Not a soldier was aware of their destination. When the American division was first put in motion as if to march toward Kingsbridge over the Harlem River, they were unexpectedly ordered to face about and move north along the east side of the Hudson; the following day they began to cross the river at King's Ferry. Meanwhile the French army was moving from the vicinity of White Plains toward the same river, heartily cheered by the grateful people along their route; two days later they crossed at Stony Point, both armies having with them their artillery and military stores.

Major-Gen. Heath was placed in command of the army left to watch the enemy in New York, to guard the Highland passes, and as far as possible to protect the surrounding country from marauders. The two armies marched across the Jerseys (east and west as then known); the French toward Trenton on the Delaware, and the Americans in the same general direction. To facilitate the rapidity of the march, wagons in great numbers were obtained from the farmers along the two routes, to carry the heavy arms and knapsacks of the soldiers. Both armies had reached the Delaware before Sir Henry became aware that a march had been stolen upon him; to what extent he was still uncertain.

When the Americans found themselves at Philadelphia, they suspected their destination to be Virginia, and demurred to marching south under the broiling sun. They were also dissatisfied with the lack of pay, as the want of money debarred them from purchasing many comforts, to do which they had now an opportunity. Providentially John Laurens had arrived a month before from France, bringing with him a large supply of clothing, of arms and munitions, and what was specially needed, about half a million dollars. Robert Morris was at hand, and with a portion of the money brought by Laurens, the amount raised by himself, and twenty thousand dollars borrowed from De Rochambeau, he was enabled to pay the soldiers a portion of the money due them, and they promptly moved on in the line of duty.

The incidents on this hurried march were few. The American division was the first to pass through Philadelphia, amid the cheers and blessings of the better portion of the inhabitants, who appreciated the labors, the privations, the dangers to which these patriotic men were exposed. In their appearance the two armies were in striking contrast; the one wore coats having little uniformity of style, and showing the effects of hard usage in being somewhat shabby. They were preceded by the music only of the fife and drum, so common. On the following day came the French, who had halted outside the city to burnish their arms and carefully brush the dust off their beautiful uniforms of white broadcloth with colored facings; they were preceded by a complete band of music of many instruments, a novelty to the majority of the spectators. They were admired for their orderly bearing and neat appearance, and they too were warmly received and cheered as friends and allies.

**BRITISH ATTEMPTS AT A DIVERSION**—The combined armies were beyond the Delaware (Sept. 2d) before Sir Henry Clinton began

seriously to suspect their destination. He had heard of movements in the Jerseys, but not sufficiently definite, as he thought, to act upon; at first he took for granted they were a mere ruse designed to draw him from the city into the open country, where the superior numbers of the American and French forces might be made available. The reports of their rapid march, entirely across the Jerseys, he still hesitated to credit. Evidently in accordance with this theory, he hastened to create a diversion, which would compel a portion of the armies to be sent back for the purpose of defending places in the vicinity of New York. He first caused a rumor to be circulated that he intended to make an assault on the posts in the Highlands; of course this was to divert the attention of Gen. Heath, who was in command in that region, lest he should send assistance to those whom Clinton really designed to attack; then Arnold was sent to ravage a portion of Connecticut. The latter, in order to avoid Heath, passed up on the south side of the Sound, and crossing over from Long Island suddenly appeared before New London, the fortifications of which were very imperfect, and after a heroic defence, the main work, fort Griswold, was taken, the town plundered, and many outrages committed. At the fort fell Col. Ledyard, the cousin of the celebrated American traveler, after he had surrendered his sword, which was immediately plunged into his own breast. This was on the 6th September, and Clinton learned definitely on the 10th that Washington had crossed the Delaware. If he really believed at the time of his sending Arnold, that the allied armies were on their march to Yorktown, he never committed a greater blunder than to suppose detachments would be sent back nearly two hundred miles to prevent a raid, which would be ended and the marauders out of harm's way long before the force thus sent could reach the scene of action. It is evident that when Clinton sent Arnold, he thought the movements in Jersey a ruse; in this whole matter he seems to have been unaccountably deaf to reason.

Gen. Washington and Count de Rochambeau hurried on in advance of the army, and arrived at Williamsburg on the 14th September, and a few days later held a council with De Grasse on board of his ship, the *Ville de Paris*, when arrangements were made to prosecute the siege of Yorktown. Meanwhile the combined armies moved on till they arrived at the Head of Elk river, now Elkton, about eighteen miles from the bay (Sept. 6th). Here were found about eighty vessels of various grades sent by Lafayette and De Grasse to transport the soldiers and their war material to Virginia, while the horses were sent round by

land. The transports arrived at the harbor of Jamestown on the 22d. A part of the forces were marched by land to Annapolis, where vessels were in waiting to take them down the Chesapeake.

**CORNWALLIS IN THE TOILS**—Cornwallis was entirely ignorant of the toils that were quietly weaving around him; closing in from the South, from the North, and from the ocean. His surprise may be imagined when suddenly a powerful fleet of French men-of-war appeared in the roads, and when he learned that Lafayette and Steuben were prepared to cut off his retreat to the Carolinas, while an effective army, composed of Americans and French, were on their way floating down the Chesapeake. Though realizing that the plans concerted for his capture were about to be successful, as became a brave commander thrown upon his own resources, he began the more vigorously to fortify his position with the determination to resist to the utmost. Sometime before he had been so confident of maintaining himself, that he wrote Clinton he could spare him twelve hundred men to aid in defending New York.

The French fleet under Count de Barras sailed (Aug. 28) from Newport for the Chesapeake to unite with that under De Grasse; the latter expected De Barras and was on the lookout for him, but when Clinton learned that this squadron was to sail from Newport, he divined its destination was the Chesapeake, perhaps to join another fleet from the West Indies, of which rumors had reached him. He immediately dispatched Admiral Graves with a naval force to intercept De Barras, Graves was surprised to find De Grasse already anchored within the Capes, and the latter equally surprised when he saw that the ships in the offing composed a British fleet instead of the one he expected. De Grasse immediately took measures to decoy the British Admiral away from the mouth of the Bay, by putting to sea in order that De Barras might have an opportunity to slip in, as he knew from the time the latter had probably left Newport that he must arrive shortly. Therefore, avoiding a general engagement, De Grasse commenced to skirmish, meantime slowly receding from the shore, and the Admiral followed so far that De Barras passed in unmolested. This irregular fight lasted about five days, most of the time being taken in manœuvring. When De Grasse thought De Barras had had time to reach the Bay, he returned within the Capes, and there found the latter safely anchored (Sept. 10). Graves had been outmanœuvred and completely deceived as to the motive of De Grasse—whom he perhaps took for De

Barras—in not coming to a close engagement, meanwhile receding from the Capes. He soon, however, learned the result of the stratagem, and was mortified to find both the French fleets within the Capes. Their united strength was now much superior to his own. The expedition had been a failure, and the Admiral returned to New York, giving as a reason, according to Stedman, that he “wished to put his ships in harbor before the equinox.” In this singular action the French lost in killed and wounded two hundred and twenty men; the British ninety killed and two hundred and forty-six wounded, while one of their men-of-war was so disabled as to be abandoned and burned.

When De Grasse first anchored in the Bay, Lafayette sent an officer who gave him information in respect to the situation in Virginia, and made arrangements for landing troops. The French Admiral at once sent a sufficient number of ships of the line and frigates to blockade the mouth of the York River, and by means of other war vessels took possession of the James. When Cornwallis learned of these forces gathering around him, he resolved to cut his way to the Carolinas, but on making the attempt his progress was effectually checked by the foresight of Washington. He found himself confronted by a force of three thousand French troops, who, under the Marquis St. Simon, had already passed up the James, and at a point some eight miles in the rear of Yorktown landed on the south side of the river; Wayne had also crossed to the same side to unite with the French, and both were ready to intercept him. He reconnoitered Williamsburg, twelve miles from Yorktown, where Lafayette had taken position, and was surprised to find it fortified too strongly to be assaulted without great loss of life. He was completely hemmed in; there was no alternative; he must strengthen his defences as best he could, and meanwhile send expresses to Sir Henry Clinton informing him of the situation and to ask for aid. The entire British army went to work with determination, and labored incessantly to strengthen their somewhat advanced works.

The hamlet of Yorktown is on the south side of York River; directly opposite is a projection of land known as Gloucester Point. The river between these places is about one mile wide, and sufficiently deep to float ships of large burdens. Cornwallis took great pains, and his engineers showed much skill in fortifying Yorktown. On the land side were seven redoubts and six batteries; these were connected by intrenchments; in addition were lines of batteries along the river bank. The town was situated between the mouths of creeks, whose beds were deep ravines, and these natural advantages were also skillfully made available.

Gloucester Point was similarly fortified; in the river, out of range of the French fleet, were stationed British ships of war, while the stream below was obstructed by sunken vessels. Only about seven hundred men, under Col. Dundas, composed the garrison of the small fort at Gloucester Point; the main force, nearly seven thousand strong, was within the fortifications of Yorktown.

THE INVESTMENT OF YORK—On the afternoon of September 28, 1781, the French and American armies came in sight, and encamped about two miles from the British lines. They approached cautiously and made no attack on the enemy's outposts. In the evening of the same day came to Cornwallis an express from Clinton, dated four days before, announcing that sufficient naval and land forces would be sent within twelve days to relieve him. Induced by this assurance of aid, during the following night Cornwallis withdrew his troops within the fortifications proper of the town, which, from their limited extent, could be more effectively manned and defended. The outworks thus abandoned were occupied the next morning by the besiegers, and the town was completely invested. The Americans were stationed on the right; the French on the left—each wing resting on York River—in a semicircle, at the distance of more than a mile from the British works. Gloucester Point was also invested by the Duke de Lauzun's Legion, aided by marines from the French Fleet and by Virginia militia. The whole besieging force numbered about twelve thousand men besides the militia, which were drawn from Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia. The greater part of the French squadron remained down the Bay at Lynn Haven, a convenient point to intercept aid from the ocean, as it was expected Clinton would send to the rescue a fleet from New York.

A large body of the besiegers during a dark night (Oct. 6), in silence, but working with great energy, constructed their first parallel within six hundred yards of the enemy's works—this parallel was nearly two miles in length. The English were astonished when daylight revealed this formidable approach to their defences. The rapid manner in which the Americans threw up intrenchments had oftentimes surprised the British generals from Bunker Hill onward. The besieged immediately opened with artillery upon the men at work, but, being cautious and well protected, the latter continued their labor, and within a few days placed their guns in position and were ready to open fire upon the defences in front of the town. The cannonade began in the afternoon of the 9th of October, Gen. Washington himself applying the match to the



first gun; this was followed by a general discharge from cannon, mortars and howitzers. The balls and shells even reached the vessels in York River, and several transports, with the *Charon*, a forty-four gun ship, were burned by exploding shells and red-hot balls thrown by the French artillerists. Many of the British guns were dismounted; the heavy ordnance brought by De Barras told tremendously on their defences.

When Cornwallis withdrew his men from the outworks, there still remained in line two well-manned redoubts in an advanced position of three hundred yards; these had withstood the cannonade for four days. The British garrison labored unceasingly during the night to repair breaches, and during the day kept up a spirited fire from what guns they had, as many had been disabled, and a large number of the men had been killed or wounded.

When the besiegers attempted to throw up a second parallel, three hundred yards nearer the enemy's defenses, these redoubts from their position were able by a flanking fire to sweep the line of men when at work. It was found necessary to capture these redoubts; one was assigned to be taken by the French, the other by the Americans. This enterprise was undertaken by both parties in a spirit of generous emulation. The time chosen was eight o'clock, in the evening of the 14th of October; both detachments were promptly ready for the assault, and when the signal—a rocket sent up—was given, they rushed to the attack; the Americans under Alexander Hamilton made short work of the abattis, and scrambling over the parapet captured their redoubt with the bayonet alone, losing nine men killed and thirty-three wounded; the French, under the Baron de Vioménil, made their attack in a more formal manner, even waiting for the sappers to remove the abattis, and when the soldiers rushed in they found the garrison prepared for them; the struggle, though short and sharp, ended in the capture of the redoubt, but at the expense of nearly one hundred men. Men were at once put to work, and before daylight these captured redoubts were also included within the line of the second parallel. Guns were promptly brought forward, and a fire, heavier than before, was opened upon the defences of the besieged.

Two days later the British commander, wishing to retard the approach of his enemy, ordered a sortie to be made. The attacking force was nearly four hundred strong and in two divisions, one under Col. Abercrombie and the other under Major Armstrong. The time chosen was a little before daybreak, and by a spirited assault they carried two redoubts in the French position, and hastily spiked eleven can-

non. The supporting troops in the trenches soon rallied, and as daylight was approaching drove the assailants back to their own quarters. Within twelve hours the spikes were drilled out, and the guns were again doing effective service. The besiegers had now nearly one hundred guns, large and small, to play on the fortifications of the English, while the latter could scarcely show a dozen.

Driven to desperation, but not willing to relax an effort, Cornwallis determined to abandon everything, even his sick and wounded, pass over to Gloucester, overcome the besiegers of that place, seize their horses, and cut his way toward the north. He certainly could not hope to reach New York and unite with Clinton, yet such was his horror of surrendering that he fain would struggle to the last. Boats were collected, and one division crossed over before the middle of the night following the repulse from the redoubts; the second was about to embark when suddenly a storm of wind and rain came on, which drove the boats down the river. By the time they were again collected it was too late; day was dawning, and an effort must be made to bring back the first division, which, when returning, was subjected to a galling fire from the besiegers' batteries.

Cornwallis' command was in a deplorable condition; scarcely could he mount a gun; his works were shattered under an incessant shower of cannon balls and shells; his force was reduced to less than four thousand effective men; the remainder were either killed, wounded or sick; all hope of aid from Clinton was at an end; indeed, some days before he had written to him in a despairing tone, saying: "I cannot recommend that the navy and army should run great risk in endeavoring to save us." To spare the effusion of blood in case of assault by an overwhelming and exultant force, he sent a note to Washington on the 17th of October (the anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga), asking an armistice of twenty-four hours, that terms of capitulation might be agreed upon. As Clinton might arrive any hour with reinforcements both by sea and land, only two hours were given for his Lordship to put his proposals in writing. These when presented were not found to be satisfactory. Afterward Washington transmitted the terms on which he would accept the surrender.

**THE CAPITULATION AND SURRENDER.**—The Commissioners on the part of the allied forces to conduct the negotiations were Col. John Laurens and the Viscount de Noailles, and on the part of the British, Major Ross and Col. Dundas. The terms of capitulation were as follows: York-

town and Gloucester Point, with their garrisons and all their war material, to be surrendered to Gen. Washington, as Commander-in-Chief of the combined army, and the ships of war and other vessels, with the transports, to Count de Grasse—the land forces were to be prisoners to Congress, and the seamen to France. The officers of the higher rank were dismissed on their parole, and permitted to go to Europe, or to any port in possession of British troops. The private property of both officers and men was to be respected. One sloop-of-war, the *Bonetta*, was allowed to depart unchallenged, with such persons on board as Lord Cornwallis designated. This was designed to give the most obnoxious Tories an opportunity to leave the country. The same expedient had been adopted when Boston was evacuated—a ship, unchallenged, sailed for Halifax, in which many Tories took passage; hence the almost forgotten proverb, “Gone to Halifax.” The *Bonetta* was to return, and, with her crew and armament, given up. The traders within the lines were not counted as prisoners; they were granted a certain length of time to arrange their affairs and leave. During the occupation of Virginia an immense amount of private property had been taken from the inhabitants by British soldiers or their marauding expeditions; this could be reclaimed by its owners.

The terms of capitulation were arranged and signed by eleven on the morning of the 19th October; the British army was to march out at two o'clock the same day and lay down their arms. In the presence of quiet, but rejoicing, thousands who had flocked from the region round about, and of the allied armies, numbering sixteen thousand men, drawn up in becoming silence as for a review, the garrison of York marched to the place designated, and there laid down their arms. Lord Cornwallis, on the plea of indisposition—whether physical or moral is not definitely known—declined to be present, but sent Gen. O'Hara as his deputy to make the surrender. At Charleston, when Gen. Lincoln capitulated, the Americans were not permitted to march out with their colors flying, as had been granted to Burgoyne, but with colors cased. It was thought proper, therefore, on this occasion to deny the courtesy granted at Saratoga, and the British soldiers were directed to march out with their colors cased; and Gen. Lincoln was deputed by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis. The garrison of Gloucester was surrendered with similar formality.

Yorktown was now a name to be honored, even beyond those of Bunker Hill and Saratoga. How much was involved in that surrender! The long struggle was virtually ended. It had been a contest, not for

power, not for aggrandizement, but for the establishment of a great principle. Said Lafayette to Napoleon, when he sneered at the smallness of the armies engaged in the American Revolution: "It was the grandest of causes, won by the skirmishes of sentinels and outposts." It is true, the number who fell on the battle-fields of this war was comparatively small. The names of but few of these have come down to us; they were written only on the hearts of friends and relatives who mourned their loss. Scarcely was there a family but had a precious record; the cherished memory of some one who had thus sacrificed his life.

**REJOICING AND THANKSGIVING.**—The morning following the surrender, Washington, in General Orders, congratulated the combined armies on the success their bravery achieved. He added: "Divine service will be performed to-morrow in the several brigades and divisions," and recommended that the soldiers should attend, "with that seriousness of deportment and gratitude of heart which the recognition of such reiterated and astonishing interpositions of Providence demand of us." Such was the tone of feeling that pervaded the whole land; it burst forth from the household, from the pulpit, from the press. When Congress received the news, it proceeded in a body to a church, and there publicly offered thanks to Almighty God "for the special favor He had manifested to their struggling country." They also appointed a day of National Thanksgiving and prayer, "in acknowledgment of the signal interposition of Divine Providence."

The Congress voted thanks to Washington and to Counts de Rochambeau and to de Grasse and the officers and soldiers of both armies. It likewise passed resolutions to erect a monumental column at Yorktown in commemoration of the union of the American and French armies, and of the victory they had achieved. On the day of the surrender the tardy Sir Henry Clinton left Sandy Hook. Arriving at the Capes on the 24th October, he learned of the result, and found a French fleet far outnumbering his own. After lingering four days off the Capes, as nothing could now be done for the royal cause in Virginia, he returned to New York.

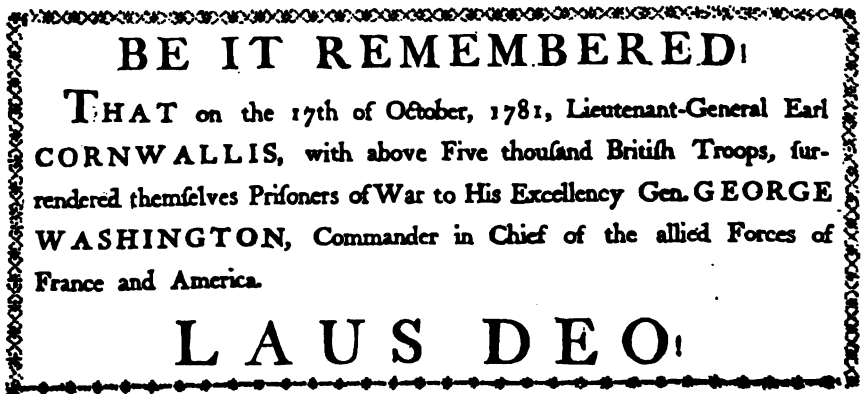
Washington was anxious to prosecute the war in the South vigorously and at once; especially to capture the two most important places held by the British, Charleston and Savannah. To accomplish this, it was necessary to have the cooperation of the French fleet, but Count de Grasse declined to assist, pleading as a reason the orders of the French Government, and that his presence with the fleet was essential

in the West Indies. Had this cooperation been attained, no doubt the enemy would have been forced to surrender those strongholds; instead, Washington could only send a detachment of two thousand Continentals or regulars to reinforce Gen. Greene.

A portion of the French troops, those under the Marquis St. Simon, embarked for home, while with the remainder De Rochambeau went into winter quarters at Williamsburg, in a central position, that, if need be, he could cooperate with Gen. Greene in the South or with the army on the Hudson. Meanwhile the British prisoners, under escort, were sent inland by regiments to Winchester in Virginia, to Frederick in Maryland, and to Lancaster in Pennsylvania. They were supplied, in respect to rations and comforts, in the same manner as the American soldiers.

Washington returned north, lingering for some weeks in Philadelphia to concert measures with the committees of Congress relative to the affairs of the army, and for the energetic prosecution of the next campaign. Meanwhile the victorious patriots moved on to their old quarters in Jersey and on the Hudson.

JACOB HARRIS PATTON



FROM LOUDON'S NEW YORK PACKET

(Printed at Fishkill, Nov. 1, 1782)

# DISPOSITION AND ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE ALLIED ARMIES

ON THE

## MARCH FROM WILLIAMSBURGH, TO THE SIEGE OF YORK

27TH SEPTEMBER 1781

Arranged by Asa Bird Gardner

His Excellency General GEORGE WASHINGTON, Commander-in-Chief

RIGHT WING (*first line*)

American forces

LEFT WING (*first line*)

French Auxiliary Forces

RIGHT WING (*American*)

Major General BENJAMIN LINCOLN, U. S. A., of Massachusetts, Commanding

FIRST OR RIGHT DIVISION (*right wing*)

Major General the MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE, U. S. A., Commanding

ADVANCE GUARD

1. Pennsylvania Volunteer Battalion Riflemen, Major WM. PARR of Pa., Commanding

2. 4th Regiment Continental Light Dragoons, Colonel STEPHEN MOYLAN of Penn.

*Second or Left Brigade (1st Division)*

Colonel MOSES HAZEN, Canadian Regiment, Continental Infantry, Commanding Brigade, viz.:

Regiment of Light Infantry, composed of the Light Infantry Companies of the 1st and 2d New Hampshire Continental Infantry, of the Canadian Regiment, and 1st and 2d New Jersey Continental Infantry, under Colonel ALEXANDER SCAMMELL, 1st New Hampshire Continental Infantry, and Major NATHAN RICE, A. D. C., of Mass.

2d Battalion of Light Infantry (4 Companies) composed of the Light Companies 1st and 2d New York Continental Infantry, and 2 Companies of New York Levies, under Lieut. Colonel ALEXANDER HAMILTON, of New York, and Major NICHOLAS FISH, 2d New York Continental Infantry.

3d Canadian Continental Regiment, Infantry, Lieut. Colonel EDWARD ANTILL, Commanding.

*First or Right Brigade (1st Division)*

Brig. General JOHN PETER GABRIEL MUHLBERG, U. S. A., of Pennsylvania, Commanding Brigade, viz.:

Regiment of Light Infantry (8 Companies) composed of the Light Infantry Companies of the 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th Regiments, Massachusetts Continental Infantry, under Colonel JOSEPH VOSE, 1st Massachusetts, and Major GALVAN, unattached.

Regiment of Light Infantry (8 Companies) composed of the Light Infantry, Companies of the 9th and 10th Massachusetts Continental Infantry, 1st, 2d, 3d, 4th and 5th Regiments, Connecticut Continental Infantry, and Rhode Island Regiment, Continental Infantry under Lieut. Colonel J. GIMAT, A. D. C., and Major JOHN PALSGRAVE WYLLIS, 3d Connecticut.

SECOND OR CENTER DIVISION (*right wing*)

Major General BARON DE STEUBEN, Inspector General U. S. A., Commanding

*2d or Left Brigade (2d Division)*

Brig. General ANTHONY WAYNE, U. S. A., of Pennsylvania, Commanding, viz.:

1st Regiment Pennsylvania Continental Infantry, composed of 1st and 2d Regiments consolidated. Colonel DANIEL BRODHEAD, Commanding.

2d Regiment Pennsylvania Continental Infantry, composed of 3d and 5th Regiments consolidated. Colonel RICHARD BUTLER, Commanding.

3d Regiment Pennsylvania Continental Infantry, composed of the 4th and 6th Regiments consolidated. Lieut. Colonel WM. BUTLER, Commanding.

1st Virginia Continental Infantry, Lieut. THOS. GASKINS, 3d Virginia Continental Infantry, Commanding.

*1st or Right Brigade (2d Division)*

Brig. General MORDECAI GIST, U. S. A., of Maryland, Commanding, viz.:

3d Maryland Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel PETER ADAMS, Commanding.

4th Maryland Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel THOMAS WOOLFORD, Commanding.

5th Maryland Continental Infantry, Major ALEXANDER ROXBURGH, Commanding.

Baltimore Light Dragoons, Colonel NICHOLAS RUXTON MOORE.

Frederick Light Dragoons, ———.

### THIRD OR LEFT DIVISION (*right wing*)

Brigadier General JAMES CLINTON, U. S. A., of New York, Commanding

#### *2d or Left Brigade (3d Division)*

Colonel ELIAS DAYTON, 2d New Jersey Continental Infantry, Commanding, viz.:  
1st Regiment New Jersey Continental Infantry, Colonel MATTHIAS OGDEW, Commanding.  
2d Regiment New Jersey Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel FRANCIS BARBER, Commanding.  
Rhode Island Regiment Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel Comd't JEREMIAH OLNEY, Commanding.

#### *1st or Right Brigade (3d Division)*

Colonel GOOSE VAN SCHAIK, 1st Regiment New York Continental Infantry, Commanding, viz.:  
1st Regiment New York Continental Infantry, Lieut. Colonel CORNELIUS VAN DYCK, Commanding.  
2d Regiment New York Continental Infantry, Colonel PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT, Commanding.

### LEFT WING (*French*)

Lieut. General COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, Commanding

The precise disposition of these French troops is not known. The composition of the army of Rochambeau will be found on the next page.

### INTERMEDIATE LINE

| <i>Left</i>   | <i>Center</i>  | <i>Right</i>  |
|---|--|---|
| 1st Virginia State Regiment Infantry in Continental Service, Colonel GEORGE GIBSON, Commanding. | Brig. General CHEVALIER LE BEGUE DU PORTAIL, Chief of Engineers, U. S. A., Commanding.<br><br>Battalion of Sappers and Miners. | Brig. General HENRY KNOX, U. S. A., of the Artillery, Commanding Park of Artillery, viz.:<br><br>2d Regiment Continental Corps of Artillery, Colonel JOHN LAMB, of New York, Commanding, Lieut. Colonel EBENEZER STEVENS, Major SEBASTIAN BAUMAN.<br><br>To this regiment was attached temporarily Lieut. Colonel EDWARD CARRINGTON, of Virginia Artillery. |

### RESERVE OR SECOND LINE

His Excellency, THOMAS NELSON, Governor of Virginia (ranking as Major General U. S. A.), Commanding Division Virginia Militia

#### *Left Brigade*

Brigadier General EDWARD STEVENS, Virginia Militia (formerly Colonel 10th Virginia Continentals), Commanding Brigade Virginia Militia.

#### *Right Brigade*

Brigadier General ROBERT LAWSON, Virginia Militia (formerly Colonel 4th Virginia Continentals), Commanding Brigade Virginia Militia.

### REAR GUARD

Major JAMES R. REID, Canadian Continental Regiment Infantry, Commanding Rear Guard and Camp Guard

# FRENCH OFFICERS AT THE SIEGE OF YORK

*Arranged from original authorities*

## COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU, LIEUTENANT-GENERAL, COMMANDING

GENERAL OFFICERS—Baron de Vioménil, Chevalier de Chastellux, Marquis de Saint-Simon, Chevalier de Vioménil, *Marchaux-de-Camp*; M. de Choisy, *Brigadier*; M. de Béville, *Quartermaster-General*; M. Blanchard, *Commissary-General*.

AIDES-DE-CAMP TO COUNT DE ROCHAMBEAU—FIRST AID, Count de Fersen, *Second Lieutenant*; Chevalier de Lameth (Charles), *Colonel*; Count de Damas, *Colonel*; Count de Dumas, *Colonel*; Baron de Closen, *Captain*; M. de Laubardière, *Captain*; Baron Cromot-du-bourg, Chevalier de Béville, *Captain*. TO BARON DE VIOMENIL—Chevalier d'Olonne, *Second Lieutenant*; Marquis de Vauban; TO CHEVALIER DE CHASTELLUX—M. de Montesquieu.

GENERAL STAFF—AIDES MAJOR-GENERAL—M. de Ménonville, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. de Tarlé, *Lieut. Colonel*; M. de Bouchet, *Captain*; AIDE-MAJOR OF INFANTRY—M. Lynch, *Captain*; AIDE-MAJOR—M. de St. Félix, *Captain*; AIDE-MAJOR OF ARTILLERY—Chevalier de Plessis-Mauduit, *Capitaine-en-Second*; QUARTERMASTER-GENERAL'S AIDS—M. Collot, ———; M. M. de Béville (Junior), *Captain*; Count de Chabannes; Chevalier de Lameth (Alexandre), *Captain*; TOPOGRAPHICAL ENGINEERS—Alexander de Berthier, *Captain*; CAPTAIN OF THE GUIDES—M. Mullens, *Lieutenant*.

## FIELD OFFICERS OF ROCHAMBEAU'S ARMY

REGIMENT BOURBONNAIS—Marquis de Laval-Montmorenci, *Colonel*; Vicomte de Rochambeau, *Colonel-en-Second*; M. de Bressolles, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. de Gambis, *Major*.

REGIMENT SOISSONNAIS—Count de Saint Maime, *Colonel*; Vicomte de Noailles, *Colonel-en-Second*; M. d'Anselme, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. Despeyron, *Major*.

REGIMENT ROYAL DEUX-PONTS—Marquis Christian des Deux-Ponts, Comte de Forbach, *Colonel*; Count Guillaume des Deux-Ponts, *Colonel-en-Second*; Count de Fersen, *Mestre-de-Camp*.

REGIMENT SAINTONGE—Count de Custine, *Colonel*; Count de Charlus, *Colonel-en-Second*; Chevalier de la Vallette, *Lieut.-Colonel*; de Fleury, *Major*.

LAUZUN'S LEGION—Duke de Lauzun, *Brigadier Commanding*; M. Scheldon, *Mestre-de-Camp of Hussars*.

REGIMENT DILLON—Count Arthur de Dillon, *Colonel*; Barthélémy Dillon, *Lieut.-Colonel*; Jacques O'Moran.

## FIELD OFFICERS OF MARQUIS DE SAINT-SIMON'S ARMY

REGIMENT TOURAINE—Vicomte de Pondeux, *Colonel*; M. de Montlezun, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. de Ménonville, *Major*; Count de Flechin, Chevalier de Mirabeau (brother of the famous Tribune), *Mestres-de-Camp*.

REGIMENT AGENOIS—Count d'Audichamp, *Colonel*; Chevalier de Cadinau, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. de Beauregard, *Major*.

REGIMENT GATINOIS (ROYAL AUVERGNE)—Marquis de Rostaing, *Colonel*; Vicomte de Bethisy, *Colonel-en-Second*; M. de l'Estrade, *Lieut.-Colonel*; M. Chapuy de Tourville, *Major*.

ROYAL ENGINEERS—M. de Querenet, *Colonel*; Cantel Danetville, *Major*.

ARTILLERY (REGIMENT AUXONNE), M. de Buzolet.



## THE WYTHE HOUSE—WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

### WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS

In 1879 my attention was first directed to the Williamsburg Headquarters of General Washington by the editor of a Richmond paper, who had been applied to for information on the subject. Previously I had never thought that such a building still existed in the ancient capital of Virginia. But now, spurred on by the love of antiquarian research and no small amount of curiosity, I visited all the human landmarks of the place to gather up all traditional stories relating to Washington's sojourn in this part of the world. All of these legends seemed to point in one direction, and the building designated, to be the most appropriate, and, indeed, the proper place for the illustrious general to make his headquarters.

Washington was married in 1759 to Martha Dandridge Custis, who resided at Williamsburg in the mansion of her former husband. The dwelling-house of this establishment has long since been destroyed, and the only relic of its existence is a small brick out-house, which is supposed to have been the kitchen. There are also some noble cedar and holly trees, with the remains of others, that form three sides of an oblong rectangle, within which the mansion once stood. Without the assistance of these venerable trees, the position of the old Custis home could not be approximated as it now is. Its foundation is very rationally supposed to have been about the centre of the space surrounded by the evergreen walls, and facing the west, as that side of the close is left open. Another landmark that indicates more nearly the position of the mansion is a handsome yew tree, declared by tradition to have been planted by the hand of Martha Washington, just in front of her home. As to this,

" I cannot tell how the truth may be,  
I say the tale as 'twas said to me."

But at all events the yew tree still exists, and it is a pleasure to give credit to traditions such as these. The plot of ground connected formerly with this colonial residence is popularly known as the Six Chimney Lot, from which name it is inferred that the establishment could boast of that number of chimneys, from which the blue smoke curled and beckoned to the approaching guest in the hospitable



## THE WYTHE HOUSE—WILLIAMSBURG, VIRGINIA

VA. HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

In 1876 my attention was first directed to the Williamsburg papers of General Washington by the editor of a Richmond paper, who had been applied to for information on the subject. I had never then known that such a building still existed in the capital of Virginia. But now spurred on by the love of historical research and the still account of curiosity, I visited the landmarks of the place to gather up all traditional stories of Washington's sojourn in this part of the world. All of them seemed to point in one direction, and the building described was the most appropriate, I imagined, the proper place for the general to make his headquarters.

Washington was invited in 1775 to Martha Danbridge's house, which resided at Williamsburg in the mansion of her former husband. The dwelling-house of this establishment has long since been destroyed; the only relic of its existence is a small brick out-house, which is supposed to have been the kitchen. The place also shows a row of tall, healthy trees with the remains of others, that form three sides of an oblong rectangle, within which the mansion once stood. With the assistance of these venerable trees the position of the old Castle could not be ascertained as it now is. Its foundation is generally supposed to have been about the centre of this space, bounded by the north and south sides, and facing the west, as that side of the plot is enclosed by a fence, which indicates more nearly the position of the building. A small tree, declared by tradition to be the one planted by the house of Martha Washington, just in front of the

Let me tell you the true story  
I say the tale as Lewis said to me

He said that the new tree still exists, and it is a pleasure to see a thing so old as the new. The plot of ground connected with the old residence is popularly known as the "Old Castle Ground," which name it is inferred that the establishment was named after, of chimneys, from which the smoke came out, looked to the approaching guest in the distance.

to say the least - a thing's a thing, and it will stand long for



able old Virginia fashion. This lot is now included in the grounds of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, but has not entirely lost its individuality. The cedar and holly trees still stand guard where they stood a century ago, and the yew weeps beside the grave of forgotten grandeur.

With all the traditional stories centering about this mansion, and all the known facts relating to it, I felt no hesitation in stating that it had been held as headquarters by General Washington for a few days during the last year of the Revolution. Indeed, the floor of a room, now forming a portion of the asylum, gashed and chopped by an axe, was said to have been defaced at that period when fuel was prepared in it for the use of the General. But tradition is not always in the right, and in this instance it is far in the wrong. By the merest accident the matter was conclusively settled. In an old letter, written in 1781 by Judge St. George Tucker of Virginia, who was in Williamsburg at the time, it is casually stated that Washington had his headquarters in Chancellor Wythe's house, which is in an entirely different portion of the town. This statement instantly dissipated the testimony of the legends. About the mansion now designated are clustered as many pleasant and interesting associations as cling to the spot whereon the Custis home once stood.

The stately colonial mansion known as the Wythe house is a large two story brick building, fronting upon a long, narrow common, called the Palace Green. Here in the day of George Wythe coroneted coaches and proud retinues swept by daily, for at the far end of the green stood the palace of the colonial governors of Virginia, approached by a double row of handsome catalpa trees, extending the whole length of the green—from the Duke of Gloucester street to the palace gates. In this gubernatorial mansion Alexander Spotswood—the Knight of the Golden Horse-shoe, Norborne Berkeley—Baron de Botetourt, Earl Dunmore—the last of the colonial governors, and a host of others held their court; and here the aristocracy of the whole State assembled in lordly levies, in imitation of the Court of St. James. A more brilliant society America has never known; and about no place in this new land of ours do such associations hover as about this antique village, once the home of so much pride, so much wealth, and so much power.

There is some dispute as to whether the Wythe house was erected by the man whose name it bears, or whether it was already built when Williamsburg became his home. To judge from its massive, square-

built form and its old English bricks—alternately glazed and dull—it belongs to an earlier date than the advent of George Wythe into the Virginia House of Burgesses. Let its founder be who he may, enough of interest already attaches to his dwelling.

There is nothing about this building to attract the attention save its solid walls and dignified appearance. There is no attempt at ornamentation—only durable simplicity, which amounts to refinement, and which characterizes the generality of its contemporaries. Within, it is in strict keeping with its exterior; the same dignified simplicity and the same unostentatious gentility. On swinging back an oaken door, a broad and lofty hall is entered, which extends to the rear of the building. On either side of the entrance are large oaken doors, deep set in the niches, which reveal the unusual thickness of the walls; but besides this characteristic massiveness, there is nothing peculiar about the building, except the irregular positions of the doors and windows. However, it is not the peculiar taste of the architect or of the original owner, but the associations, and the men who have been connected with it, that draw attention to the Wythe house.

The history of the early years of George Wythe, during which his brilliant intellect was clouded and obscured by dissipation and recklessness, is well known, and to dwell upon and revert to it is neither charitable nor pleasant; but the story of his after life, when he manfully threw off his dissolute habits, though equally well known, is worthy of frequent perusal. He unearthed his buried talent and freed it from all rust corrosion, until at the end of four-score years he could say, "Lord, thou deliveredst unto me five talents: behold, I have gained beside them five talents more." Examples of such wonderful self-control and determination are not numerous, and are, therefore, to be kept in mind. At the age of thirty he entered upon the study of his profession, but on being admitted to the bar of his native State, which was at that time thronged with men of distinguished ability in the science of law, he soon asserted the supremacy of his mind over that of his fellow men. A few years afterwards he was appointed to a seat in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and in 1764 he prepared a remonstrance to the House of Commons on the subject of the Stamp Act. This remonstrance was, indeed, so strong a remonstrance that it made even the staunchest advocates of liberty tremble a little. In 1775 he was sent as a delegate to the Continental Congress, and in the next year he subscribed his name to the Declaration of Independence. Two years later, having been made a Judge of the High Court of Chancery of Virginia,

he was appointed sole Chancellor, an office which he filled for twenty years. He was also for a long time professor of law in William and Mary College, and numbered among his pupils Thomas Jefferson, and a number of less distinguished men. It was the home of this man that Washington made his headquarters during his stay in Williamsburg in September, 1781. This newly discovered fact redoubles the interest already felt in this stately old pile.

Since the day of Washington and Wythe, the home of the latter has passed through various hands. For many years it was the abode of John Page, a Governor of Virginia, and afterward of his widow. Some time later it became the residence of Dr. John Millington, who was—so his tombstone declares—"the worthy friend and associate of men like Sir H. Davy, Brewster, Faraday, Hershall and Lord Brougham." This man was born in London in 1779. There he became engineer for London and Middlesex, was professor at Guy's Hospital, the Royal Institute and London University. He was also Vice-President of Mechanics' Institute and of the Royal Astronomical Society. After this we find him on this side of the Atlantic as chief engineer of silver mines and superintendent of a mint in Mexico. In 1836 he became professor of chemistry and natural philosophy at William and Mary College. He was, also, at one time, State Geologist of Mississippi, and professor of chemistry and geology at the University of the same State. With these exceptions, the Wythe house has not been the home of men known in any degree to fame; but it has been the residence of people of high social standing, among whom are those of a name (Harrison) and race that have furnished to the United States a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a President.

Among the associations of the past, connected with this old mansion, is one that must not be forgotten. It is a certain titled dame (a Lady Skipwith), who, decked in brocaded silk and high-heeled slippers, nightly rustles through the spacious halls.

The English Earl whose story is so closely interwoven with that of Washington, was in Williamsburg several days before his retreat toward Yorktown. That he had quarters in this place was generally conceded, but where those quarters were was unknown until the building was designated by the same series of letters that pointed out the Washington headquarters. Cornwallis and his army entered the town from the west, at which end is situated William and Mary College, the oldest institution of learning in this country, with the exception of Harvard. This establishment comprised three buildings, the College



proper, in which were lodged the professors and students, the President's House, and the Brafferton, or Indian school, called after an estate of the Hon. Robert Boyle, a son of the Earl of Cork, from which it was endowed. During the Revolution this institution, and all property belonging to it, was strenuously guarded by the British against destruction, as its origin was so thoroughly English, and it had partially remained faithful to the mother country. Bearing the names of its royal founders, constantly the recipient of gifts from the English nobility and gentry, having for its chancellors—until the outbreak of the Revolution—the Bishops of London, the college was, indeed, the offspring and pet child of the English aristocracy; and as such it demanded and received the consideration and protection of the British commander. When Cornwallis entered Williamsburg with an army ripe in the art of devastation, he naturally experienced some concern for the fate of the college, and, as a means of insuring its preservation, he made the President's house his headquarters. In so doing he ejected Bishop Madison, then the President, and his wife, who were forced to seek protection in the main building of the college. Although this step of Cornwallis was very discomfoting to the Bishop, it was of the utmost importance to the college. We may naturally feel a little indignant that the first Bishop of Virginia should have been expelled from his home, but we owe a debt of gratitude to the English Earl for preserving to us the *alma mater* of so many distinguished men. Poor old college! twice accidentally and once ruthlessly destroyed, may thy future be as brilliant as thy past.

Bishop Madison espoused the American side of the quarrel; but, during the revolution, one of the professors remained a staunch retainer of his most gracious majesty, King George III., and as such was subjected to numerous indignities. On one occasion, when this professor was leaving the hall where students and masters dined together, a patriotic usher (James Inness, afterward Attorney-General of Virginia), with republican irreverence, slung a pewter plate at his head, but, fortunately for the sake of the worthy gentleman, the missile curved in its course and missed its mark. This professor soon after quit the college, and returned to his native land, breathing anathemas against the country of "rebellious Americans and disorderly collegians."

After the two great contestants in the last struggle of the Revolution, Lafayette is the most interesting actor, and everything with which he was connected attracts much attention. Although Judge Tucker, who has pointed out to us, through the medium of his letters, the head-

quarters of Cornwallis and Washington in Williamsburg, gives a minute description of the personal appearance of the Marquis, and mentions him frequently, he fails to state where he had his headquarters in this colonial city. This is much to be regretted. The same chronicler states the house where Rochambeau was stationed, but the building cannot be identified, as its owner is mentioned under a nick-name. This renders the matter almost hopeless. However, as we have discovered the quarters of the two leading generals by the merest accident, we may yet hope to be enlightened as to those of the minor, though not less interesting, actors in the Revolutionary drama.

CHARLES WASHINGTON COLEMAN, JR.

THE PRESIDENT'S HOUSE—WILLIAM AND MARY COLLEGE

Cornwallis' Headquarters—Williamsburg, Virginia

## JOHN EAGER HOWARD

### COLONEL OF SECOND MARYLAND REGIMENT—CONTINENTAL LINE

John Eager Howard was born June 4th, 1752, at The Forest, in Baltimore County, Maryland, a tract of land granted by the Crown in 1699 to his grandfather, Joshua Howard, the first of the family who settled in America. A family record in Colonel Howard's handwriting, and signed by himself—found in his desk after his death—states that Joshua Howard left his father's house, near Manchester, England, "when very young," without permission, and joined the army of the Duke of York, during Monmouth's rebellion; and after the suppression of that rebellion emigrated to America, "rather than return home" to face his father's displeasure. He married in this country Miss O'Carroll, whose father emigrated from Ireland; but although there were several sons by this marriage, none have left male descendants but the third son, Cornelius, father of John Eager Howard, who married Ruth Eager, grand-daughter and heiress of George Eager, of Maryland.

This Mr. Cornelius Howard is mentioned in McSherry's History of Maryland as having made a survey of the town of Baltimore, and as dying in 1777 "at his country-seat in Baltimore county." The quaint epitaph upon his tombstone, engraved under the escutcheon of Arundel, from which this family therefore claims its descent, records that "he was a Tobacco Planter," and that he "lived esteemed and died regretted by all that knew him." The lion of the crest upon this old tomb differs from that upon the English arms, in having the head turned towards the west, and also as displaying a crescent upon its shoulder.

John Eager Howard was the only one of the sons of Cornelius Howard who married and left descendants. He was a man of few words, and especially reserved with his children, to whom he seldom spoke of his family or descent; but to his son George (who became Governor of Maryland) he once declared that none of the other families of the name of Howard, in Maryland, were related to his own. That he had some pride of descent may, however, be inferred from the fact that a framed coat of arms, painted upon copper, and inscribed, "Howard, Earl of Arundel," hung over the desk in his private office in the mansion he erected soon after the Revolution, upon his beautiful

estate of Belvidere, an estate which became, through its proximity to the rapidly growing town of Baltimore, the foundation of a large fortune to himself and his heirs.

From the easy circumstances of his parents, John Eager Howard was bred to no profession. He adopted that of a military life, when the Colonies broke out in open resistance to British rule. Flying Camps of militia were formed in Maryland, in one of which he accepted a post of Captain, under Colonel I. Carvil Hall; a commission dependent upon his ability to recruit thirty men. He raised his company and joined the army in time to take part in the battle of White Plains, and continued to serve till the militia was disbanded, to be replaced by the regular troops which Congress required of each State to furnish. Captain Howard was appointed Major in one of the seven Maryland regiments, under his first commander, Colonel Hall. Two years after he was promoted to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the Fifth, then transferred to the Sixth, and finally, after the battle of Hobkirk's Hill, he succeeded to the command of the Second.

At the battle of Germantown, while Major in the fourth Maryland Infantry, he showed the cool and determined courage for which he later became so famous, that the name of Howard in his native State is almost synonymous with that of inflexible courage. Colonel Hall was disabled early in the engagement, and Lieutenant-Colonel Samuel Smith having been detached to Fort Mifflin, the command of the regiment devolved upon Major Howard. Engaging the British Light infantry in advance of their main body, Major Howard is related to have "pursued them through their encampment, passing with his regiment amidst their standing tents . . . and advanced about a quarter of a mile further towards the main body of the British army, where they maintained their position "until the unsuccessful attack upon Chew's house caused a retreat," they having passed Chew's house "without serious injury from the fire of the British troops then occupying it." When the gallant Marylanders repassed this "temporary fortress, the garrison sallied out and attacked the retiring foe, but a return of the fire killed the officer who commanded the party, and no further molestation ensued."

Soon after the close of the war, Colonel Howard met Miss Margaret Chew, eldest daughter of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew, owner of Chew's House, and married her; after his marriage the ground was pointed out to him, by the family and neighbors, where Musgrave encamped before the battle, upon which he formed the opinion that

Musgrave's retreat into the house was an arranged plan in case of attack, and not a sudden resolution of military genius. He did not believe Musgrave to have been with the Light Infantry which was defeated. In Colonel Howard's own account of the battle, he mentions the fog at the time (the regiment being then halted) as so dense that they could not see the British army formed in the lane, directly in their front, six or seven hundred yards distant. General Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, is said to have described the fog as follows: "The only way we knew of the enemy's being drawn up in opposition to us was by their fire and whistling of their balls, and it was some time after they retreated before we knew of it, and that only by our not hearing the whistling of their balls, and seeing no flashes in our front." As Muhlenberg's and Scott's brigades passed Chew's house on the east, while the Marylanders were passing it on the west, it is probable that this fog was as instrumental as the famous delay of the futile effort to dislodge the British from Chew's house, in changing the American victory into a defeat. The brave Virginia regiment had penetrated the British lines until it was assailed in front and upon each flank; and, although Mathews surrendered, nine bayonet wounds were evidence of his gallant struggle.

Colonel Howard took part in the battle of Monmouth, in 1778, and remained with the army until the Maryland and Delaware troops were sent, in April, 1780, to the relief of the city of Charleston, South Carolina, then besieged by the British General Clinton. Before going South, Colonel Howard stopped in Baltimore to arrange his affairs, because, as he afterwards said, "our march to the southward seemed to be a forlorn hope, and my return very uncertain." He sold some property and left fifty half joes in the hands of a friend, in case of his being taken prisoner. He also offered his property in the vicinity of Baltimore, called Lunn's lot, for sale, at the modest sum of 500 rix dollars. Fortunately for him and for his heirs the offer was not accepted. Lunn's lot is now covered by the streets and buildings of the city of Baltimore, and its value is counted by millions instead of hundreds.

It was during the Southern campaign that Colonel Howard achieved his renown. When the disgraceful rout of the militia at the battle of Camden left the two Maryland brigades under Baron de Kalb to sustain the whole onset of the British army, "aided by a very few other gallant corps," the front brigade, in which Colonel Howard was, made a partially successful attempt to use the bayonet. He drove the corps in front of him out of line, and if the left wing of the American army had

been able to occupy the attention of the British right, the fate of the day would have been probably propitious. But, attacked in front and flank, the continental troops were overpowered and driven into the swamps, hitherto considered impenetrable. Colonel Howard succeeded in keeping a few of his men together, and being joined occasionally by other officers and men, reached Charlotte, about sixty miles off, three days after the battle. When asked what he and his men found to eat during those three days, he answered briefly, "some peaches."

In the following January the battle of Cowpens was fought; a glorious victory, to which Colonel Howard contributed so signally as to obtain for him the honorable title of "the hero of Cowpens." Colonel Howard's proverbially retentive memory and accuracy of statement deprive General Morgan of some of the laurels accredited to him in Johnson's *Life of Greene*. His account of his own part in the victory of Cowpens is this:

"Seeing my right flank was exposed to the enemy, I attempted to change the front of Wallace's company (Virginia regulars). In doing it, some confusion ensued, and first a part and then the whole of the company commenced a retreat. The officers along the line seeing this, and supposing that orders had been given for a retreat, faced their men about and moved off. Morgan, who had mostly been with the militia, quickly rode up to me and expressed apprehensions of the event; but I soon removed his fears by pointing to the line, and observing that men were not beaten who retreated in that order. He then ordered me to keep with the men until we came to the rising ground near Washington's horse, and he rode forward to fix on the most proper place for us to halt and face about. In a minute we had a perfect line. The enemy were now very near us. Our men commenced a very destructive fire, which they little expected, and a few rounds occasioned great disorder in their ranks. While in this confusion I ordered a charge with the bayonet, which order was obeyed with great alacrity. As the line advanced, I observed their artillery a short distance in front, and called to Captain Ewing, who was near me, to take it. Captain Anderson hearing the order, also pushed for the same object; and both being emulous for the prize, kept pace until near the first piece, when Anderson, by putting the end of his spon-  
toon forward into the ground, made a long leap, which brought him upon the gun and gave him the honor of the prize. My attention was now drawn to an altercation of some of the men with an artillery-man, who appeared to make it a point of honor not to surrender his match. The men, provoked at his obstinacy, would have bayoneted him upon the spot, had I not interfered and desired them to spare the life of so brave a man. He then surrendered his match. In the pursuit I was led to the right, in among the seventy-first, who were broken into squads, and, as I called them to surrender, they laid down their arms, and the officers delivered up their swords. Captain Duncanson, of the seventy-first grenadiers, gave me his sword and stood by me; upon getting on my horse, I found him pulling at my saddle, and he nearly unhorsed me; I expressed my displeasure, and asked him what was he about. The explanation was, that they had orders to give no quarter, and they did not expect any; and as my men were coming up, he was afraid they would use him ill. I admitted his excuse and put him into the care of a sergeant. I had messages from him some years afterwards, expressing his obligations for my having saved his life.

In this glorious action, Colonel Howard held, at one time, seven

swords of officers surrendered to him personally, and rescued the life of the British General O'Hara, who clung to his stirrups, claiming quarter. He afterwards wrote several times to thank him for saving his life. The moral effect of this victory was very great. Congress voted medals to Washington, Morgan, and Howard, though Morgan is reported to have said, that had Howard not been victorious, he would have had him "shot for disobedience" for making the charge when he did. Cowpens is believed to have been the first battle in which American troops showed that they could cope with British veterans in the use of the bayonet; and the subsequent order of Greene for the Maryland line to use the bayonet in every battle, was a high tribute to their intrepidity.

At Eutaw, Colonel Howard and the Maryland line again distinguished themselves, and the Maryland line swept the field with their bayonets. Lee's account of Colonel Howard's stubborn encounter with the Buffs describes Marylanders and Buffs as falling mutually transfixed with each other's bayonets. Colonel Howard wrote, "nearly one half my men were killed or wounded, and I had seven officers out of twelve disabled; four killed and three severely wounded;" while General Greene says in a letter to General Smallwood, "nothing could exceed the gallantry of the Maryland line. Colonels Williams, Howard, and all the officers exhibited acts of uncommon bravery; and the free use of the bayonet, by this and some other corps, gave us the victory," and in another letter (which has been preserved by Colonel Howard's granddaughter, Mrs. Charles Ridgely, of Hampton), Greene says of Colonel Howard. "He is as good an officer as the world affords; he deserves a statue as well as any Roman or Grecian hero of them all." At the battle of Eutaw, Colonel Howard was wounded by a ball which passed entirely through the left shoulder, and came out beneath the shoulder blade. It was so long before this wound was dressed, that the surgeon whispered to the attendant to watch closely during the night lest the wound should bleed again, as the patient would die in that case, if not immediately attended to. In the morning he surprised the surgeon by telling him that he had overheard this instruction to the attendant, and had decided to remain awake himself. He carried this self-reliance into every action of his life.

At the conclusion of the war Colonel Howard retired to his home in Maryland, and according to a tradition of the family, never received a dollar of his pay. In 1788 he accepted the position of Governor of his native State, which he also served as delegate to the State Legislature and to the Senate of the United States.

At the noble mansion which he built in the centre of the beautiful park at Belvidere, long known to Baltimoreans as "Howard's Park," he maintained an elegant hospitality. Preserving his interest in questions of public service, while withdrawing from public honors, he held the unbounded respect of all classes of society. When in 1812 the City of Washington was burned by the British troops, and Baltimore was threatened with capture, Colonel Howard received a suggestion, that it would be wise to capitulate, with indignation. He is related to have said "I have as much property at stake as most persons, and I have four sons in the field; but sooner would I see my sons weltering in their blood and my property reduced to ashes, than so far disgrace the country." A troop of aged men was organized, and Colonel Howard was placed by unanimous consent at its head. The death of the British General Ross caused the enemy to withdraw, and saved the city from otherwise inevitable destruction.

The early death of the eldest daughter of Colonel Howard, Mrs. John McHenry, and that of his eldest son, was followed by the death of his beloved wife in 1824, after which his own health began to decline. The effects of the wound received at Eutaw remained with him during his life, and in October, 1827, after a short illness, borne with characteristic fortitude, he expired without a struggle or a groan, bequeathing to his children a handsome estate, and to his fellow citizens and friends a revered memory and name. His funeral was attended by all classes and people; not only did the military escort the patriot soldier to his rest, but the public authorities and the President of the United States took part in the ceremonies. From President Adams the bereaved family received the following letter:

"The President of the United States has received with deep concern the communication from the family of the late Colonel Howard, informing him of the decease of their lamented parent. Sympathizing with their affliction upon the departure of their illustrious relative, he only shares in the sentiment of universal regret, with which the offspring of the revolutionary age, throughout the union, will learn the close of a life, eminently adorned with the honors of the cause of independence, and not less distinguished in the career of peaceful magistracy in later time. He will take a sincere though melancholy satisfaction in uniting with his fellow citizens in attending the funeral obsequies of him whose name has been long, and will ever remain, enrolled among those of the benefactors of his country."

Resolutions were adopted by the Maryland Legislature highly eulogistic of the deceased, and directing his portrait to be placed in the Chamber of the house of delegates. The House of Representatives of South Carolina also declared "that it was with feelings of profound sorrow and regret that South Carolina received the melancholy intelli-



gence of the death of Colonel John Eager Howard, of Maryland, and that the State of South Carolina can never forget the distinguished services of the deceased," and South Carolina has kept her promise. In this era of American Centennial Celebrations, South Carolina has celebrated the centennial anniversary of the battle of Cowpens.

In Baltimore, the native city of Colonel Howard, the many public buildings, churches and streets, for which he liberally gave the ground, are lasting memorials of his generosity and public spirit; and many an effort to remove an old market or engine house, or crowded graveyard, to use the now valuable sites for other purposes, has been thwarted by the express provision of Colonel Howard that in the event of any change from the purposes of the gift, the ground was to return to his descendants.

ELIZABETH READ



ARMS OF HOWARD

# DIARY OF A FRENCH OFFICER

1781

(Presumed to be that of Baron Cromot du Bourg,  
Aid to Rochambeau)

*From an unpublished Manuscript in the possession of C. Fiske Harris, of  
Providence, R. I.*

Translated for the Magazine of American History

## V

**PRELIMINARY NOTE**—The publication of this Diary is now resumed from the June, 1880, number of the Magazine, IV, 441, and concluded. The last entry translated was of the 19th October, 1781, which was followed by the Journal of the Siege, kept by the French Engineers. Next in order follows the Journal of the Aide Major-General, or chief of staff. EDITOR

## JOURNAL OF THE SIEGE OF YORK BY

M. DE MÉNONVILLE, AIDE MAJOR-GENERAL

*October 6th to 7th*—Opening of the trench. *Maréchal de Camp*, Baron de Vioménil. *Brigadier*, the Count de Custine. Bourbonnais, 2 Battalions. Soissonais, 2. Night workmen, 1,000 men.

The trench was opened by a parallel, the right of which rested on the ravine which is next to the Redoubt of Pigeon Hill, and the right joined the left of that of the Americans, crossing at right angles the highway from York to Hampton.

This parallel was supported by four redoubts, two on the American ground and two on the French ground.

The advanced work of the Americans, which, properly speaking, is one with our

own, rests its right on the river; their work of this night has been the construction of a part of the parallel which belongs to them.

At the same time there was opened on our left, which joins the upper end of the river, a trench defended by a battalion of the regiment of Touraine, its grenadiers and chasseurs, and a battery was commenced, the purpose of which is to reach the enemy's ships in the upper part of the river.

The enemy discovered this advanced work very early; it so attracted their attention that they knew nothing of our great work, upon which they directed no fire whatever, contenting themselves with firing, as they had done the nights preceding, upon the redoubts which they had abandoned to us, and on the two constructed by the Americans on the two sides of the Hampton Road, which is behind our works, and their shot fired at hazard had no other result than a slight contusion to an officer of Royal Deux Ponts, and one a little more severe to a soldier of his regiment, both of whom were with the workmen.

At the Touraine work an officer of artillery was dangerously wounded, and six grenadiers, two slightly, and a soldier of the regiment of Agénois.

At daybreak the works of the grand attack were nearly everywhere ready to receive the troops.

The day was spent in perfecting the parallel with 400 workmen, taken from the trench battalions.

*October 7th to 8th*—*Maréchal de Camp*, Chevalier de Chastellux. Agénois, 2 Battalions; Saintonge, 2 Battalions; night workmen, 900 men.

This night, 500 workmen were employed under the direction of the engineers in beginning the communication to the rear and on the right of the parallel, in perfecting it as well as the redoubt, and in making the passage of communication with the batteries.

The other 400 night workmen were employed with those of the artillery in the construction of the batteries.

At the work near the head of the river the construction of the battery was continued, and it was ready to open fire at daylight.

400 day workmen were employed near the trench battalions in perfecting the work of the two preceding nights, and in continuing the construction of the batteries.

At the advanced work of the Americans, the construction of the batteries was also begun.

Wounded at the grand work, 6.

The armament of the batteries was begun the night of the 7th to 8th.

*American*—On the right, touching the river, a battery of 6 cannons and 4 shell guns.

Near the V redoubt of the French, a battery of 5 guns.

*French*—No. I. 1 Grand Battery consisting of 4 pieces of 16; 2 mortars, 12 inches; 4 mortars, 8 inches; 2 howitzers, 8 inches; 4 pieces of 16.

A little to the rear of the parallel, and a little to the left of the Hampton highway.

No. II. A Battery of 4 guns of 24, also in the rear of the parallel and to the right of the ravine on which it rests.

No. III. One of 3 guns of 24, in the

direction of and in the rear of the entrance end of the parallel.

No. IV. One of 3 guns of 24 to the left of the ravine where the parallel rests.

*October 8th to 9th—Maréchal de Camp*, Marquis de St. Simon. *Brigadier*, Count de Custine. Gatinois, 2 Battalions; Royal Deux-Ponts, 2 Battalions; Auxiliary, the Grenadiers of Soissonnais and Saintonge; Night-workmen, 800 men.

One-half of the night-workmen were employed under the direction of the Engineer to finish the communications begun the preceding nights, and the others, with those of the artillery, to continue the construction of the Batteries and to begin a new one, No. V. in advance of the parallel towards the left.

400 workmen were employed during the day near the French battalions for the same purpose.

The Americans continued the works of the preceding night and day.

Their battery of 6 pieces of cannon and 4 mortars, touching the river, was ready to open fire two hours before nightfall.

That of the work at the head of the river begun fire, about three o'clock, upon a frigate of the enemy, compelling her to ship her cable and withdraw.

Killed, 1. Wounded, 1.

*October 9th to 10th—Maréchal de Camp*, Count de Vioménil. Bourbonnais, 2 Battalions; Soissonnais, 2 Battalions; Auxiliaries, the Chasseurs of Agénois and Gatinois; Night workmen, 700 men.

400 workmen were employed during the night under the direction of the

Engineers in palisading the redoubts of the parallel and in perfecting its communications, and 300, with those of the artillery, in continuing the batteries.

During the day fire was opened by the following batteries :

American Battery 5 guns.

French Battery, No. I and II. Two hours after, the enemy's fire wholly ceased.

200 day workmen were employed near the French Battalions in perfecting the communications and continuing the unfinished work on the batteries.

Wounded at the grand work, 2 men.

*October 11th to 12th—Maréchal de Camp, Baron de Vioménil. Brigadier, Count de Custine. Agénois, 2 Battalions. Saintonge, 2 Battalions; Auxiliary, the Chasseurs of Soissonnais and Royal Deux Ponts; Night workmen, 300 men.*

The night-workmen were employed in perfecting the batteries and the redoubts during the night. Firing was kept up from the bombs of the American batteries, and of our Battery No. I.

Red-hot shot were fired from the Batteries at the attack on the vessels, and the Charon and two transports were set on fire.

Our batteries, No. 3 and 4, continued fire during the day.

The enemy began to fire about three o'clock in the afternoon. Some shot from their right reached Battery No. I and the neighboring works.

Killed, 1. Wounded, 3.

*October 11th to 12th—Maréchal de Camp, Chevalier de Chastellux. Gatiinois, 2 Battalions; Royal Deux Ponts, 2 Battalions; Auxiliaries, the Chasseurs of Bourbonnais and the Grenadiers*

*of Saintonge; Night workmen, 800 men.*

Under direction of the Engineer, 750 night-workmen were employed in beginning a second parallel about 140 yards in advance of the first, the left resting on the great ravine where the first rests, which also serves as a débouche by which to reach it.

The American workmen constructed their part of the parallel toward the right, where it extends to a point opposite to their battery of five guns. A débouche which starts from the ravine on the left of our redoubt overlaps it on the right, and another also which starts from the left of our Battery No. 2, and advances by zig-zags as far as the second parallel. This parallel is covered by two redoubts.

50 night-workmen were employed to finish Battery No. 2, and in repairing the others.

To cover the work and conceal it from the enemy, our mortar and howitzer batteries, and that of the Americans, kept up a fire all night, and our gun batteries maintained a moderate fire. The enemy fired bombs and some cannon shot, but did not interrupt our work, which was finished properly by daybreak, as was also that of the Americans.

During the day our Battery No. V opened fire, and our gun batteries continued firing until nine o'clock, when, fearing that it might disturb the American day-workmen, it was discontinued, but that of the enemy recommencing the fire of our batteries No. 3 and 4 was renewed.

The work of the parallel was continued by 300 day-workmen taken from the French regiments.

Wounded at the grand work, 4 men ; at that of Touraine, 3 men.

*October 12th to 13th—Maréchal de Camp*, Marquis de St. Simon. *Brigadier*, Count de Custine. Bourbonnais, 2 batteries. Soissonnais, 2 batteries. Auxiliaries, grenadiers of Agénois and Gatinois. Night workmen 600 men.

The night workmen perfected the most of the night before; 300 day workmen completely perfected the parallel and were taken to construct the batteries.

Killed, 6; wounded, 11, at the grand attack. Messieurs de Miolis and Dursu, an officer of the Soissonnais, wounded.

*October 13th to 14th—Maréchal de Camp*, Count de Vioménil. Agénois, 2 batteries; Saintonge, 2 batteries; Auxiliaries, grenadiers of Soissonnais and Royal Deux-Ponts; night workmen 600 men.

300 night workmen were employed in perfecting the redoubt and the other work on the trenches. These works were continued by 300 day workmen taken from the French battalions.

Killed, 1; wounded, 28, at the grand attack.

Armament of the batteries began the night of the 12th to 13th.

No. VI. Between the two communications and a little in advance of the second parallel, 6 guns.

No. VII. On the left of the débouché of the communication of the left with the parallel, 6 guns.

No. VIII. In the parallel to the right of the redoubt of the left, 6 guns.

No. IX. In advance of the parallel, 8 mortars, 2 shells.

*October 14th to 15th—Maréchal de*

*Camp*, Baron de Vioménil. *Brigadier*, Count de Custine. Gatinois, 2 battalions; Deux Ponts, 2 battalions; auxiliaries, the Grenadiers of Saintonge, the Chasseurs of Bourbonnais, Agénois and Soissonnais. Night workmen, 800 men. Orders being given for the attack upon the two advanced redoubts of the enemy, the one resting on the river and the other on its left, it was made after night fall; the American Light Infantry supported by two of the trench battalions the whole commanded by the Marquis de Lafayette, attacked the redoubt on the river and carried it at the point of the bayonet with four officers wounded and about twenty men killed or wounded.

The French troops being charged with the attack of the other redoubt débouched by the right flank of the American battery of 5 guns in the following order:

The companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of the French regiments commanded by Count Guillaume de Deux Ponts, second colonel of the regiment of his name, and de l'Estrade, Lieutenant Colonel of Gatinois; the first battalion of Gatinois the auxiliary grenadiers and chasseurs of the trenches with the exception of the chasseurs of Soissonnais designed to annoy the enemy on the left of our grand attack; this division intended as a support under the orders of the Marquis de Rostaing, Colonel of the regiment of Gatinois.

The Baron de Vioménil, Maréchal de Camp of the French, leading the whole command, débouched with the troops, who moved upon the redoubt in the most thorough order and in perfect silence. The enemy early perceived the column

and opened upon it a very sharp musketry fire; the abattis were found to be in much better condition than it was hoped to find it, after the bombardment of this redoubt with a great amount of artillery for several days; notwithstanding the heavy fire of the enemy the pioneers of the regiment opened passages, through which the grenadiers of Gatinois and Deux Ponts entered the ditch, and together with them the same pioneers, who were obliged to cut, besides, some of the palisades in order to open the frieze of the redoubt. The same grenadiers took advantage of these openings to mount the parapet where they formed, which soon compelled such of the enemy as remained to surrender.

We took 40 officers and 3 soldiers prisoners and counted 18 dead. The remainder to the number of 170, escaped by flight.

Our loss in this attack in men and officers was about 80 killed and wounded.

The enemy at once began a sharp fire with shot and shell upon the redoubt which we had captured, which killed or wounded a considerable number in addition. The moment we were masters of the redoubt 500 workmen debouched on the right of the second parallel to extend it up to this redoubt. The American workmen continued this parallel between the two redoubts, opened a communication from the first, which debouched between their grand battery to their first redoubt on the right, and pushed it towards the enemy's redoubt which they had captured; all these works were pushed with the greatest rapidity and were well advanced by daybreak.

The feint ordered on the left of our

works being made a little too sharply we lost some men in it.

At nightfall the attention of the enemy was drawn to the head of the river also by a feint, which was executed without loss by the regiment of Touraine.

200 night workmen were employed to continue the batteries, and the other 100 to complete the perfecting of the communications through the entire extent of our works of the preceding nights.

The enemy continued a very heavy fire of bombs and grapeshot, which disturbed the workmen.

The regiment of Bourbonnais came into the trench at 10 o'clock at night to reinforce it in case the enemy should undertake to interfere with our work by a sortie or force. Killed, 46; wounded, 62, in the grand attack. Also wounded Count Guillaume de Deux Ponts, the Chevalier de Lameth, Quartermaster, and Major General; De Sireuil, a Captain of the Gatinois. De Berthelet, De Sirvêque, Lieutenant; De Lutzow, Lieutenant of the chasseurs of Royal Deux Ponts.

*October 15th to 16th—Marechal de Camp*, Chevalier de Chastellux; Bourbonnais until the evening of the 15th, 2 battalions; Agénois auxiliary for the night; Soissonnais, 2 battalions; auxiliaries, chasseurs of the Royal Deux Ponts. Night workmen, 500 men.

100 night workmen were employed in perfecting the batteries, and the other 400 in perfecting the parallel and the redoubts. Towards five o'clock in the morning the enemy made a sortie; they entered a redoubt and our batteries where they imperfectly spiked four guns which again fired six hours afterwards.

Battery No. VI. opened fire about noon.

Killed, 1; wounded, 37, at the grand attack. Also wounded Messieurs de Marin, captain of the regiment of Soissonnais; de Bargues, lieutenant of Bourbonnais; de Bourdelot, second lieutenant of Bourbonnais; de Pusignan, lieutenant of artillery. M. de Bourguimont, captain of Agénois, prisoner.

*October 16th to 17th—Maréchal de Camp*, Marquis de St. Simon. *Brigadier*, Count de Custine; Gatinois, 2 battalions, Saintonge, 2 battalions; Auxiliaries, Grenadiers of Agénois and Gatinois. Night workmen 800 men.

The night workmen continued to perfect the work on the trenches and to strengthen the batteries, which opened fire at daylight.

About ten in the morning the enemy sent a flag to ask a suspense of hostilities for 24 hours to treat of the surrender of the place and make terms for the troops. Firing ceased on both sides, but Mr. Washington not finding their proposition sufficiently explicit, gave orders to resume firing.

Killed, 1. Wounded, 10.

The Marquis de St. Simon, *Maréchal de Camp*, wounded.

*October 17th to 18th—Maréchal de Camp*, Count de Vioménil. Bourbonnais, 2 Battalions; Royal Deux Ponts, 2 battalions.

A second flag came out about three o'clock with proposals which caused a cessation of hostilities on both sides until the signature of the capitulation on the 19th at noon. Killed, 2; wounded, 1.

M. de Bellenger, lieutenant in the corps of royal artillery, killed.

M. Drouillet, lieutenant of Grenadiers of the regiment of Agénois, was wounded on the 1st September in a feint made on the redoubt on the right of the enemy.

#### RECAPITULATION OF KILLED AND WOUNDED.

| DATE   | KILLED   |          | WOUNDED  |                |
|--------|----------|----------|----------|----------------|
|        | SOLDIERS | OFFICERS | SOLDIERS | OFFICERS       |
| 6....  | .....    | .....    | 8        | 2              |
| 7....  | .....    | .....    | 6        | .....          |
| 8...   | 1        | .....    | 1        | .....          |
| 9....  | 1        | .....    | 2        | .....          |
| 11.... | .....    | .....    | 3        | .....          |
| 12.... | 6        | .....    | 7        | .....          |
| 13...  | 1        | .....    | 11       | 2 <sup>a</sup> |
| 14.... | 46       | .....    | 62       | 6 <sup>b</sup> |
| 15.... | 1        | .....    | 37       | 5 <sup>c</sup> |
| 16.... | 1        | .....    | 10       | 1 <sup>d</sup> |
| 17.... | 2        | .....    | 1        | 1 <sup>e</sup> |
| Sept   |          |          |          | 1 <sup>f</sup> |

Total 59      1      176      17

Grand total, 253 men killed and wounded.

<sup>a</sup> Dursu and Mioles, Lieuts. of Soissonnais.

<sup>b</sup> Count Guillaume de Deux Ponts; Chevalier de Lameth, Quartermaster, Aid Major General; De Sereuil, Capt. of Gatinois; de Sirvéque, Second Lieutenant; de Lutzow, Lieut. of Royal Deux Ponts.

<sup>c</sup> De Marin, Captain of Soissonnais; De Bargues, Lieut. of Bourbonnais; De Bourdelot, Lieut. of Agénois; De Soumel, Second Lieut. of Agénois; de Pusignan, Lieut. of Artillery.

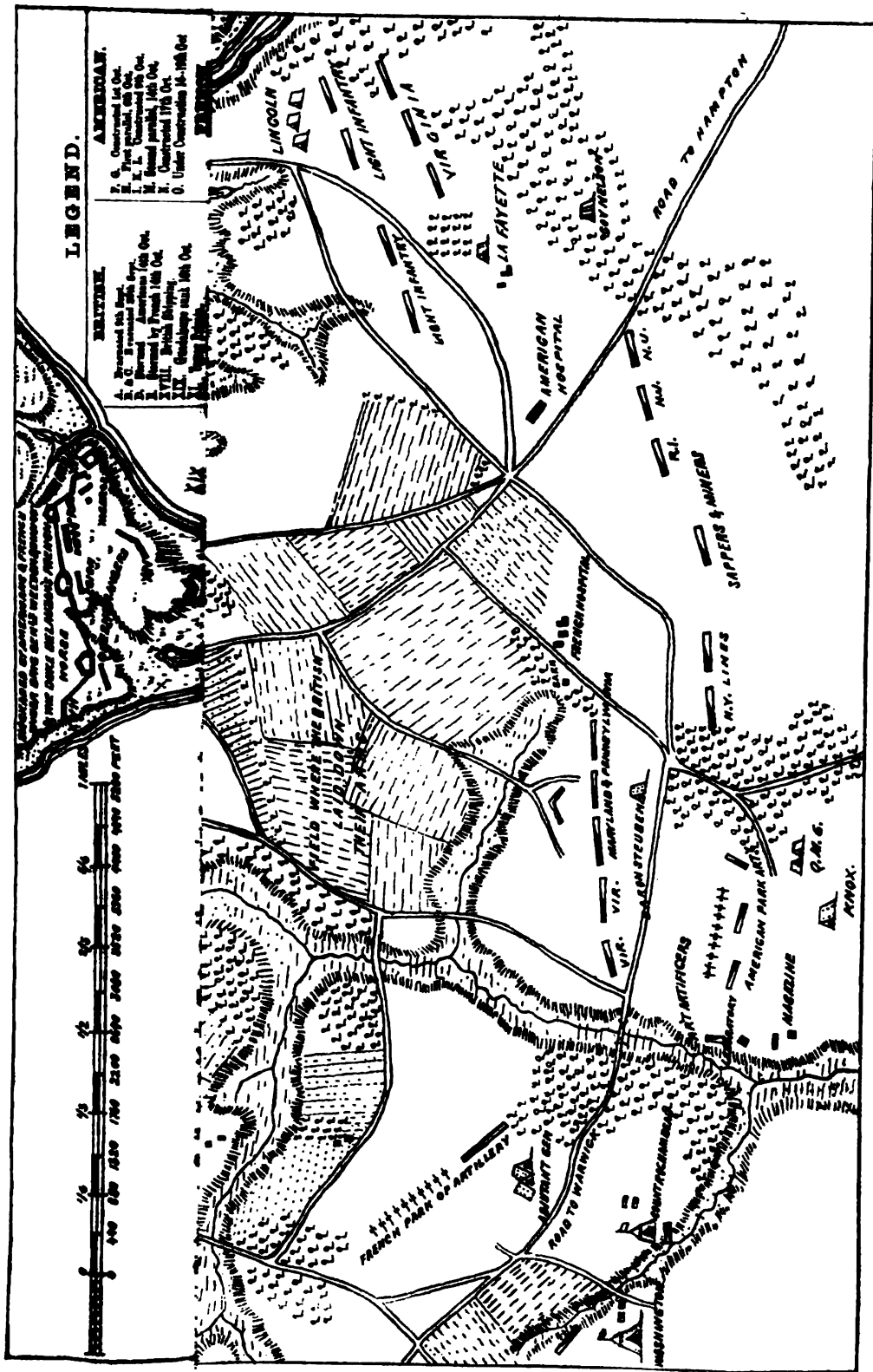
<sup>d</sup> Marquis de St. Simon.

<sup>e</sup> H. de Bellenger, Lieut. of Artillery.

<sup>f</sup> M. de Drouillet, Lieut. of Agénois.

#### ACCOUNT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF THE NAVAL ARMAMENT UNDER THE COMMAND OF THE COUNT DE GRASSE, PRINTED BY HIS ORDER ON BOARD THE VILLE DE PARIS.

The Count de Grasse left Brest on the 22d March with a Convoy of 150 Sail; af-



THE SIEGE OF YORKTOWN, 1781, COMPILED FROM THE FADEN, (LONDON 1781) AND THE RENAULT (AMERICAN 1781) MAPS, BY LIEUT. L. V. CAZIARC, 2d ARTILLERY, 1881.



THE ABOVE INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED FROM THE FOLLOWING SOURCE:

1. THE ABOVE INFORMATION WAS OBTAINED FROM THE FOLLOWING SOURCE:



ter a passage unexampled for rapidity, on the 29th April drove out with his guns 18 English ships of war which had blockaded Martinique for 50 days; their superior speed, and the choice they made of flying before the wind, compelled the Count de Grasse to give up their pursuit on the third day and go to Fort-Royal at Martinique; after stopping there for forty-eight hours an attempt was feigned on Saint Lucia while it was only intended to capture Tabago. This colony was captured under the eyes of Rodney himself, who, with 22 ships against 24, took care to keep at a respectful distance, and constantly refused the engagement which the French offered him willingly. After supplying Tabago with everything requisite, the fleet went to St. Domingo with a convoy of 200 sail captured at Grenada; thence to Martinique and Guadeloupe. The 16th July it came to anchor at Cape Island, at St. Domingo. The 20th, the Intrepid of 74 guns was blown up by a fire which took in a barrel of rum; a similar accident happened to the Inconstante on Vache Island.

The 5th August the fleet sailed from St Domingo and set its course to touch at Havana, in order to take in money; It then came out by the Bahama channel. The 26th August it came to anchor in Chesapeake Bay—The Marquis de la Fayette was at Jamestown in command of an American Corps which watched the movements of Lord Cornwallis, whose force was superior to his own. The latter occupied the post of York on the right bank of the river of this name. The Guadeloupe of 24 guns, several corvettes and a large number of

transports secured his supplies and communications, and gave him control of the sea. The Count de Grasse was informed of all these details the evening of his arrival by an Officer whom the Marquis de la Fayette had posted at Cape Henry to await his arrival.

The Frigate la Concorde, despatched to St. Domingo by the Count de Barras, carried despatches from Generals Washington and Rochambeau to the Count de Grasse, advising him of the position of their armies and the successes which the enemy had obtained in Virginia and Maryland under the orders of Lord Cornwallis, whom it was possible to surprise if our maritime force were superior to that of the enemy.

The Count de Grasse, persuaded of the importance of giving assistance to these two provinces; of undertaking the capture of Lord Cornwallis in the post he held, and of the occupation of Chesapeake Bay, immediately dispatched la Concorde to announce his arrival at Cape Henry, and embarked 3300 men under the orders of the Marquis de St. Simon, who were sent off on the 28 men of war which composed his fleet. The return of the Concorde to Newport announced to Generals Washington and Rochambeau the movements of the Count de Grasse. These Generals then marched their army to Elk River, which empties into the north east end of Chesapeake Bay.

The Count de Barras was also notified of the same movements. This officer, firmly persuaded of the advantage which would result from his junction with the fleet of the Count de Grasse in Chesapeake Bay, prepared to sail thither not-

withstanding the freedom his orders gave him to act independently to the northward.

The Glorieux, Aigrette and Diligente cruised in advance of the fleet; as it entered the Bay, they there saw the frigate Guadeloupe and the corvette Royalist anchored off Cape Henry, and pursued them to the mouth of York River. The corvette was captured. The Glorieux, accompanied by two frigates, anchored at the mouth to complete the blockade. They were reinforced the next day by two ships, the Vaillant and Triton. The James River, which empties into the Chesapeake four leagues south of the York, was also occupied. The Experiment, Andromaque and several corvettes were posted in this river so as to cut off the retreat of Lord Cornwallis by way of the Carolinas, and at the same time to protect our boats and sloops on which the 3300 men of the Marquis de Saint Simon were embarked to be transported up the James River to a distance of eighteen leagues from the harbor of Lynn Haven, which was held by the fleet.

The Marquis de Saint Simon arrived there on the 27th—the Marquis de la Fayette, with the corps under his command, on the 3d. They marched next day to Williamsburg, which is only five leagues from York.

The theatre of this important operation was a sort of peninsula, about fifteen leagues from east to west, and four to five from north to south, formed by the York and James Rivers and the Chesapeake Bay; the posts of Jamestown, the ancient residence of the governors of Virginia, and of York and

Hampton, are all within this peninsula. The fleet was waiting at the anchorage of Lynn Haven the news of the march of General Washington and the return of the boats and sloops, when on the 5th September, at 8 o'clock in the morning, the frigate which was cruising outside, signalled 27 sail to the eastward, heading for Chesapeake Bay. The wind was from the north east. Little by little it was ascertained that the fleet signalled was that of the enemy, and not that of Count de Barras, which was expected. They crowded sail and were soon near enough for us to see that they were drawing themselves up in line of battle with starboard tacks, sending their heavy ships to the front. The moment they were signalled the Count de Grasse gave orders to prepare for battle, to bring back the boats which were at the watering place, and to be ready to weigh anchor. At noon the tide served to set sail. This signal was given as well as that to form in conformity with their respective speed. The Captains were so expeditious that, notwithstanding the absence of 1800 men and 90 officers, who were employed in the debarkation of the troops, the fleet was under sail in less than three-quarters of an hour, and the line formed in the following order. The Pluton, Marseillais, Bourgoigne, Diadème, Réfêchie, Auguste, St. Esprit, Caton, César, Destin, Ville de Paris, Victoire, Sceptre, Northumberland, Lanquedoc, Zélé, Hector, Souverain. The Lanquedoc, commanded by M. de Monteil, Chief of the White and Blue squadron, was directly ahead of the Ville de Paris. The Count de Grasse, observing that there were no General officers in his

rear guard, gave him verbal order to take the command of it.

The enemy bore down with the wind. They had preserved their formation close hauled on the starboard tack. At two o'clock they all bore away under the same sail together before the wind, as the French fleet. In this position they were on the same course, without, however, being ranged in parallel lines. The rear guard of Admiral Graves was far to windward of his advance guard. At three o'clock the vessels at the head of the French line finding themselves, by the shifting of the wind and by the action of the currents, too close to the wind for their line to be well formed, the Count de Grasse kept away two points, in order to give all his vessels opportunity to engage at once. They held the wind; when they were sufficiently close the two heads of the fleet approached within musket shot. At four o'clock the combat began with the advance guard, commanded by M. de Bougainville, by a very sharp fire, and the vessels of the body of the line took part each in succession. At five o'clock, the wind continuing to shift as far as four points, again left the front line of the French too much to windward.

The Count de Grasse was extremely desirous that the engagement should become general, and to tempt the enemy a second time ordered his leading vessels to attack. That of Admiral Graves was very roughly used. He took advantage of the wind, which made him master of the distance, to avoid being attacked by the rear guard of the French, which used every effort to reach his own and his centre. This put an end to the combat. The English fleet held the

weather gauge and keeping it the next day employed this day in repairs.

On the 7th, at noon, the wind changed to the advantage of the French fleet. Count de Grasse approached that of the enemy and manœuvred in the evening to hold the wind during the night.

The 8th, at daybreak, Admiral Graves took advantage of a shift of the wind, which favored him, to get to windward of the French fleet which was then in checker board formation, close hauled, on the port tack, and bore up on the starboard tack. The Count de Grasse perceiving this tacked with his whole fleet at once. He thus found himself in a well ordered line of battle, moving on the enemy which were on the opposite tack in a badly formed line, yet apparently willing, notwithstanding its bad position, to hold its course. The Count de Grasse signalled the vessels at the head of his line to pass close ahead of the English. They then undertook to form by wearing ship, and, the wind being ahead, to present a line of battle on the same side as the French. Admiral Graves perceived the danger this manœuvre was, which, if persisted in, would have given the French fleet the advantage of attacking him with his line half formed. Three vessels only had begun this manœuvre when he bore up before the wind to form on his rear guard. This manœuvre gave up the weather gauge to the French fleet, from which the English escaped, all sail set.

In the night of the 8th to 9th a shift of the wind again gave them the weather gauge. In the evening of the 9th the Count de Grasse regained it

by manœuvre, and with it the advantage of making more sail than the English squadron, his vessels having suffered less.

In the night of the 9th to 10th the enemy disappeared. The Count de Grasse seeing the difficulty of bringing Admiral Graves to combat, and fearing that a change of wind might enable them to reach Chesapeake Bay before him, decided to return thither to continue his operations and take his boats on board.

The Glorieux and Diligente joined the fleet in the evening of the 10th.

The 11th the two frigates, Richmond and Iris, which had come out from the Chesapeake Bay, whither they had been to cut adrift the buoys of the fleet of the Count de Grasse, fell into his hands. His fleet anchored the same day off Cape Henry, where the Count de Barras had arrived the evening before.

The French fleet, engaged in the affair of the 5th, consisted of 24 ships and two frigates. Admiral Graves, reinforced by Hood, had 20 ships, two of which were three deckers and nine frigates and corvettes. By their own admission five of their vessels were considerably damaged, and particularly the Terrible, a seventy-four, the sixth vessel of their line, to which they set fire in the night of the 9th to 10th, as she could no longer be kept afloat. The 15 leading vessels of the French line alone took part in the action. They had moreover the same number to engage the five vessels of the English rear guard which declined to come within range.

The French fleet lost in this affair Messieurs De Boudet, Captain command-

ing the *Refléchie*; Dupé d'Orvant, ships lieut. and Major of the *Blue Squadron*; Riamb, Ensign on the *Diadème*. 18 wounded and about 209 men killed and wounded.

During this interval the American and French army arrived at the mouth of Elk, the advance guard under the command of the Count de Custine, embarked in boats belonging to the country reached Williamsburg on the 19th, the remainder of the army under the orders of the Baron de Vioménil marched to Baltimore, and embarked there on the frigates and transports sent up by the Count de Grasse. The 24th all were together at Williamsburg. Generals Washington and Rochambeau had been there since the 13th, having come on by land accompanied only by their aides-de-camp and suite. The 18th they went on board the *Ville de Paris* to concert with the Count de Grasse the measures to be executed. The Count de Grasse then left the anchorage of Lynnhaven where the vessels were not in security, and took that which is beyond the banks of Middle Ground and the Horseshoe. The fleet anchored in line within and at the opening of the two banks, where they lay ready to moor if Admiral Graves, re-inforced by Admiral Digby, had attempted to relieve Lord Cornwallis. Moreover, their position afforded some means of hastening the siege by assisting in the transportation of the material of war. Three vessels were also selected to moor at the mouth of York River; the 30th, 800 men taken from the crews on ships were sent to reinforce M. de Choisy, who blockaded Gloucester with the legion of the Duke de

Lauzun and 2,000 Americans. York was invested on the 29th. The trenches were opened the 6th to the 7th in the afternoon. On the 17th Lord Cornwallis asked a suspension of arms for 24 hours. General Burgoyne just four years before at the same period signed the capitulation of Saratoga. Two hours were granted, and he then asked to capitulate. A day was employed in discussing the articles of capitulation, which were signed and concluded the 19th.

There were found in the ports of York and Gloucester 6000 regular troops, English, Hessian, and 22 flags; 1,500 sailors; 160 cannon of all calibre, 75 of which bronze; 8 mortars; about 40 vessels, one of which of 50 guns which had been burned; 20 transport vessels had been sunk, among which one frigate the *Gaudeloupe* of 42 guns.

#### CONTINUATION OF THE DIARY

*October 20*—M. de Rochambeau gave a dinner to General O'Hara and several English prisoners. I confess that the sang froid, and gayety even, of these gentlemen amazed me. I could not imagine that the day after such a catastrophe as had happened to them they could forget it. Moreover, General O'Hara talked a great deal and very intelligently. He has travelled a great deal, and has an extensive acquaintance. When we rose from table we paid a visit to Lord Cornwallis, who had declared himself to be ill the evening before. He received us well and in a very proper manner.

*October 21*—M. de Rochambeau went on board the squadron; the same day the Garrisons of York and Gloucester left for Winchester.

*October 24*—The Duke de Lauzun sailed in the Frigate *Surveillante* to carry the news to the Court.

*October 25*—The result of the siege of York was known at Philadelphia. The capture of the entire army of Cornwallis caused the greatest excitement. Many private citizens demonstrated their joy by illuminating their houses, and this event gave occasion to the Gazetteers to distinguish themselves, a matter the Americans neglect no more than the English, too happy when their public papers are not filled with falsehoods.

*October 26*—The *Andromaque* went out with Count Guillaume de Deux-Ponts on board, charged with the mission of asking the favors of the Court, but the 27th, in being chased by the English squadron, she returned to put herself under the protection of our own. The English squadron continued to cruise, several days in succession, before the Bay.

*October 29*—Congress met and passed the following resolution, which it sent to M. de Rochambeau.

NOTE—Here follows the *Resolve of Congress of the 29th October, 1781*—EDITOR.

*November 1*—The *Andromaque* went out and sailed for France. The same day the English Squadron was seen in the latitude of Cape Hatteras, sailing in a southerly direction. It is said that Clinton is on this Squadron with 3000 men, and fears an attempt upon Charlestown, which might have been made if the arrangements of M. de Grasse had squared with those of M. de Rochambeau, but I think that M. de Grasse has a rendezvous fixed with the Spanish Squadron.

*November 4*—The fleet hoisted sail and went out of Chesapeake Bay, leaving only the *Romulus* under the command of M. de Villebrune and three frigates to protect the James and York rivers. The vessels promised to the English to carry them to New York and to England were to-day supplied to them, and they leave to-morrow. Cornwallis is embarked on one of them, and goes to New York.

*November 5*—The Virginia Line broke camp and marched to the South.

*November 6*—The Maryland and Pennsylvania Lines left camp and followed that of Virginia to join the army under General Greene. The rest of the American troops embarked to go up to Head of Elk. The works which Arnold had constructed at Portsmouth were razed to the ground.

Workmen are also busy destroying the parallels which we traced, and our batteries before York, and also at work upon the exterior works of the post, which are being restored as thoroughly as possible, and the defences connected together. Two Engineers are engaged in this work.

*November 15 to 18*—The army went into winter quarters.

Under command of M. de Choisy.  
The Legion of Lauzun at Hampton.

Under command of the Vicomte de Vioménil.

The regiment of Soissonais at York with the grenadiers and chasseurs of Saintonge. The regiment of Saintonge, cantonned between York and Hampton, at Half Way House.

There are at Gloucester a detachment of 50 men and a company of artillery.

The head quarters of Messrs. de Rochambeau and de Chastellux at Williamsburg. The entire regiments of Bourbonnais and of Deux-Ponts.

A captain of Deux-Ponts.

At Jamestown, three companies of the Regiment of Deux-Ponts.

An officer of Artillery.

At West Point in Virginia, the Siege Artillery.

NOTE—Here follows an account of the Organization of the American army, to which are appended the following observations :

But these regiments in this present condition are far from complete. The greater part of them have only a third of their force, and some two-thirds. The accompanying Table shows the forces which the different States furnish. The regiments wear upon their buttons the name of the State to which they belong, and are distinguished as the first, second, third of each Province, except the Partisan Corps, which wear the names of their chiefs.

NOTE—Then follows a Table of the Forces supplied by each State ; fifty-eight regiments in all.

To the Baron de Steuben the Americans owe their military code, and all the earlier regulations which appeared for discipline and exercise. They are very much like those which have been adopted by the military in Austria and some of the Courts of Germany, where this General officer served before coming to America.

Their manœuvres are confined to breaking by platoons or divisions, marching in column, forming in line of battle and marching in this order, but without the least idea of alignment.

Their troops, but little disciplined in general, are extremely so under arms. There is perfect order and quiet on the march. The greater part of the officers seem to like their profession, and study it.

Whipping is the punishment most in use among the Americans, particularly for desertion.

Here follow some Remarks entitled, Notes on the Constitution of the Thirteen United States.

**SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE**—To the intelligent researches in France of Mr. Thomas Balch, the result of which he published in Paris in 1872 in a volume entitled *Les Français en Amérique*, is owing the discovery of the anonymous *Diary of a French Officer*, the translation of which is now concluded in these pages. In the diary the author expressly states that he was an Aid of Rochambeau, and Mr. Balch, in his second chapter, shows conclusively that Cromot de Bourg was the only Aid whose experience answered all the conditions required to establish the identity of the writer. In a note to a subsequent chapter, written after the first part of his work was in press, Mr. Balch says that he had received from M. Camille Rousset, keeper of the archives of the French war department, and from M. de Varaigne, Baron du Bourg, and Prefect of the Pa'ace under the Empire, certain information which removed every shadow of doubt.

EDITOR

## NOTES

**LAFAYETTE'S WIT**—His correspondence is full of his sallies. He was never surprised or at a loss for a repartee. There are some instances which have a bearing upon America. In 1801 he met Lord Cornwallis at Paris, who was negotiating for Peace between England and France. "Napoleon said to me, laughing, the first time I saw him: 'I warn you that Lord Cornwallis pretends that you are not yet cured.' 'Of what,' said I, quickly, 'of my love for liberty?'" On another occasion Napoleon sought to draw him to describe his American campaigns. He answered, "The greatest interests of the universe were there decided by the skirmishes of picket guards." Nor was he unjust to Napoleon. He thus describes him: "I found in his conversation in general the simplicity of genius, depth of intelligence, and a look of sagacity."

EDITOR

**JOHN RANDOLPH**—The following account from the Salem Gazette of Friday last corroborates several of the particulars which have been mentioned relative to the strange performances of our Minister to Russia:

It seems that, contrary to the advice of the Court Tailor, he determined to appear before the Emperor in his usual dress, viz.: a blue coat, buff waistcoat, buckskin breeches, and white-top boots, with the addition of a large dragoon's sword attached to a broad white belt, drawn tight around the body and over the coat. When presented, the Emperor accosted him in French, in which language our buckskin hero not being very fluent, he was for once in his life put to



the "non plus." Whether a sensation of fear, or reverence, or a mistaken notion of propriety gave the impulse, we are unable to say, but the fact is, that the Ambassador Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary *fell* immediately on *both knees*, and delivered his credentials. "Oh! what a fall was there, my countrymen"!!! The descendant of Pocahontas; the pride of the *Ancient Dominion*; the light and life of Democracy; the Hon. John Randolph, of Roanoke, on his marrow bones at the feet of his Imperial Majesty, the Czar of all the Russias! Then you and I and all of us fell down, for we were all embodied and represented in that "bone and muscle" emblem of our republic.

After recovering from his surprise, the great Nicholas sent for an interpreter, and kindly raised up the lowly ambassador, probably "by placing his thumb under his chin." "*Madame*" was then asked for, as has been stated, and accordingly came in; but no sooner did she behold the queer object that solicited her attendance, than she burst into a fit of laughter. This, in the opinion of our hero, was very amiable, and by way of conversation he told her ladyship that *Mounseer* there was the first crowned head before whom he ever had the honor of appearing.

The Ambassadors of foreign powers have all called upon Mr. R., but he not only refuses them admittance, but even forbids *Juba* to bring up their cards. He says that Congress has made no provision for his embassy, and that the President gave directions to draw upon him personally for his expenses. That he was only ordered to remain six

months at St. Petersburg, and he has then promised to travel where he chooses at the public expense. His health appears to be fast failing, and when our informant left, he intended to embark in a steamboat for Lubec, and from thence go to Paris. The faithful Juba says, "Massa never was half so crazy." Many of the details of Mr. Randolph's perverse conduct on shipboard, though curious, are better left untold. His arrogance, his ridiculous malice in charging the captain and other officers with stealing his hams and porter, and the scarcely justifiable revenge habitually taken of him by the petty officers for his insults to their superiors, by plying him with liquor till he could not stand—all these things are well known at St. Petersburg, but are somewhat too gross for extended recital.—*New York Spectator*, Saturday, November 13, 1830. IULUS

A HESSIAN DIARY OF THE REVOLUTION—A discovery has recently been made in Germany, which may prove of considerable importance in adding to the original material for the history of our Revolutionary War. It is the manuscript diary of one of the Hessian officers who served in the British army in this country from 1776 to 1780. From the extracts published in a German military journal, it would appear to give a very full account of all the daily incidents of camp life, the rumors and news received from day to day, but especially of the expeditions and engagements in which the writer, apparently a *Capt. F. von der Malsburg*, took part. It is to be hoped that the manuscript will find its way to this country, and be published by one of

our historical societies.—*From the Literary World, Boston, November, 1878.*

A NEW YORK HEROINE—*New York, April 5, 1762.* With Capt. Nicholson from Martinico, came Passenger Mrs. Shute, a Woman of this Place, Widow of Sergeant Shute, of the Battalion of Royal Americans. When our Forces landed at Martinico, the Women not being allowed to go on Shore, she dressed herself in Men's Cloathes, and accompanied her Husband, who was killed by her side.

PETERSFIELD

ST. MÉMIN'S PORTRAITS—The original crayon sketch of Thomas Bolling Robertson, by St. Mémin, number 614 of Dexter's photographic reproductions, is in the possession of his brother, the Hon. Wyndham Robertson, of Abingdon, Virginia, who was Territorial Attorney-General of Louisiana, and its first Governor. R. S. R.

*Fort Wayne, Indiana*

MONOCASY MANOR—Frederic City, Md.—An ancient Ms. "Minute Book," under date of 1762, giving a list of its plantation leases and holders as far back as 1741, having recently been handed me by a friend connected with it by family inheritance, and often early sojourns there, has led to some inquiry concerning the history of this once rather famous old manorial estate. The little book is prefaced with a brief sketch of the extent, bounds and soil, quality of the land, health, &c., which we omit. Then we read as follows: "The great tracts of Mr. Dulany's and Mr. Addison's lies below the Manor. On the east side of

the River (the Potomac) is the tract called Tucker's Chance, upon which Frederic town is built," &c. The proprietor of this Manor, shortly after the Revolution, was Captain William Campbell, of Annapolis, a member of the Society of the Cincinnati, and Agent of Confiscated Properties after the close of the war. He was a son of the Rev. Isaac Campbell, who was ordained by the Bishop of London, and came to the Colonies under the S. P. G. He was the author of a work on the Prophecies, which was lost on its way to England for publication. He married one of the nine daughters of the Rev. Dr. Brown, also an Episcopal clergyman of Maryland, and the first who began to take tobacco as his salary, in lieu of money. The nine sisters were all married, and into the first families of the Province. James Cunningham, Esq., who came to this country from Scotland in 1812, and a son of Sir William Alexander Fairlie (originally Cunningham) of Fairlie House, married Catherine, a daughter of Captain William Campbell, then of Monocasy Manor, and the mother of Mrs. Rev. Dr. Sile, now of Philadelphia, by whom we have been courteously favored with the foregoing facts.

W. H.

BOSTON MANNA—On Sunday we had a severe N. E. storm, and the greatest fall of rain which has been experienced for some time. Yesterday morning thousands of live fish of two or three different species, from one inch to four inches long, some belonging to fresh and some to salt water, were found on Boston Common. Numbers were carried away in pails and pitchers by the inhabitants,

and many have been preserved alive in fish globes.—*Boston Palladium, Tuesday, May 19, 1818.*

PETERSFIELD

### QUERIES

**BADGE OF MERIT**—What was the Badge of Merit granted to Revolutionary soldiers? I found on a discharge of Allyn Fox, 2d Connecticut Regiment, given by General Washington, the following:

"The above Allyn Fox has been honored with a Badge of Merit for 6 years' faithful service." J. Hurst, Col. All the words except the name and time of service, are printed, like the body of the discharge.

*Albany*

B. F.

**REMAINS OF FORT LEE ON HUDSON**—Can you inform me whether the sites of the two forts at Fort Lee are still in existence, or have they been cut away? It seems to me that about twenty-five years ago there were some remains of the southern fort to be seen, but a friend tells me that I must have been mistaken. How far north of the larger fort was the small fort?

*New York*

C. W.

**NEW YORK BUILDINGS**—Of what buildings are the walls and embankments just north of 111th Street, and between 8th and 9th Avenues, the remains? They are not, I know, very old, but I have not yet found any one who knows to what building they belonged.

*New York*

C. W.

**DAVID PLUNKET**—In the Life of Wm. Conyngham Plunket, Lord Chancellor of

Ireland (and first cousin to David Hayfield and Captain Gustavus Conyngham of Revolutionary fame), it is stated that David Plunket, his brother, emigrated to America and served with great distinction with General Washington in the war for independence, and afterwards realized a considerable fortune as a merchant. He died at sea en route for Ireland from the West Indies, leaving £40,000 to be divided between the lady to whom he was engaged and his brother, Lord Plunket. Was he the Lieutenant Plunket who so distinguished himself at the battle of Long Island? (Moore's Diary, I., 297.) Who was the lady to whom he was engaged? I will be grateful for any references that may lead to any account of his life.

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

*Wilkes Barre, Pa.*

**POLLOCK**—No reply having been elicited by my former queries under this head, I venture a third, which may be successful. Daniel Clarke in his *Proofs of the Corruption of General James Wilkinson*, gives a letter (p. 152) dated 1807, in which, among those inimical to Aaron Burr in New Orleans, are named "*the two Pollocks*." Who were these two Pollocks? On page 164 he also notes George Pollock, Justice of the Peace. Who was this George? Hon. Oliver Pollock was not in New Orleans after 1794. From 1806 to 1820 he resided in Baltimore, Md.

*Wilkes Barre, Pa.*

H. E. H.

**ORDNANCE OF THE REVOLUTION**—What was its greatest range in 1781?

IULUS

## REPLIES

CAPTURED CANNON AT YORKTOWN—  
[VI. 157, VII. 65] I send the following sketch of two guns captured October 19, 1781, with the hope that some of your correspondents may be able to give some account of their history prior to the memorable siege.

The piece of ordnance which I will designate as No. 1 was presented by General George Washington to the Chatham Artillery of Savannah, Georgia, on his visit to that city in 1791, and has been in their possession from that time to the present. On the base of the breech is the following name and date: "A Strasbourg Par. J. Berrenger 1758." In front of the vent an ornament of furled flags, with spear heads surmounted by a crown; in the centre of the flags a round ornament, with four diamond shaped pieces in same; next to this the figure of the sun. Between the trunnions are two ornamented handles, representing *dolphins*. In the rear of these handles is a scroll, with the motto, "Nec Pluribus Impar." Forward of the handles is a raised ornament, representing a bursting bomb, throwing out arrows and darts, some of which are straight, others irregular in shape; next, a scroll with motto, "Ratio Ultima Regum." Near the swell of the muzzle is found the name of the piece, "La Populaire." This piece was evidently captured by the British from the French previous to the siege of Yorktown. Could it have formed a part of the armament of the *Guadaloupe*? The dolphins on the handles would indicate that the gun was intended for the navy.

No. 2 was also presented to the Chat-

ham artillery by Washington in 1791. On the base of the breech is "R. Gilpin, Fecit 1756," and the figures "4—2—15;" in front of the vent the letters G. R. in monogram, with figure 2 in first letter; then the British crown with a Maltese cross; between the trunnions, a crown and scroll with "Honi soit qui mal y pense;" near the swell of the muzzle, "Surrendered by the Capitulation of Yorktown, Oct. 19th, 1781.

These guns are remarkably well preserved, and have been mounted upon handsome carriages by their proud possessors, the Chatham Artillery.

This old battery (organized in 1786) intend being present with their "pets" at Yorktown to take part in the celebration, and the curious in such matters can thus have an opportunity of inspecting the relics.

C. RIDGELY GOODWIN

*Baltimore*

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OLD HOUSES ON THE KINGSBRIDGE ROAD—(IV. 460) *The Blue Bell*. The topographical map fronting the article entitled *The Battle of Harlem Plains*, (IV. 350) doubtless gives the true situation of the old Blue Bell Tavern on this road, viz., directly east of Fort Washington. Our authority is Mr. Blaze Ryer, an old citizen, who was born across the way, and has lived on the spot all his life. His grandfather Bauers, who married a sister of Blazius Moore, New York's ancient tobacconist, lived on the west side of the Kingsbridge road, at its junction with the lane now connecting it with the Bennett place—previously Mr. Henry O'Rielly's—which is on the exact site of the old fort. The Blue Bell stood on

the east side of the road, and right opposite the old yellow house now standing south of 181st street. It was demolished about the year 1820.

*The Cross Keys*, the very old stone house on this road, at about 165th street, also mentioned by Mr. Campbell, is probably the only survivor of the outward Revolutionary inns. It was traditionally one of Washington's stopping-places, and was known as the Cross Keys, by reason of two keys being crossed on the sign-board. It is said to have been kept by David Wares.

*The Dyckman House*, the only real Dutch farm-house extant on this road, standing not far from the twelfth mile-stone, was built by Jacob Dyckman—as we are told by Isaac M. Dyckman, the present representative of the name at Kingsbridge—and just after the close of the war, the original family mansion being burned by the enemy. The said Dyckman, a very enterprising and wealthy man, was the projector of the bridge across Harlem river, sometimes called by his name, and owned the land on which the large hotel at Kingsbridge now stands. The old one stood on about the same foundation, and was burnt down some forty years ago. Fifty-five years ago, it is remembered as kept by James Devoe. General Heath, in his *Memoirs*, speaks of it as Hyatt's Tavern. This was in 1777. Devoe subsequently hired it of one Jacob Hyatt. Doubtless it was called sometimes Dyckman's tavern, from the Dyckman ownership.

*The McComb House*, at Kingsbridge, long the property of Joseph Godwin, Esq., is said to have been used as a

tavern during the Revolution, and Mrs. Robert McComb was accustomed to point out to her guests one of the upper rooms as once the lodging room of General Washington. The venerable Dr. Bibby, of Cortlandt House, states that this property was purchased, shortly after the close of the war of independence, of the heirs of Eden Metcalf by Alexander McComb, of New York, the father of General Alexander McComb, of the United States Army.

*The Black Horse*. The old rookery near Inwood church, once called the Black Horse tavern, was built within the memory of an aged matron living in the vicinity. The original Black Horse tavern of the Revolution was situated near McGown's Pass, and so indicated in the appendix to Mr. Stevens' article before referred to (IV. 370). This is also certified by the venerable Mr. S. B. McGown (so spelled by the family), now living on 106th street, near the Third avenue. He states that it was standing in 1812.

*The Century House*. The oldest farm-house now standing on or near the Kingsbridge road, is that known as "the Century House." It is on the Harlem river bank, and belongs to the ancient Nagle family, original landholders of that part of the island with the Dyckmans. Its date, marked on a stone inserted in the front wall, is, if we remember right, 1734. It is described by W. C. Smith in his article on the Roger Morris House (*Mag. of Am. Hist.*, VI. 103).

WM. HALL

THE BLUE BELL TAVERN—[IV. 460; V. 142; VI. 64, 223, 300.] As no Revolutionary hostelry was more noted than

this, its exact position should *not* be a mooted point. But yet the contrary is true. My statement [VI. 64] places it on the *east* side of the old Kingsbridge road, but Mr. Wilson Cary Smith's valuable topographical article [VI. 103] on the *west*. So, also, "Fort George" [VI. 223], who opens fire on my position, asserts that I have located the Blue Bell "on the wrong side of the road," and that "it was *west*, not east of the highway." But do these gentlemen "know whereof they affirm?" With due deference, I think not, for I have certain evidence that the old tavern was burned down in 1819 or '20, and all the local living testimonies are against their view. One of these is that of Isaac M. Dyckman, Esq., of Inwood, who in a last year's note, thus testifies: "The Blue Bell Tavern was located on the east side of the road at the present 181st St." So, also, Mr. Blazius Ryer, probably the oldest native living resident of Washington Heights, whose intelligent testimony, at more length, is as follows: "Its location was on the east side of the Kingsbridge road, right opposite my grandmother's house, still standing. Her brother, Blazius Moore, bought the farm just previous to the yellow fever in New York, and moved out there. The house was burnt down by an old crazy colored woman, and what was left (if any good) was used in a house he built on the property that still stands there. The broken bricks that were of no use, were piled against the old road wall, and lots of them remain there still. This house is owned by his grandson, Mr. Charles S. Chesbrough. The old tavern, just in the now 181st St., was burnt down the

year he bought it, and he came into possession the year following, moving there during the summer."

The Blue Bell and its grounds having thus fallen into the hands of a near family kinsman, certainly no evidence in this matter can be more unimpeachable than Mr. Ryer's, just given in. But add to this a still later confirmatory statement of an aged lady, who has also lived all her life in the neighborhood, and passed the premises hundreds of times in her young womanhood, viz.: That "the old Blue Bell Tavern stood on the east side of the Kingsbridge road," and I venture the opinion that the question of the position of this famous Revolutionary landmark will be decided on my side, for all time, *nemine contradicente*. But I must not forget to mention another fact of importance in this connection, made by my venerable friend Mr. Dyckman, now chief authority for the local history of that part of New York island, viz.: That the now corrected "mistake arose from the location of another old house about half a mile south of the 'Blue Bell,' and *this* house was burned down in or about 1846, and was on the *west* side of the road."

*Elizabeth, N. J.*

W. H.

PEN AND INK PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON—[VII., 107] Is not the information which leads Mr. Coleman to suppose the portrait to have been made by Benjamin H. Latrobe erroneous? The inscription states that the portrait was "made about 1790." But Latrobe did not arrive in the United States until 1796.

ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa.*

## THE MONUMENT TO THE ALLIANCE

YORKTOWN, VIRGINIA

The following documents show the intention and acts of the Congress of 1781, and of that of 1880 in regard to the monument to be erected in commemoration of the alliance of the United States with France, and the victory achieved at Yorktown by the land and naval forces of the two nations :

*In Congress October 24, 1781*

A letter of the 19th October from General Washington was read, giving information of the reduction of the British army under the command of Earl Cornwallis on the 19th inst., with a copy of the articles of capitulation, whereupon on motion of Mr. Randolph it was

*Resolved*, That Congress will at 3 o'clock this day go in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church, and return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied arms of the United States and France with success, by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of the Earl Cornwallis.

*Ordered*, That the letter, with the papers inclosed, be referred to the Committee of Intelligence.

*Resolved*, That the letter of General Washington of the 19th, inclosing the correspondence between him and the Earl Cornwallis, concerning the surrender of the garrisons of York and Gloucester, and the articles of capitulation, be referred to a committee of four; the members, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Carroll.

*Resolved*, That it be an instruction to the said committee to report what in their opinion will be the most proper mode of communicating the thanks of the United States, in Congress assembled, to General Washington, Count de Rochambeau and Count de Grasse for their effectual exertions in accomplishing this illustrious work, and of paying respect to the merit of Lieutenant-Colonel Tilghman, Aide-de-Camp of General Washington, and the bearer of his dispatches announcing this happy event.

*Ordered*, That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs communicate this intelligence to the honorable the Minister Plenipotentiary of France.

*In Congress October 26, 1781*

The committee, consisting of Mr. Witherspoon, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Sherman, appointed to prepare a recommenda-

tion for setting apart a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, reported the draught of a proclamation which was agreed to as follows :

### PROCLAMATION

Whereas, it hath pleased Almighty God, the father of mercies, remarkably to assist and support the United States of America in their important struggle for liberty, against the long continued efforts of a powerful nation, it is the duty of all ranks to observe and thankfully to acknowledge the interpositions of His providence in their behalf. Through the whole of the contest, from its first rise to this time, the influence of Divine Providence may be clearly perceived in many signal instances, of which we mention but a few.

In revealing the councils of our enemies, when the discoveries were seasonable and important, and the means seemingly inadequate or fortuitous; in preserving and even improving the union of the several States, on the breach of which our enemies place their greatest dependence; in increasing the number, and adding to the zeal and attachment of the friends of liberty; in granting remarkable deliverances, and blessing us with the most signal success, when affairs seemed to have the most discouraging appearance; in raising up for us a powerful and generous ally, in one of the first of the European powers; in confounding the councils of our enemies, and suffering them to pursue such measures as have most directly contributed to frustrate their own desires and expectations; above all, in making their extreme cruelty to the inhabitants of these states, when in their power, and their savage devastation of property, the very means of cementing our union, and adding vigor to every effort in opposition to them.

And as we cannot help leading the good people of these states to a retrospect on the events which have taken place since the beginning of the war, so we recommend in a particular manner to their observation, the goodness of God in the year now drawing to a conclusion: in which the confederation of the United States has been completed; in which there have been so many instances of prowess and success in our armies; particularly in the southern States, where, notwithstanding the difficulties with which they had to struggle, they have recovered the whole country which the enemy had overrun, leaving them only a post or two on or near the sea; in which we have been so powerfully and effectually assisted by our allies, while in all the conjunct operations the most perfect harmony has subsisted in the allied army; in which there has been so plentiful a harvest, and so great abundance of the fruits of the earth of every kind, as not only enables us easily to supply the wants of our army, but gives comfort and happiness to the whole people; and, in which, after the success of our allies by sea, a general of the first rank, with his whole army, has been captured by the allied forces under the direction of our commander-in-chief.

It is therefore recommended to the several states to set apart the 13th day of December next, to be religiously observed as a day of thanksgiving and prayer; that all

the people may assemble on that day, with grateful hearts, to celebrate the praises of our gracious benefactor, to confess our manifold sins; to offer up our most fervent supplications to the God of all grace, that it may please Him to pardon our offences, and incline our hearts for the future to keep all his laws; to comfort and relieve all our brethren who are in distress or captivity; to prosper our husbandmen, and give success to all engaged in lawful commerce; to impart wisdom and integrity to our counsellors, judgment and fortitude to our officers and soldiers; to protect and prosper our illustrious ally, and favor our united exertions for the speedy establishment of a safe, honorable and lasting peace; to bless all seminaries of learning, and cause the knowledge of God to cover the earth, as the waters cover the seas.

*In Congress, October 29, 1781*

On a report of the committee, consisting of Mr. Randolph, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Carroll, to whom were referred the letters of the 16th and 19th, from General Washington.

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his Excellency General Washington for the eminent services which he has rendered to the United States, and particularly for the well-concerted plan against the British garrisons in York and Gloucester; for the vigor, attention and military skill with which that plan was executed, and for the wisdom and prudence manifested in the capitulation.

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his Excellency Count de Rochambeau for the cordialty, zeal, judgment and fortitude with which he seconded and advanced the progress of the allied army against the British garrison in York.

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to his Excellency Count de Grasse for his skill and bravery in attacking and defeating the British fleet off the Bay of Chesapeake, and for his zeal and alacrity in rendering, with the fleet under his command, the most effectual and distinguished aid and support to the operations of the allied army in Virginia.

That the thanks of the United States in Congress assembled be presented to the commanding and other officers of the Corps of Artillery and Engineers of the allied army, who sustained extraordinary fatigue and danger in their animated and gallant approaches to the lines of the enemy.

That General Washington be directed to communicate to the other officers and the soldiers under his command the thanks of the United States, in Congress assembled, for their conduct and valor on this occasion.

*Resolved*, That the United States, in Congress assembled, will cause to be erected, at York, in Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France, to his Excellency the Count de

Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his Most Christian Majesty in America, and his Excellency the Count de Grasse, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Chesapeake.

*Resolved*, That two stands of colors, taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented to his Excellency General Washington, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled.

*Resolved*, That two pieces of the field ordinance, taken from the British army under the capitulation of York, be presented by the Commander-in-chief of the American army to Count de Rochambeau, and that there be engraved thereon a short memorandum, that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender.

*Resolved*, That the Secretary of Foreign Affairs be directed to request the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Most Christian Majesty to inform His Majesty that it is the wish of Congress that Count de Grasse may be permitted to accept a testimonial of their approbation similar to that to be presented to Count de Rochambeau.

*Resolved*, That the Board of War be directed to present to Lieutenant Colonel Tilghman, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, a horse properly caparisoned and an elegant sword in testimony of their high opinion of his merits and ability.

*In Congress, November 3, 1781*

Advice being received that a messenger was arrived from headquarters with despatches, the president resumed the chair, and Col. Humphrey, one of the General's aids, was introduced, and delivered a letter from the General, dated the 27th and 29th of October, containing returns of prisoners, artillery, arms, ordnance and other stores, surrendered by the enemy, in their posts of York and Gloucester, on the 19th October; he also laid before Congress 24 standards taken at the same time, and a draught of those posts, with the plan of attack and defence, and then withdrew.

*Ordered*, That the returns be published, and that the letter, with the other papers enclosed, be referred to the committee to whom was referred the General's letter of the 19th of October.

WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS

HEAD QUARTERS NEAR YORK,  
October 27, 1781

Sir: I do myself the honour to enclose to Your Excellency copies of returns of prisoners, artillery, arms, ordnance, and other stores, surrendered by the enemy in their posts at York and Gloucester on the 19th instant, which were not completed at the time of my despatches, and are but this moment handed to me. A draft of these posts, with the plan of attack and defence is also trans-



mitted; and twenty-four standards taken at the same time are ready to be laid before Congress. \* \* \*

\* \* \* My present despatch being important I have committed them to the care of Colonel Humphreys, one of my aids-de-camp, whom, for his attention, fidelity and good service, I beg leave to recommend to the notice of Congress and to your Excellency.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your Excellency's most obedient,  
humble servant,  
GO. WASHINGTON

*In Congress, November 7, 1781*

On motion of Mr. Randolph, seconded by Mr. Boudinot,

*Resolved*, That the Secretary for Foreign Affairs be directed to prepare a sketch of emblems of the alliance between His Most Christian Majesty and the United States, proper to be inscribed on the marble column to be erected in the town of York, under the resolution of the 29th October last.

On a report of a committee, consisting of Mr. Randolph, Mr. Boudinot, Mr. Varnum, Mr. Carroll, to whom was referred the letter of 27th October from General Washington,

*Resolved*, That an elegant sword be presented, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, to Colonel Humphrey, Aide-de-Camp of General Washington, to whose care the standards taken under the capitulation of York were consigned, as a testimony of their opinion of his fidelity and ability, and that the Board of War take order thereon.

*Ordered*, That further consideration of the subject be postponed.

The following are extracts from the correspondence between Robert R. Livingston, Secretary for Foreign Affairs, with Benjamin Franklin, the Minister of the United States to France, and the Chevalier de la Luzerne, the Ambassador of Louis XVI. to the United States:

LIVINGSTON TO FRANKLIN

PHILADELPHIA, December 16, 1781.

I enclose a resolution of Congress for erecting a pillar to commemorate the victory at Yorktown. I must request your assistance in enabling me to carry it into effect, so far as it relates to me, by sending the sketch they require with an estimate of the expense with which it will be attended. I could wish it to be such as may do honour to the nations whose union it designs to celebrate, and for that reason should think the execution ought to be deferred till our finances are in a better situation than

they are at present; but as this lies with Congress only, you will be so obliging as to enable me to do my duty by laying the sketch before them as soon as you can conveniently get the same executed.

FRANKLIN TO LIVINGSTON

PASSY, March 4, 1782

I will endeavor to procure a sketch of an emblem for the purpose you mention. This puts me in mind of a medal I have had a mind to strike since the last great event you gave me an account of, representing the United States by the figure of an infant Hercules in his cradle strangling the two serpents, and France by that of Minerva, sitting by as his nurse, with her spear and helmet, and her robe specked with a few *fleurs de lis*. The extinguishment of two entire armies in one war is what has rarely happened, and it gives a presage of the future force of our growing empire.

LIVINGSTON TO FRANKLIN

PHILADELPHIA, May 30, 1782

I am charmed with your idea of a medal to perpetuate the memory of York and Saratoga. The thought is simple, elegant and strikingly expressive of the subject. I cannot, however, but flatter myself that before it can be executed your Hercules will have tasked your invention for a new emblem.

FRANKLIN TO LIVINGSTON

PASSY, August 12, 1782

Your approbation of my idea of a medal to perpetuate the memory of York and Saratoga victories gives me great pleasure, and encourages me to have it struck.

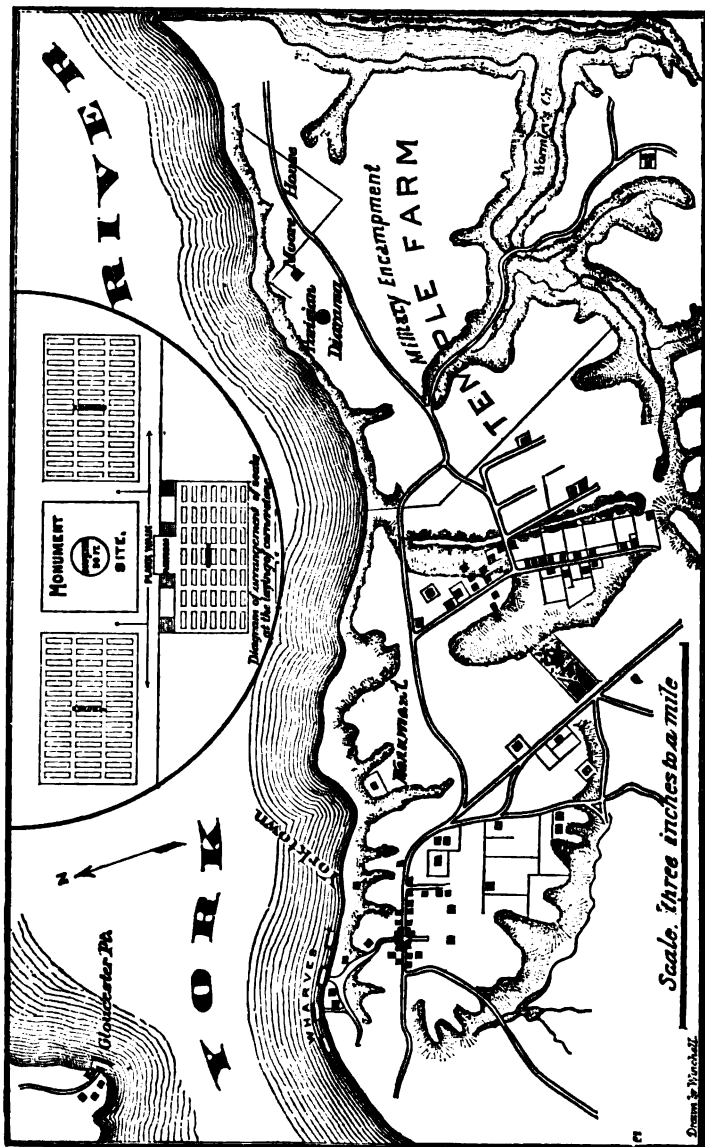
I wish you would acquaint me with what kind of a monument at York the emblems required are to be fixed on—whether an obelisk or a column—its dimensions, whether any part of it is to be of marble, and the emblems carved on it—and whether the work is to be executed by the excellent artists in that way which Paris affords, and if so, to what expense they are to be limited.

FRANKLIN TO LIVINGSTON

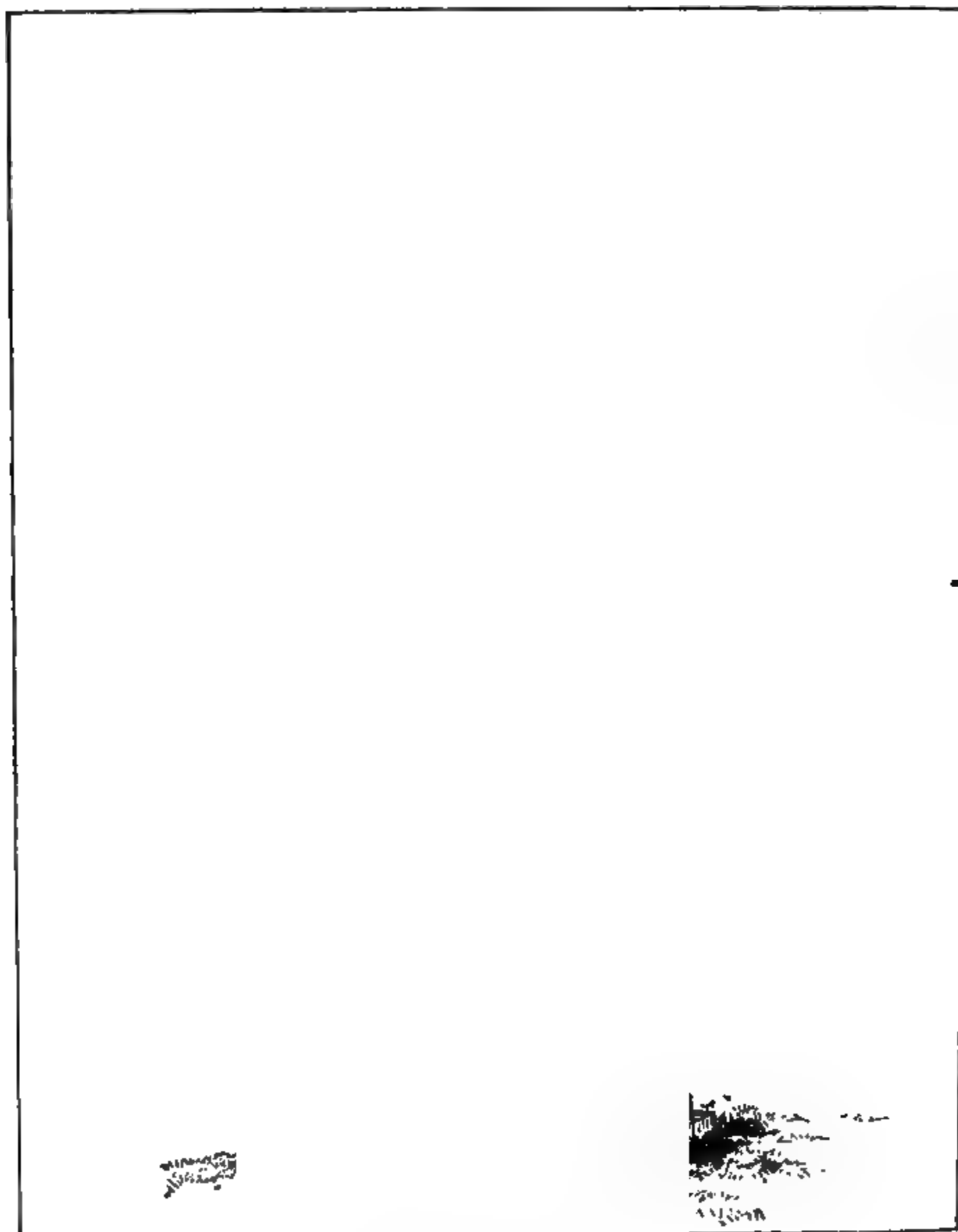
PASSY, April 15, 1783

I have caused to be struck here the medal which I formerly mentioned to you, the design of which you seemed to approve. I enclose one in silver for the President of Congress, and one in copper for yourself. The impression in copper is thought to appear best and you will soon receive a number for the members. I have presented one to the King and another to the Queen, both in gold, and one in silver to each of the ministers, as a monumental acknowledgment, which may go down to future ages, of the obligations we are under to this nation. It is mighty well received, and gives general pleasure. If the Congress approve of it, as I hope they will, I may add something on the die (for those to be struck hereafter), to show that it was done by their order, which I could not venture to do till I had authority for it.

B. FRANKLIN



PLAN OF YORKTOWN AND TEMPLE FARM



**THE YORKTOWN MONUMENT**  
(From the accepted design)

## LIVINGSTON TO LUZERNE

OFFICE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, NOV. 2, 1781

It is with peculiar pleasure that I obey the directions of Congress in making communications which show their sense of the exertions of their ally and of the merit of the officers he employs. The confidence inspired by the first and the esteem excited by the last form new bands of union between nations whom reciprocal interests had before connected. In this view I flatter myself the inclosed acts of Congress will be agreeable to you, and that you will with pleasure communicate to His Most Christian Majesty their desire, with his permission, to present to the Count de Grasse two pieces of field ordnance taken from the enemy at York, with inscriptions calculated to show that Congress were induced to present them from considerations of the illustrious part which he bore in effectuating the surrender.

## LUZERNE TO LIVINGSTON

PHILADELPHIA, November 4, 1781

I have received the letter with which you honored me on the 2d inst., with the resolutions of Congress of the 28th October, which accompanied it. I have no doubt that they will be most agreeable to his Majesty, and that he will learn with pleasure that the remembrance of the success obtained by the allied armies is to be preserved by a column, on which a relation of this event will be inscribed and mention made of the alliance. I shall be glad before any further resolutions are taken on the subject to communicate to you some ideas relative to this monument. It is so honorable to the two nations and so well adapted to perpetuate the remembrance of their union, that we ought to be mutually desirous of giving it all the solidity and durability of which the works of man are susceptible.

## LIVINGSTON TO LUZERNE

PHILADELPHIA, November 6, 1781.

Having been honored with your letter of the 4th instant, I remark with pleasure that the mode in which Congress propose to perpetuate the success obtained by the allied armies at York is such as will in your opinion be agreeable to His Most Christian Majesty. As Congress must concur with you in wishing to render this monument of the alliance and of the military virtues of the combined forces as lasting, if possible, as the advantages they may reasonably hope to reap from both, they will without doubt pay all due deference to any ideas you may think proper to suggest relative to the manner of carrying the resolution of the 28th of October into effect. I shall receive, sir, with pleasure, and submit to Congress, any communications that you will do me honor to make on this subject.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE FORTY-SIXTH CONGRESS

On the 3d December, 1879, on motion of Mr. Goode of Virginia, the following preamble and resolution were read, considered and agreed to:

WHEREAS, on Monday, the 29th day of October, 1781,

it was "Resolved, That the United States, in Congress assembled, will cause to be erected at York in Virginia a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian Majesty, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his Excellency General Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France; to his Excellency the Count de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his most Christian Majesty in America, and his Excellency the Count de Grasse, commanding in chief the naval army of France in the Chesapeake;" and

WHEREAS, that resolution has not been carried into effect, and the pledge of the nation, made nearly one hundred years ago, remains as yet unfulfilled; and

WHEREAS, it is eminently proper that the centennial anniversary of the decisive victory achieved by Washington and the continental army, with the assistance of their French allies, at Yorktown, should be appropriately celebrated by the American people therefore,

*Resolved*, That a select committee of thirteen be appointed by the Speaker, whose duty it shall be to inquire into the expediency of appropriating a suitable sum to be expended, under the direction of the Secretary of War, in erecting at Yorktown in Virginia the monument referred to in the aforesaid resolution of Congress, and of making the necessary arrangements, in conjunction with the authorities of the State of Virginia, for an appropriate celebration by the American people on the 19th day of October, 1881, for the surrender of the British forces under Lord Cornwallis; and that said committee have leave to report, by bill or otherwise, at any time.

On the 19th December, 1879, the Speaker of the House announced the appointment of the Committee called for by the resolution:

John Goode, of Virginia, *Chairman*: J. G. Hall, of New Hampshire; George B. Loring, of Massachusetts; N. W. Aldrich, of Rhode Island; Joseph R. Hawley, of Connecticut; Nicholas Muller, of New York; Lewis A. Brigham, of New Jersey; Samuel B. Dick, of Pennsylvania; E. L. Martin, of Delaware; J. F. C. Talbott, of Maryland; Joseph J. Davis, of North Carolina; John S. Richardson, of South Carolina, and Henry Persons, of Georgia.

A bill was introduced into and passed by the House, January 27, 1880, and with amendments, made by the Senate, June 1, concurred in by the House, was approved June 7, 1880:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled*, That the sum of \$100,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be, and the same is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, to be expended, under the direction of the Secretary of War, in erecting at Yorktown, in Virginia, the monument referred to in the aforesaid resolution of Congress.

*Provided, however,* that the material used may be such as the Secretary of War may deem most appropriate and durable.

SEC. 2. That a commission of three persons shall be appointed by the Secretary of War, whose duty it shall be to recommend a suitable design for said monument, to prepare a sketch of emblems of the alliance between his Most Christian Majesty and the United States, and a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to be inscribed on the same, subject to the approval and adoption of the Select Committee of Thirteen appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, on the 19th of December, 1879, and of thirteen Senators to be appointed by the presiding officer of the Senate; to inquire into the expediency of appropriating a suitable sum to be expended in erecting at Yorktown, in Virginia, the monument referred to.

SEC. 3. That it shall be the duty of the said Joint Committee to select the site for the location of said monument, to obtain the cession of the same from the State of Virginia, and to make all the necessary arrangements for such a celebration by the American people of the Centennial Anniversary of the battle of Yorktown on the 19th of October, 1881, as shall befit the historical significance of that event and the present greatness of the nation.

SEC. 4. That the sum of \$20,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of defraying the expenses incurred in the said Centennial celebration, and to be disbursed under the direction of the said Joint Committee.

The President of the Senate appointed the following committee:

John W. Johnston, *Chairman*, of Virginia; Rollins, of New Hampshire; Dawes, of Massachusetts; Anthony, of Rhode Island; Eaton, of Connecticut; Kernan, of New York; Wallace, of Pennsylvania; Randolph, of New Jersey; Bayard, of Delaware; Whyte, of Maryland; Ransom, of North Carolina; Butler, of South Carolina, and Hill of Georgia.

The monument is to be built under the personal supervision of Col. Craig-hill. Messrs. R. Hunt and J. Q. A. Ward, of New York, and Henry Van Brunt, of Boston, who were appointed by the Secretary of War to prepare a design of the proposed monument, have completed this work and submitted a report. From the architectural point of view, the monument is composed of three principal points. The first is a base, which, with its stylobate and its pediments, is 37 feet high, and occupies

an area 38 feet square upon the ground. The second is a highly sculptural podium, 25½ feet high and 13 feet in diameter, in the form of a drum supporting a column. This latter, which is part third, is 60 feet high and at the base 7½ feet in diameter. This shaft, for the sake of economy, is composed of a succession of drums or courses of masonry giving practical reasons for a departure from the conventional treatment which belongs to monolithic shafts. The joints are masked by four bands, decorated with laurel leaves and justified by a decoration of stars symmetrically disposed upon them and breaking the outline of the column. From the symbolic point of view, the monument is intended to convey, in architectural language, the idea set forth in the dedicatory inscription that by the victory at Yorktown the independence of the United States of America was achieved or brought to final accomplishment.

The four sides of the base contain, first, an inscription dedicating the monument as a memorial of the victory; second, an inscription representing a succinct narrative of the siege, prepared in accordance with the original archives in the Department of State; third, the treaty of alliance with the King of France, and, fourth, the treaty of peace with the King of England. In the pediments, over these four sides, respectively, are presented, carved in relief, emblems of nationality, of war, of the alliance, and of peace. The base is thus devoted to the historical statement. It explains the subsequent incidents of the monumental composition, which are intended to appeal solely to the imagina-

tion. The immediate result of the historical events written upon the base was the happy establishment of a national Union of 13 youthful, free, and independent States. To celebrate this joyful union the sculptor has represented upon the circular podium which arises from the base a solemn dance of 13 typical female figures, hand in hand, encircling a drum, which bears upon a belt beneath their feet the words, "One country, one Constitution, one destiny." It is a symbol of the birth of freedom.

The following are the inscriptions submitted by the commission for the four sides of the column:

*North Side*—Erected in pursuance of a resolution of Congress adopted October 29, 1781, and an act of Congress June 7, 1880, to commemorate the victory by which the Independence of the United States of America was achieved. *South Side*—At York, on October 19, 1781, after a siege of nineteen days by 5,300 American, and 7,000 French troops of the Line, 3,300 Virginia militia, under command of General Thomas Nelson, and 36 French Ships of War. Earl Cornwallis, Commander of British forces at York and Gloucester, surrendered his army. 7,251 officers and men, 840 seamen, 244 cannon, and 24 standards, to his excellency, George Washington, Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France; to his excellency, the Comte de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his most Christian majesty in America; and to his excellency, the Comte de Grasse, Commanding in Chief the naval army of France in Chesapeake. *East Side*—The provisional articles of peace concluded November 30, 1782, and the definitive treaty of peace concluded September 3, 1783, between the United States of America and George III, the King of Great Britain and Ireland, declare His Britannic Majesty acknowledges the said United States, viz: New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New

Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, to be free, sovereign, and independent States. *West Side*—The treaty concluded February 6, 1778, between the United States of America and Louis XVI, King of France, declares: The essential and direct end of the present defensive alliance, is to maintain effectually the liberty, sovereignty and independence, absolute and unlimited, of the said United States, as well in matters of government as of commerce.

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE FRANKLIN MEDAL LIBERTAS AMERICANA

*From Loubat's Medallie History of the United States*

Libertas Americana. R. Non sine diis animosus infans.

LIBERTAS AMERICANA (*American Liberty*)—The head of a beautiful maiden facing the left, with dishevelled hair floating in the wind; and with the rod of liberty, surmounted by the Phrygian cap, on her right shoulder. Exergue, 4 Juil, 1776. On edge of bust, DUPRÉ F. (fecit).

NON SINE DIIS ANIMOSUS INFANS (*The courageous child was aided by the gods*)—The infant Hercules (America), in his cradle, is strangling two serpents, while Minerva (France) stands by, helmeted and with spear in her right hand, ready to strike a leopard (England), whose attacks she wards off with her shield, decked with the lilies of France. Exergue, 11<sup>th</sup>—OCT 1781 DUPRÉ F. (fecit).

## THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL

## INVITATION TO FRANCE

THE first formal action taken towards inviting the participation of the government of the French Republic in the celebration of the victory of Yorktown was by the Rhode Island State Society of the Cincinnati at its annual meeting in the State House at Providence on the 5th July, 1880, when the following resolution was adopted:

## RHODE ISLAND STATE SOCIETY OF CINCINNATI

NEWPORT, June 30th, 1881

WHEREAS, it has been proposed by the executive authorities in several of the original thirteen States of the Union, to celebrate, in an appropriate manner, on the ground, on the 19th October, 1881, the Centennial of the Siege of Yorktown, Va., and Surrender of the British Army, under Lieut.-General Earl Cornwallis, to the allied French and American Armies, under his excellency General Washington, and the Surrender, at the same time, of the British naval force to the cooperating French fleet under Lieut.-Gen. Comte de Grasse, and WHEREAS, this great event, which had so much influence in securing American independence, was due, largely, to the efficient and gallant cooperation of the auxiliary army and navy of France and WHEREAS, it seems peculiarly appropriate that the armies and navies of the two governments should be suitably represented at this national celebration of an event highly honorable to the allied armies, and WHEREAS, the hereditary members of this Society of Cincinnati, as representing the officers of the Rhode Island Continental Line of the Revolution, recall, with special satisfaction, the friendship and harmony which existed between the Rhode Island and French officers, when the auxiliary army of Lieut.-General Comte de Rochambeau, was quartered in this State, and the generous rivalry which existed between the French and American detachments at the siege of Yorktown, on the night of the 14th October, 1781, when the American detachment, led by a company of the Rhode Island Continental Line, and the French detachment, respectively, assaulted and carried the two British redoubts, therefore,

*Resolved:* That the Standing Committee of this Society respectfully memorialize the Congress of the United States, and request that an Act be passed authorizing the President to invite the government of the French Republic to send a suitable representation from the French army and navy to the Celebration at Yorktown. *Also*, that suitable detachments of the army and navy of the United States, including Battery F, 4th U. S. Artillery, the successor of the Alexander Hamilton Company of New York Artillery, at that siege, be sent to Yorktown to represent America in the Celebration. *And* that a sufficient sum be appropriated to properly entertain and provide for such detachments.

At a meeting of the Standing Committee of

the Rhode Island State Society at the State House at Providence, October 6th, 1880, on motion of Dr. Turner, the following resolution was passed, viz.:

*Resolved:* That the President, Nathanael Greene, and Prof. Gardner be a committee to prepare a memorial to Congress, asking them to invite the French government to send a delegation to represent their army and navy at the Centennial Celebration of the Capitulation of Yorktown, and to detach from the United States army a select corps, for the same occasion, and make an appropriation for the expense, according to Resolution of the Society of July 5th, 1880.

In accordance with the resolutions of the Society, a memorial was addressed to both Houses of Congress, and Judge Advocate Asa Bird Gardner, U. S. A. visited Washington, where he was heard by the Joint Congressional Committee on the Celebration, whereupon the general Society of the Cincinnati was requested to appoint a delegate to confer with the commission, and the following joint resolution was passed by Congress and approved by the President on the 18th February, 1881:

## PUBLIC RESOLUTION No. 13

JOINT RESOLUTION, authorizing and requesting the President to extend to the Government and people of France and the family of General Lafayette an invitation to join the Government and people of the United States in the observance of the Centennial Anniversary of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia.

*Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled,* That the President be, and is hereby authorized and requested to extend to the Government and people of France, and the family of General Lafayette, a cordial invitation to unite with the Government and people of the United States, on the nineteenth day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-one, in a fit and appropriate observance of the Centennial anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. And for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this resolution, the sum of twenty thousand dollars is hereby appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the same, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be expended under the direction of the Secretary of State.

## INVITATION TO ROCHAMBEAU

THE invitation of the Government of the United States being confined to the official representatives of the French Republic and the family of Lafayette, the Yorktown Centennial Association, at a meeting of conference with the

Commissioners appointed by the Governors of the thirteen original States, and the national Commissioner appointed by Congress, which was held in the Governor's room of the City Hall of New York on the 30th May, adopted the following resolution :

WHEREAS, The Government of the United States has officially invited the Government of France to take part in the celebration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the siege and surrender of Yorktown, and the latter has signified its intention of participating therein ; WHEREAS, This invitation is an indication of the feelings of gratitude felt by the American nation towards that of France, for its material help and sympathy in times of sore trouble and anxiety ; WHEREAS, The celebration by the two people of this common anniversary can but accentuate and increase the present feelings of good will and friendliness existing between the two Republics ; WHEREAS, It is proper that the representatives of the French, who helped to establish finally and forever the success of American Independence at the battles before Yorktown, should be enabled to witness the development which has been the result of the endeavors and self-denial of their ancestors. WHEREAS, It is desired that as many of the descendants of those who in any way partook in the operations before Yorktown should be present, to fitly commemorate the actions of their fathers and visit the scenes made memorable by them ; WHEREAS, The descendants of General Lafayette have already been personally invited, on account of his being an American Major-General ; and WHEREAS, This Association represents the part of the people at large in the celebration, therefore be it

*Resolved*, That we invite personally the descendants bearing the name of Comte de Rochambeau, Admiral de Grasse, and Admiral de Barras to be present at the celebration, and to become our guests during its continuance. *Resolved*, That we also invite the descendants of all officers in any way connected with the French army or fleet before Yorktown to be equally present, promising them the largest hospitality and the best of welcomes in the land made free by the help of their ancestors. *Resolved*, That the French Government be requested to send as large detachments of its fleet and army as it may deem possible, including, especially, members of each of the corps engaged at Yorktown. *Resolved*, That whilst in American waters, the fleet and army, its commanders and officers, be the guests of the Nation ; that a series of receptions be organized in the principal cities of the land, to properly commemorate their visit.

In pursuance of which Col. J. E. Peyton, General Superintendent of the Yorktown Centennial Association, in June addressed the following letter to the Marquis de Rochambeau, inviting him to visit the United States on the occasion, and to extend the invitation to the male representatives of the Marquis de Saint Simon, of the Counts de Grasse and de Barras,

and of the other French officers who served in the auxiliary army of 1781 :

#### OFFICE OF THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL ASSOCIATION

Richmond, Virginia, June, 1881

DEAR SIR—You have been informed that the Government of the United States will celebrate on the 19th October next, the one hundredth anniversary of the victory of Yorktown achieved by the allied armies of the United States and France under the command of Generals Washington and the Count de Rochambeau, with the co-operation of the fleet under Admiral de Grasse, on the ground of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis. On this occasion the President of the United States, with his Cabinet, the Governors of the thirteen original States with their suites, and the chief officers of the army and navy, will be present, and the corner-stone of the monument, voted by Congress to perpetuate the memory of the victory and the alliance with France, will be then laid.

The Congress of the United States has by public resolution invited the French Government to be represented on the occasion, and also the family of the Marquis de Lafayette, who held the rank of Major-General in the American service, and was also an adopted citizen of the United States, and suitable appropriations were made for their reception and entertainment.

To aid the commission appointed by Congress to take charge of the general details of the celebration, an association has been formed of distinguished citizens of the thirteen original States. In their name I have the honor to invite your presence on the occasion as the representative of the illustrious General, the Count de Rochambeau, whose name is dear to every American heart for the rare combination of prudent counsel and brilliant execution which distinguished his command in this country ; and further to request that you as the representative of the commander-in-chief of the French forces in the American campaign, will extend this our invitation to the male representative of each and all of the superior officers who served in his command, and in that of the Admiral de Grasse and Marquis de Saint Simon. You are invited, gentlemen, as the guests of the nation at large, which the Yorktown Centennial Association has undertaken to represent on the occasion. You will be received, on your arrival, at any port of the United States which you may designate, by a committee from our body, and from that hour, until the hour of your departure for France, the entire charge of your honored persons will be assumed by ourselves. The governments of our States and cities have already begun to give formal public invitations to the representatives of France and the descendants of the French officers of 1781, to visit their soil as their guests. In the intervals of these visits, and in your journeying from point to point in your own good pleasure, you will be in our care and at our charge.

It will be our pleasure, gentlemen, to receive with open arms the descendants of the gallant men by whose aid our fathers achieved their independence, and to unite with them in the dedication of the monument upon the



field where their blood was mingled and their great triumph achieved; the monument which will perpetuate, not alone that alliance of two nations which the changes of a century have not disturbed, but the closer bond of two mighty Republics, free and independent. And while not forgetting the glories of the past, it will be our pride to exhibit to you the marvels of agriculture, of mechanical industry, and of social progress which have resulted from that Republican form of government which we hold to be the most perfect yet devised, and which we rejoice to feel is now as dear to the French nation as to ourselves.

Come, gentlemen, accept our hospitality as freely as it is tendered, and believe in the cordial sincerity of the friendly regard with which I have the honor to remain, M. de Rochambeau and gentlemen, Your obed't servant,

J. E. PRYTON,

*General Superintendent of the Yorktown  
Centennial Association*

EDWARD EVERETT WINCHELL, *Secretary*

#### INVITATION TO DESCENDANTS OF BARON STEUBEN.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }  
WASHINGTON, D. C., July 30, 1881. }

ANDREW D. WHITE, Esq., &c., Berlin:

SIR: During the darkest period of the Revolutionary war, a German soldier of character and distinction tendered his sword in aid of American independence. Frederic William Augustus, Baron Steuben, joined Washington at Valley Forge in the memorable and disastrous winter of 1778. He attested the sincerity of his attachment to the patriot cause by espousing it when its fortunes were adverse, its prospects gloomy, and its hopes, but for the intense zeal of the people, well-nigh crushed. The Baron Steuben was received by Washington with the most cordial welcome and immediately placed on duty as Inspector-General of the Army. A detailed history of his military career in America would form an epitome of the Revolutionary struggle. He had served in the Seven Years' War on the staff of the great Frederic, and had acquired in the campaigns of that master of military science the skill and the experience so much needed by the untrained soldiers of the Continental Army. The drill and discipline and effective organization, which under the commanding patronage of Washington were at once imparted to the American Army by the zeal and diligence of Steuben, transformed the volunteers and raw levies into veterans who successfully met the British regulars in all the campaigns of the prolonged struggle. The final surrender of the British army under Lord Cornwallis occurred at Yorktown, Va., on the 19th day of October, 1781. Baron Steuben bore a most conspicuous part in the arduous campaign which ended so auspiciously for the Continental Army, and it fell to his lot to receive the first official notification of the proposed capitulation and to bear it to the illustrious commander-in-chief.

The centennial of that great event in American history is to be celebrated with appropriate observances and ceremonies on the approaching anniversary. I am direct-

ed by the President to tender through you an invitation to the representatives of Baron Steuben's family in Germany to attend the celebration as guests of the Government of the United States. You will communicate the invitation through the Imperial Minister of Foreign Affairs, and will express to him the very earnest desire of this Government that it shall be accepted. Those who come as representatives of the Baron Steuben's family will be assured in our day of peace and prosperity of as warm a welcome as was given to their illustrious kinsman in the dark days of adversity and war. They will be the honored guests of fifty millions of Americans—a vast number of whom have German blood in their veins and constitute one of the most worthy and valuable elements that make up the strength of the Republic. Intensely devoted with patriotic fidelity to America, they yet retain and cherish and transmit the most affectionate memories of Fatherland. To these the visit of Baron Steuben's relatives will have something of the revival of family ties, while to all Americans, of whatever origin, the presence of German guests will afford fitting opportunity of testifying their respect for that great country within whose imperial limits are included so much of human grandeur and human progress. I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE.

#### COURTESIES TO THE FRENCH

THE State of Rhode Island was the first to extend its courtesies to the French gentlemen whose presence is expected in America in response to the invitations addressed to them, and on the 3d June, 1881, passed the following resolution:

WHEREAS, During the Revolutionary war in the year A. D. 1778, while the British controlled the entrance of Narragansett Bay, and greatly distressed and oppressed the inhabitants of the adjoining territory, and WHEREAS, In the month of July of that year a French fleet arrived in the said bay, under the command of Admiral d'Estaing, and occasioned the destruction of many of the vessels of the British fleet to the great satisfaction and relief of the inhabitants of the State, and WHEREAS, In the summer of A. D. 1780, another French fleet, bringing a large land force, arrived in the waters of the said bay, and to the great relief of the inhabitants remained within this State for a considerable time, and afforded protection to the lives and property of the inhabitants of the State, and WHEREAS, the government of the United States has invited the government of the Republic of France to participate in the centennial celebration of the surrender of the British forces in America, to take place at Yorktown in October next, and the Republic of France has signified its intention to be represented at and to participate in the said celebration, therefore, as a token of gratitude, and as showing the appreciation of the people of Rhode Island of the services rendered this State by the fleets and armies of France, it is

Resolved, That his excellency the Governor be and he hereby is directed and authorized to invite the represen-

tatives of France who visit the United States to participate in the celebration in October next, to visit the State of Rhode Island at such time during their sojourn in the United States as may be convenient to them, and, while the said representatives are within the State, to remain the guests thereof, and that his excellency is hereby requested and directed to appoint a committee of such citizens of this State as he may deem proper to assist him in entertaining the guests of the State, while here in such a manner as the committee may believe will be most acceptable to their guests, and that his excellency the Governor be and he hereby is authorized to draw his orders upon the General Treasurer for the expense incident to carrying this resolution into effect.

The Senate of the State of New York on the 21st of June, 1881, passed resolutions authorizing the Governor to extend the courtesies of the State to the French visitors:

WHEREAS, The State of New York during the long occupation of its chief city was for a long period, notably in the summer of 1781 and the fall of 1782, protected and succored by the troops which France, the ally of the United States, sent to their assistance; and,

WHEREAS, After the victory of the allied forces at Yorktown, the city of New York remained for a period of more than two years in the occupation of the British troops, and in the disorganized condition of the State, no opportunity was permitted to it to express its recognition of the services rendered by the French in protecting its soil and obtaining its deliverance; and,

WHEREAS, In response to an invitation of the Congress of the United States, the French government has signified its intention of sending a delegation to represent it at the laying of the corner stone of the monument to the alliance on the ground of the victory; therefore,

*Resolved*, That his Excellency the Governor be and hereby is directed and authorized to extend the courtesies of the State of New York, in such manner as he may deem wise and proper, to the delegation of the French government, the family of Lafayette, and the descendants of the Marquis de Rochambeau, the Count de Grasse, and of such other general officers of the French army and fleet who served in the Yorktown campaign as may visit the United States during the present summer; and it is further

*Resolved*, That his Excellency the Governor be and hereby is empowered to call to his aid such of the citizens of the State as he may select to assist in the reception and entertainment of these honored guests, and he is hereby authorized to draw his warrant on the Treasurer of the State for such moneys as may be required for the purposes of this resolution.

On the 19th of August the Governor, in accordance therewith, issued the following

#### PROCLAMATION

STATE OF NEW YORK,  
EXECUTIVE CHAMBER, ALBANY, N. Y. }

In accordance with resolutions adopted by the Senate of the State of New York, June 21, 1881, providing that

the Governor be and hereby is authorized to extend the courtesies of the State, in such manner as he may deem wise and proper, to the delegation of the French Government, the family of Lafayette, and the descendants of the Marquis de Rochambeau, the Count de Grasse, and of such other General officers of the French Army and fleet who served in the Yorktown campaign as may visit the United States during the present Summer; and, further, that the Governor be and is hereby empowered to call to his aid such of the citizens of the State as he may select to assist in the reception and entertainment of these honored guests—

Therefore, the following-named persons, citizens of the State of New York, are hereby designated, chosen, and duly constituted, pursuant to the authority expressed, to take suitable action on the part of this State for the reception of, and to extend the hospitalities of the State to, the delegation of distinguished personages mentioned, and such others as may be delegated or invited to visit the United States for the purpose of attending or taking part in the forthcoming celebration at Yorktown, Va., in the month of October next ensuing: John A. King, Frederick W. Seward, Hamilton Fish, Jr., William W. Astor, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Robert Ray Hamilton, Wm. Jay, Lloyd Aspinwall, Horace Russell, Alfred C. Barnes, James M. Varnum, George I. Seney, Francis C. Barlow, John Austin Stevens, and William Rhinelander Stewart.

Given under my hand and the privy seal of the State, at the Capitol in the city of Albany, this nineteenth day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one. ALONZO B. CORNELL.

By the Governor.

[L. S.] HENRY E. ABELL, Private Secretary.

#### ACTS OF LEGISLATURES

The Legislatures of the old thirteen States of the Union have, with rare exceptions, taken appropriate action for their proper representation at the Yorktown Centennial.

MASSACHUSETTS. On the 12th of May, 1881, the Governor approved the following Resolve, relative to the Centennial Celebration at Yorktown:

*Resolved*, That a sum not exceeding ten thousand dollars be allowed and paid, to be expended under the direction of his Excellency the Governor, for a proper representation of the commonwealth at the Centennial Celebration of the surrender of the British army under Cornwallis to the American army under Washington, to be held at Yorktown, Virginia, in October next. And the Governor may authorize an encampment at some time during the present year, of any brigade, regiment, battalion, company, or corps of cadets, within the limits of the State; and any brigade, regiment, company, battalion, or corps of cadets which at such encampment shall fulfill the requirements of law with respect to encampments, to the satisfaction of the Governor or of such officer as may be designated by him to report thereon, shall be relieved

from the requirements of law with reference to encampments within this State during the present year, and the officers and enlisted men of such brigade, regiment, battalion, company or corps of cadets shall receive the same pay allowances for services in such encampment as they would be entitled to receive if the encampment were had upon the State grounds at Framingham. (*Chapter 6th of Laws and Resolves, Session of 1881*).

**NEW HAMPSHIRE.** On the 16th of August, 1881, the Governor approved the following joint resolution of the Legislature relative to the Centennial Celebration at Yorktown, Virginia :

*RESOLVED, by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Court convened :* That His Excellency the Governor, accompanied by his Staff, be requested to attend the celebration, in October next, of the one hundredth anniversary of the surrender of the British Army at Yorktown, Virginia ; and that he also be authorized to detail, to take part in such celebration, three companies of fifty men each, with officers appropriate to such a detachment, with a band from the New Hampshire National Guard ; and that in order to provide the necessary transportation and subsistence for the officers and soldiers so attending, the Governor be and he hereby is authorized to draw his warrant from the Treasury for the requisite sums, not exceeding seven thousand dollars : the final accounts and vouchers for all expenditures to be audited and approved by the Governor and Council.

**CONNECTICUT.** On the 14th April, 1881, the Governor approved an act concerning the Yorktown Celebration.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly.* SECTION 1. The commander-in-chief may, at his discretion, designate a regiment of the National Guard to represent this State at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle of Yorktown. SECTION 2. The spring parade and the encampment of the regiment so designated shall be suspended for the year 1881, and the members of said regiment shall be allowed the regular pay for the same number of days' service that they would receive for the parades and encampments so suspended, *provided* that they perform that number of days' service in representing the State at Yorktown. SECTION 3. The quartermaster-general shall provide transportation for the regiment and its camp equipage, and the sum of three thousand dollars is hereby appropriated therefor, and for camp expenses. Any additional cost of transportation shall be borne by the regiment. SECTION 4. The Governor and staff, and the Yorktown Commissioners from this State, are requested to attend said centennial celebration, and the quartermaster-general shall provide for transportation and expenses. SECTION 5. The commander-in-chief may direct the first and second companies of the Governor's foot guard to accompany him to Yorktown, provided they will consent to go without any claim for per diem or other allowances of any sort, and will agree to pay for their own transportation, music and

commissary supplies, and in that event the sum of one thousand dollars is appropriated to each of said companies which accepts the conditions of this section, and actually sends at least sixty men, rank and file, with their officers, and is present at Yorktown as long as the Governor directs. (*No. 1 of Special Acts of General Assembly of Connecticut, Session 1881*).

**PENNSYLVANIA.** In the Senate and House of Representatives the following concurrent resolutions were passed March 23, 1881, and approved by the Governor March 24, 1881 :

WHEREAS, His Excellency, the Governor, in his last annual message to the Legislature, referred to the coming Centennial Celebration on the 19th day of October next of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, in these words, viz.:

"It is contemplated to make adequate and worthy celebration of the Centennial of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown on the 19th day of October, 1781. As the final act of the war of the revolution, it has an historical bearing of especial significance. This celebration has received the approbation of the National Congress, and the sum of \$300,000 has been appropriated towards the expense of it. In October, 1879, the Governors of the States which were the original thirteen colonies, either personally or by duly authenticated representatives, met in Philadelphia to concert some measure by which the people of these States might unite in the recognition of this interesting event. The meeting was attended by many pleasing incidents recalling the memories which bind us to the work of our patriotic fathers, and the motives to a common and fraternal effort to render the coming occasion worthy of the united and happy children. But it was impossible to give the resolves of that meeting any official endorsement. I trust that the Legislature of Pennsylvania will take such action as is necessary to impress upon the proposed centennial observance at Yorktown the stamp of the sanction of the State of Pennsylvania, and give them the promise of enthusiastic participation in them by the people of Pennsylvania ; and,

WHEREAS, The other original States have made or are about making the necessary arrangements for a proper celebration of that event ; and,

WHEREAS, The Government of France has signified its intention of participating in said celebration ; and,

WHEREAS, It is proper and fitting that the State of Pennsylvania, being one of the thirteen original colonies, should take the necessary steps at once to enable the members of the Legislature and citizens of the commonwealth generally to participate in said centennial observance ; therefore,

*Resolved,* That a committee consisting of the President, pro-tem, of the Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives and five Senators, and ten members of the House of Representatives, to be appointed by the presiding officers of the respective houses, shall, in conjunction with His Excellency the Governor, and the Lieutenant Governor, make the arrangements necessary to perfect and carry out the objects contemplated ; and the expenses to

be incurred to be provided for by subsequent legislation. *Journals of the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Pennsylvania.*

And on the 29th day of June, 1881, the Governor approved

AN ACT to provide for the expenses of the centennial celebration of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, October nineteenth, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.

WHEREAS, His Excellency, the Governor, has recommended in his message that the commonwealth of Pennsylvania should participate in the ceremonies to take place at Yorktown, Virginia, October nineteenth, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one.

AND WHEREAS, It is eminently proper that the State of Pennsylvania, one of the thirteen original colonies, should unite with the other original States in such celebration; AND WHEREAS, It is understood that the Legislatures of said other States have made appropriations for said purpose, and contemplate attending said celebration, and a resolution has already been adopted by the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania to unite in the same, and a committee is about to be appointed to make the arrangements necessary to carry out the objects contemplated; therefore,

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly met, and it is hereby enacted by the authority of the same,* that the sum of ten thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, be appropriated to defray the expenses incurred by the committee heretofore provided for under the resolution adopted March twenty-third, Anno Domini one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, in the proposed celebration of the centennial celebrating the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, to be audited and settled by the Auditor General and State Treasurer in the usual manner. (*Legislature of Pennsylvania, Session 1881.*)

NEW JERSEY—On the 17th March, 1880, the Governor of New Jersey approved the following Joint Resolution of the two houses of the Legislature to enable the State to take part in the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the battle of Yorktown:

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States, on the twenty-ninth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine, did adopt the following resolution: "That the United States in Congress assembled, will cause to be erected at York, Virginia, a marble column, adorned with emblems of the alliance between the United States and his Most Christian Majesty, and inscribed with a succinct narrative of the surrender of Earl Cornwallis to his Excellency General Washington. Commander-in-Chief of the combined forces of America and France, to his Excellency Count de Rochambeau, commanding the auxiliary troops of his Most Christian Majesty in America, and his Excellency Count de Grasse, commanding-in-chief the naval army of France in the

Chesapeake:" and whereas, the Forty-sixth Congress did, to carry into effect the foregoing resolution, enact a law appropriating one hundred thousand dollars, to be expended, under the direction of the Secretary of War, in erecting the monument above referred to at Yorktown, in Virginia, and also the sum of twenty thousand dollars to make all necessary arrangements for such celebration of the Centennial anniversary of the battle of Yorktown, on the nineteenth day of October, one thousand eight hundred and eighty-one, as shall befit the historical significance of that event and the present greatness of the nation; and whereas, the Congress of the United States appointed a joint committee to make all necessary arrangements for such celebration; and whereas, the said committee of Congress have extended their invitation to the Governors and the Commissioners of all the States to be present on that occasion with their military staffs, and such military organizations as they may wish to accompany them, and expressing the desire that at least the thirteen original States shall provide for as imposing a representation as possible, by the presence of their civil officers and their military organizations, and that each State shall provide itself with such means of transportation and accommodation while present at the celebration as will enable it take part in such local services as may take place; therefore,

*Be it Resolved by the Senate and General Assembly of the State of New Jersey,* That the Governor is hereby authorized and requested to organize a provisional battalion, composed of companies selected from the whole body of the National Guard for their proficiency in drill, and discipline and soldierly bearing, neatness in appointments and equipments, to be designated by inspection and competitive drill, and the Governor may detail field and staff officers of suitable rank to command said battalion, and cause to be furnished the necessary transportation, such camp and garrison equipage and commissary and other stores requisite for their accommodation and subsistence while in camp at Yorktown, as may be creditable to this State and the occasion; and the Governor is authorized and empowered to make his requisition upon the Treasury to meet the necessary and proper expenses to carry out the provisions of this resolution, and the Comptroller is hereby authorized to draw his warrants for the same; and the Governor shall cause an accurate and detailed account to be kept of the expenditures, and shall file the same, together with proper vouchers, with the Comptroller, who shall report the same to the next session of the Legislature.

And on March 31st William S. Stryker, Adjutant General of the State, issued his General Order No. 1, in conformity with the same.

VERMONT, the first State admitted into the Union after the establishment of Independence, was the first of all the States to take action for the celebration of the Yorktown victory. On the 23d December, 1780, the Governor approved

AN ACT to provide for the participation of this State

in the Centennial Celebration of the Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. *It is hereby enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont.* Section 1. The Governor is hereby authorized to detail, not exceeding two companies of militia, to represent this State at the Centennial Celebration of the Battle and Surrender of Yorktown, to be held on the nineteenth day of October, 1881; and the Auditor of Accounts is hereby authorized to draw his order on the Treasurer for a sum not exceeding three thousand dollars to carry out the provisions of this act; but no per diem allowance or compensation shall be made to such force, or any part thereof.—*No. 134 of the Laws of Vermont, Session 1880.*

#### THE FRENCH GUESTS

The Marquis de Rochambeau, at the request of the Yorktown Centennial Association, has made an extensive search to ascertain the present descendants of the French officers who served with Rochambeau and de Grasse. Among the extinct families are those of Béthisy, de Buzet, de Montmorency-Laval, de Tilly, de Vioménil, de Vaudreuil. Among those still existing are Aboville, de Berthier, de Broglie, de Castellane, de Cars, de Chabannes de La Palice, de Chastellux, de Charitte, de Damas, de Dillon, de Frémond, de Grasse, de la Grandière, de Lestrade, de Lameth, de MacMahon, de Ménonville, de Montecler, de Montesquieu, de Noailles, de Pondeux, de St. Simon, de Ségur, de Sillesque, de Ternay, de Vaugirand, d'Olonnes. These gentlemen are all hereditary members of the French Order of the Cincinnati founded in France, its members being nominated by the Count de Rochambeau and especially accorded this peculiar privilege by Louis XVI. They will be welcomed at Yorktown by the officers of the General Order of the United States. There will be a large representation of these families at the October celebration.

The delegation will be under the management of Monsieur Outrey, the French Minister to the United States. It will include: 1. An officer of the household of President Grévy; 2. A delegation of the Foreign Office; 3. A military delegation, consisting of a General Officer and Aids; 4. A naval delegation, consisting of a Rear Admiral and an escort of officers; 5. A delegation from the Bureau of Fine Arts, composed of distinguished artists; 6. The family of Lafayette. The French fleet in the West India Station will escort the delegation.

#### ORDER OF CEREMONIES

##### YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL ASSOCIATION PROGRAMME

OCTOBER 13th, *Thursday.* An opening address will be delivered by the Hon. John Goode, President of the Association, at 11 o'clock A. M. Descendants of officers and soldiers of the Revolution are especially invited to be present. Appropriate entertainments will follow. This day the Moore House, the scene of the capitulation of Cornwallis, will be opened to visitors.

14th, *Friday.* Addresses will be delivered by the Hon. Carl Schurz, by Frederick R. Coudert, Esq., and Prof. Elie Charlier, of New York. In the evening there will be a Grand Ball in the Pavilion.

15th, *Saturday.* A grand national regatta, when Yorktown Centennial Silver Premium Cups will be awarded to the winning yacht and boat's crew.

Japanese fireworks and other pyrotechnics will be displayed in the afternoon and evening.

16th, *Sunday.* Religious services in the Grand Pavilion, the Right Reverend Bishop J. J. Keane, of the Catholic Diocese of Virginia, assisted by His Grace the Archbishop Gibbons, of Maryland, will officiate in the morning. The Rev. Dr. John Hall, of New York, will conduct the services in the afternoon.

17th, *Monday.* Anniversary of the sending out of a Flag of Truce by Lord Cornwallis, asking a cessation of hostilities (also the anniversary of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga).

The Hon. William Windom, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, will deliver an address. The Commercial, Financial and Industrial Associations of the country, the Odd Fellows, and other civic organizations, will be received by Col. J. E. Peyton, General Superintendent of the Association.

#### NATIONAL CEREMONIES

ON TUESDAY, the 18th of October, the grand National Ceremonies will be opened under the direction of the Joint Congressional Committee, and conducted according to their programme, as follows: Prayer and a Chorus of one hundred voices, after which the Honorable John W. Johnston, United States Senator from Virginia, Chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on the celebration, will formally open the proceedings. The Hon. F. W. M. Holliday, Governor of the State of Virginia, will deliver an address of welcome.

The corner-stones of the monument to the Victory and the Alliance will be laid with the usual imposing ceremonies by Mr. Peyton Coles, Grand Masonic Master of the Order for the State of Virginia, assisted by the Masters of the order of each of the other Colonial States.

On Wednesday, the 19th, second day of the Grand National Ceremonies, an address will be delivered by the President of the United States; an oration by the Honorable Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts; a poem by Colonel James Barron Hope, of Virginia; an ode by Mr. Paul Hayne, of South Carolina.

On Thursday, the 20th, the third day of the celebration, there will be a military review on the field of Yorktown.

On Friday, the fourth day of the celebration, there will be a naval review in Hampton Roads.

## EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

THE Paris Figaro in its number for the 2d April, 1881, published an article from the pen of Auguste Marcède, entitled, *Les LAFAYETTE*, from which we extract so much as relates to the descendants of the General. Lafayette, on the 11th April, 1774, then sixteen years of age, married Marie Adrienne Françoise, second daughter of the Duke d'Ayen, and granddaughter of the Maréchal de Noailles, who was in her fifteenth year; she died in 1807. Their first child, a daughter, ANASTASIE, born soon after Lafayette's departure for America, was married to Charles de Latour Maubourg, a companion of Lafayette in his captivity. She had two children, Madame de Brigode and Madame de Perron. General de Perron, President of the Council of Ministers at Piedmont, was killed at the battle of Navarre. The second daughter of Lafayette was VIRGINIE, so called in memory of the campaign which closed with the capitulation of Yorktown. She married about 1800, the Marquis Louis de Lasteyrie, who served some years in the French army. He was wounded, left the service, and withdrew during the period of the Empire to the Chateau of Lagrange (Seine and Marne) with General Lafayette and Charles de Latour-Maubourg. Later George (the son of Lafayette) joined them with his family. Under the Restoration the Marquis de Lasteyrie was Colonel of the Legion of the Nièvre. Dying before General Lafayette, he left four children, Madame Charles de Remusat, mother of the present Senator for the Haute-Garonne; Madame de Corcelle, wife of a former Ambassador to Rome (Madame de Chambrun, a daughter of Madame de Corcelle, resides at Washington, D. C., where her husband, the Marquis de Chambrun, has a post in the State department); Mons. Jules de Lasteyrie, Senator, who married a Rohan Chabot of the English branch; the only son of Mons. Jules de Lasteyrie is Receiver at Abbeville; Madame d'Assailly, mother of the Councillor General of Deux-Sèvres and of the Captain of Chasseurs. The only son of the General was GEORGE WASHINGTON LAFAYETTE. When in 1795 his mother joined the General in his Olmutz prison with her

two daughters, George was sent to America to the care of his natural guardian and God-father, General Washington, in whose family he remained for three years. On the release of his father from captivity he rejoined, February, 1798, the family at Altona in Holstein. During the Consulate he entered the French army as an officer. He served until 1807, notwithstanding the unwillingness of Napoleon to give him any advancement. Finally he resigned his commission in disgust. In 1802 he married Melle Destutt de Tracy, by whom he had two sons and three daughters. 1, Oscar, who died March 27, 1881, was a Senator for Life. His wife, née Bureaux de Pusy (whose father was also one of the military family of Lafayette, and shared his captivity), died in childbirth, after a year of marriage. 2, Edmond, Senator for the Haute-Loire, President of the Council of this department, a bachelor and sixty-two years of age. 3, Madame Adolphe Perier (nephew of Casimir) who died a few years ago. One of the daughters of Madame Perier married M de Sahune. The Sub-Prefect of Soissons is of this family. 4, Madame Bureaux de Pusy, 5, Madame Gustave de Beaumont, these two ladies are living. Madame de Pusy has a son, a superior officer of engineers, and two daughters. M. Paul de Remusat, son of the second, was the head of the cabinet of M. Dufaure. The connections of the Lafayette family are very numerous. Felix Balthazar Otton, Count of Mérode, married successively the two daughters of the Marquis de Grammont, nieces of the Marquis de Lafayette. From this union sprung Werner, Count de Mérode, present Senator for Doubs; his brother, Minister of Alms to Pius IX, and Anna Comtesse de Montalembert. The Segurs are also allied to the Lafayettes through the grand-mother of the Marquise Louise Daguesseau, daughter of the celebrated Chancellor. The name of Lafayette has been illustrious in war since the early part of the fifteenth century (1422), when the founder of the family, the Maréchal de Lafayette, at the battle of Baugé, defeated the English. The father of the American General fell at the battle of Minden in 1758, at the age of twenty-five, when his son was hardly seven years of age. The name is now only borne by M. EDMOND

DE LAFAYETTE, who is unmarried. It is he who, upon the invitation of the United States, will represent the family at the Yorktown Centennial.

THE statue to Admiral Farragut, executed by Augustus de St. Gaudens, of New York, at the expense of the Farragut Monument Association, and put up in Madison Square, New York, was presented to the city authorities on Wednesday, the 25th May, with a civic, military and naval display, conducted by General Lloyd Aspinwall as Chief Marshal. The day was superb and the attendance very large. The presentation was made on behalf of the Association by the Hon. Wm. M. Hunt, Secretary of the Navy; the statue was unveiled by Admiral Melancthon Smith and accepted by the Mayor of the city; after which an oration was delivered by Joseph H. Choate. Mrs. Farragut, widow of the Admiral, and Loyall Farragut, his son, were present. The statue, of bronze, of a beautiful tinge, was cast at the foundry in Paris, under the supervision of Alphonse Gruet. Of heroic size, it shows the Admiral in his navy uniform, his cap straight visored, and the trowsers loose, his sword hanging from the belt. In his left hand he holds a marine glass. The right hangs naturally. The skirt of the coat seems to be agitated by the wind. The pose is easy and natural, and the expression admirable in its combination of gravity and penetration. The instant that it was unveiled it achieved the success to which it is in every way entitled. Indeed there are few, if any, statues in America to be compared with it in naturalness and power. Unfortunately the pedestal is entirely inappropriate to the position in which it is placed. Statues in open squares should rest upon supports which are equally attractive from every point of view. The plinth beneath the statue of Farragut is adapted perhaps to the front of a building or heavy background, after a manner not unusual in European art, but out of place in Madison Square. It is of blue stone, nearly semi-circular, the two wings curving forward from the central base, on which, slightly elevated, the statue stands. Finely chiseled, in bas-relief on the two wings, are female fig-

ures representing Loyalty and Courage, in themselves artistic. Between them a representation of water, through which is visible a colossal sword erect. The effect is bad, resembling a sectional drawing of a tank in a book of Physics. There is an elaborate inscription in Archaic-Roman characters, which are as hard to decipher as a mural inscription of the Cæsars. The semi-circular construction, which is about twelve feet on the inner curve, forms at its base a seat, in front of which is a miniature beach of pebbles, embedded in which a bronze crab, bearing the names of the artist and the architect (Stanford White). In the rear of the pedestal is chiseled a representation of an admiral's flag. The workmanship of the monument is fine, and the attitude of the figure is beyond praise, but the design is unfortunate in its sacrifice of effect to details.

GRENVILLE PARKER, brother of the celebrated surgeon and physician, Dr. Willard Parker, of New York city, died in Wellsburg, West Virginia, on the 10th May, 1881. His health failing, he moved from Middlesex, Mass., and settled at Wyandotte, Virginia, and was residing there before the war was begun by the fire upon Fort Sumter. He at once took his stand as a Union man, and was a member of the Commission which organized the State Government of West Virginia. He came of a revolutionary stock on both sides, his ancestors being present at Bunker Hill and Bennington.

THE one hundred and sixth anniversary of the Battle of Bunker Hill was celebrated on the ground on the 17th June with patriotic enthusiasm, in the presence of a hundred thousand people. The exercises began soon after day-light with a procession after the fashion of Mardi Gras. This was followed by a monster civic and military parade, in which organizations from the outlying towns took part. Banquets were given by the different corps.

The chief feature of the day was the presentation at noon of the statue of Colonel William Prescott, who fell on the field of battle. The Governor of the State was present. The formal presentation was made in a letter from Dr.

George E. Ellis on behalf of the subscribers. The oration by the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop was worthy of the occasion. The statue, which was executed by William W. Story, at Rome, is of bronze, and spirited in pose. It is nine feet in height, and stands within the monument enclosure upon a nearly rectangular pedestal of polished Janesborough granite seven feet high, and four feet six inches by four feet ten inches at the base. The structure rests on a base of Quincy granite. Upon the front panel of the pedestal is the following inscription in raised letters—COLONEL WILLIAM PRESCOTT, JUNE 17, 1775. The remaining panels are blank. The location chosen is believed to be the very spot where he fell encouraging his men. He is represented at the moment preceding the attack, when he uttered the memorable words, "Don't fire until I tell you; don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes." The right leg advances, the right hand grasps nervously an unsheathed sword; the left hand is thrown back in a repressing movement. His eyes gaze eagerly forward, and the whole body seems vibrant with emotion. The dress is in the easy costume which he wore on the occasion; a loose seersucker coat and a broad-brimmed farmer's hat. The fine clear cut type of the Prescott features has been preserved, and the expression is exceedingly noble. In a word the work is one of art, worthy of the subject and of the sculptor. Prescott's sword was shown on the occasion.

In the afternoon Professor Rogers made his forty-fourth ascension from Sullivan Square and landed at Chelsea. In the evening there was a fine display of fireworks.

THE Duke of Sutherland, the Marquis of Stafford, his son, and a number of English gentlemen lately visited the United States to inspect our railway system. The Duke is a representative, in a collateral line, of Francis Egerton, the famous Duke of Bridgewater, who built the first canal in England. A portrait of this nobleman, and one of De Witt Clinton, the promoter of the canal system in America, were presented to the Chamber of Commerce of New York by Mr. Samuel B. Ruggles on the occasion of the visit of the Duke

of Sutherland and his suite to the Hall of that institution. The gentlemen were greatly interested in the colonial portraits and relics which are there preserved.

CHICAGO is turning her attention to monuments. Hitherto the only attempts in this direction have been the mausoleum and statue to Stephen A. Douglas, and the base for a Fire memorial. It is now proposed to erect a monument to Dr. George Buchanan Armstrong, founder of the Railway Mail Service in the United States. The expense will be borne by the clerks in the service. At the suggestion of the Chicago Historical Society, Mr. W. M. Hoyt is about to set up a tablet in the wall of the Hoyt block which stands on the corner of Michigan Avenue and River Street. The tablet will consist of a large block of marble, the upper part bearing a bas-relief of old Fort Dearborn, the lower an inscription explanatory of the fact that the building occupies its site.

THE HUDSON TUNNEL COMPANY has begun its excavations at the foot of Morton Street, on the New York side of the river. It covers an area of fifty square feet. The walls are of brick, four feet in thickness. On the New Jersey side the work on the south section has reached one hundred and fifty feet. Work on the north section has been pushed three hundred and sixty feet. The Tunnel will be open in the summer of 1883, if not before.

MISS LOUISE McLAUGHLIN, whose discovery of the art of pottery glaze, was noticed in the Magazine, has now organized a Pottery Club for the manufacture of faience after the processes of the famous factory of Limoges, France. In 1879, two kilns for firing decorated wares, one for underglaze and one for overglaze, were built at the pottery of Frederick Dallas, Cincinnati, Miss McLaughlin and Mrs. Maria Longworth Nichols advancing the funds. The name of Cincinnati faience has been given to Miss McLaughlin's specialty. The club consists of twelve ladies, and a new pottery is now in operation. Gray stone ware will be one of its features.



(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

# HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF

AMERICA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, by JAMES SCHOULER. Vol. I. 1783-1801. 16mo, pp. 523. W. H. & C. H. MORRISON. Washington, D. C., 1880.

In his preface Mr. Schouler reminds us that the history of the United States under the Constitution has not as yet been presented in a satisfactory manner. Mr. Bancroft has but recently completed his studies on the Federal Constitution which has not been as yet published. The work of Hildreth, excellent as it is, was written without the advantage of many of the authorities which have since appeared in the biographies of the earlier statesmen. Mr. Schouler has made careful use of all these authorities, but it must be remembered that the store is by no means exhausted, and that many new side lights will yet be opened, and perhaps still further change our opinion of men and their purposes.

The field covered by Mr. Schouler's first volume extends from the Treaty of Peace of 1783 to the fall of the Federal party in 1801—a period full of interest and instruction; that, in which the antagonistic currents of political thought (which later absorbed the intellect of the country), first took outline and distinct course. The arrangement is of five chapters. The first, introductory; its three sections treat of—I. The thirteen Confederate States; II. The Constitutional Convention; III. A more perfect union. The second treats of the first Administration of Washington in its two natural sections—the first and second Congress. The third, of the second Administration of Washington, periods of the third and the fourth Congress. The fourth, of the administration of John Adams and the fifth and the sixth Congress.

The population in 1783 is fairly estimated at about three and one-half millions, distributed in three nearly equal portions; New England, one third; the Middle States of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, one third, Virginia and the other Southern States the remainder. Of this population, not less than six hundred thousand were of African race or descent. At the close of the revolution slavery had a legal footing in all of the States but one. The confederation is described as a makeshift, the work of an anonymous author. It brought the triumphant States into the common contempt of manhood, and left them a prey even to pirate powers. In customs matters each State was independent, and here may be found the cause of the indifference of the small to a closer alliance. Each of the original thirteen colonies had its seaport and each minor state preferred to take its chance of supplying its more populous

neighbors at rates of duty lower than those established across its borders. In the relinquishment of the State claims to western territory, the base of the great nation, which has resulted from the "more perfect union" formed in 1789, was securely laid. And as in the period of the revolution the Middle States held together the extremes of New England and the Southern States, so in the later struggle the population of the western territory held together the union from which they sprung.

The old Continental Congress died of inanition. "With hardly vitality left" (to use Mr. Schouler's words) "for completing its brief routine work, the Confederacy bequeathed the more burdensome concerns to its successors." Its last momentous achievement was the passage of the "ordinance for securing freedom to the inhabitants of the territory northwest of the Ohio," a fitting complement to the Declaration of Independence. For these great acts alone, impartial history will forgive it all its petty errors of omission and commission.

While the old order of things was passing away in the dull deserted chamber of the City Hall, New York, the new was springing into full active life at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, where the convention met which formed the Constitution of the United States. In this great intellectual contest the national idea first found complete expression, and in the rapid crystallization of the disintegrated fragments into the Federal and Anti-Federal parties is found the origin of parties as political factors in the United States. Singularly enough these names ill describe the purposes of these organizations. The aims of the Federal party were national, those of the anti-Federalists more strictly federal.

Mr. Schouler excels in narrative. In an easy style, always lucid, often epigrammatic, he traces the course of political history, analyses legislation, probes the motives of the leaders of opinion, and presents strong outline pictures of the men themselves. Nor is this dry reading. In the close packed summary, in which the student will find every important fact suitably fitted, the full mosaic is relieved with abundant color. The portrait of Washington as he appeared in all the dignity of Presidential office, is a gem of character drawing. The descriptions of his arrival at New York, of his inauguration, of the ceremonials in Congress, the Presidential levees and Friday parties, and of the social life of the great officials, are charming in their graphic detail. The proceedings of the first Congress in the modelling of the departments of administration, their growth, changes and refinement, the consummate establishment of the public credit by Hamilton, the policy as to the public

lands which provided for the indefinite expansion and secured the perpetuity of the union, are all narrated in admirable manner. Particularly noticeable is the presentation of Washington's views as to the essential qualifications for office—"integrity, capacity and conspicuousness." Unknown characters Washington did not want for public office. And in fact nothing has done more to alienate talent of the higher order from public service than the departure from this admirable principle.

The period of the second Congress was marked by bitter political dissensions. New party combinations were formed. American eyes were still turned across the seas, and the great upheaval which stirred France in 1789 and shook the continent of Europe from the Baltic to the Straits of Gibraltar, agitated the western continent with sympathetic throes. The French alliance was not yet forgotten by the men who had fought side by side with Rochambeau at Yorktown. Jefferson had returned from France full of enthusiasm for the new order of things; for the liberty, equality and fraternity of man, proclaimed with trumpet sound from the Champ de Mars, which he naturally enough considered as in a measure forecast by, if not modelled upon, his own immortal declaration of 1776. He found himself confronted with a strong English feeling and a distrust of the new theories. Notwithstanding the antipathies which the war had aroused, the old English class distinctions, which, though modified, characterized colonial America, were still strong. Moreover, the advances of England towards diplomatic intercourse had been welcomed, as promising a mitigation of the greatest annoyance to the young nation, the inroads of the Indian tribes who hemmed in its expanding civilization from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico. But the one strong element of national dissatisfaction was the distrust of the Federal leaders, whose sympathy with English ideas was interpreted as sympathy with monarchical ideas. Imbued with this distrust, and not without personal ambition, Jefferson readily saw his opportunity and organized the formidable opposition which undermined the strength of the Federal party, embittered the last years of Washington's life, and finally secured the control of the government. A careful review of this period leads to unqualified approval of the policy of non-interference with European politics—which at the time seemed so ungracious to our recent ally France—and an acquittal of the Federal party of any monarchical intent to subvert or change the established form of government, while a tracing of the course of American politics shows that the Democratic idea, which was the outgrowth of the French revolution, has triumphed over all obstacles, permeated all of our institutions, and is now the irresistible force of the American nation. Not the Democratic idea hampered with Jeffer-

son's political limitation of State-rights, but the Democratic idea allied to the broad National conception of the Federal party, which made the constitution under which we live to-day.

Fascinating and suggestive as the subject is, it must now be dismissed. Justice cannot be done to Mr. Schouler's comprehensive and masterly volume in brief review. The time has come when, with the growth of the national spirit which is now supreme over and above political dogmatism, the history of parties can be written with impartial spirit. In this spirit Mr. Schouler has written this, his first, volume. In this spirit it will be no doubt continued, and if the promise of the volumes which are to follow is to be measured by the performance of the first, this history of the United States under the constitution will long hold its place as the text book of historical students in the closet, and the pleasing instructor of American youth.

#### PAPERS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA. American Series I.

1. Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico. 2. Report on the ruins of the Pueblo of Pecos. By A. F. BANDELIER. 8vo, pp. 133. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, 1881.

In the July number (VI. 319) attention was invited to the abundant promise of this new and praiseworthy society which was organized in 1879 with archæology for its field, and has already sent out its own well equipped exploring expeditions. Not waiting their reports, however, it has begun its American series of publications with two papers by the distinguished gentleman, some of whose previous essays have also been elaborately reviewed in our columns, to wit—treatises on art of war and mode of warfare of the ancient Mexicans, tenure and distribution of land among ancient Mexicans, customs with respect to inheritance and social organization and modes of government of the ancient Mexicans, III, 583, 532; V, 468. These were careful studies, interesting to a more limited class than the more general papers before us.

Some shadowy notions of an original residence in remote antiquity at the north prevail among nearly all the tribes of Mexico which speak the Nahuatl language, and take the form of tradition in the tale of the Seven Caves, whence the Mexicans and Tezcucans as well as the Tlaxaltecs are said to have emigrated to Mexico. An early mention of this tradition appears in the writings of Fray Toribio de Paredes (Mololinia) about 1540. A similar tale had been told to Nuño Beltrán de Guzmán, in Sinoloa, in 1530. In 1562 a collection of picture sheets executed in aboriginal style represented Chicomoztoc and the migrations thence.

Whether this tale had any influence upon the extension of Spanish discovery into Northern Mexico is not yet ascertained, but no doubt exists as to the instrumentality of that better known myth familiar to the eastern continents of the Amazons. About 1524 Cortes was informed that there existed an island in the region to the northward inhabited by warlike women, and the report was accompanied by exaggerated stories of metallic wealth. In 1529 Nuño de Guzman, the Governor of Mexico, set out on an expedition of conquest, and incidentally to search for the treasure of the Amazons. He laid waste and colonized Sinoloa, sent parties into Sonora, but the tale of the Seven Cities flitted delusively northward the further he progressed. In 1536 Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, with three of his companions, the only survivors of the expedition of Narváez to Florida, after nine years of hardships, in which they traversed the entire continent from the Gulf of Mexico to the Pacific Coast, met his countrymen at Culiacan. In 1540 Francisco Vasquez Coronado marched northward from Culiacan, "leaving north slightly to the left." Among the localities mentioned by Juan Jaramilla in his itinerary of this expedition, is the mountain chain of Chichiltic-Calli or Red House, where a large ruined Indian structure was found. A careful study of the route of Coronado has determined Mr. Bandelier to adopt the views of General Simpson and W. H. H. Davis that the Pueblo of Zuni occupies one of the sites within the tribal area of "the Seven Cities of Cibola." Tusayem is indentified with the Moqui district and Acuco with Acoma. Three of the principal Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona are thus located. Tiguex is next located on or near the site of Bernalillo, and the location of Cicuyé as Pecos results as a natural sequence. We shall not follow Mr. Bandelier farther in his study of the Ethnography of New Mexico. The sedentary Indians agglomerate in the clusters between the frontier of Arizona and the Rio Grande, along the Rio Grande from north to south, between Sangre de Cristo and Mesilla; west of the Rio Grande Valley and east of the Rio Grande. Around these Pueblos are ranged in the northwest the Apaches, in the northeast the Tejas, northeast and east the Querechos, southeast and east the Jumanas and Tobosas. New Mexico is indicated as an excellent objective point for serious practical archaeologists, since the history of the Pueblo Indians may be pursued for three hundred and fifty years to the date of the march of Coronado. In a subsequent paper Mr. Bandelier proposes to continue this subject in a discussion of the various expeditions into New Mexico.

The second paper is entitled a visit to the Aboriginal ruins in the valley of the Rio Pecos, and describes the curious remains of the Mesilla or tabulated cliff in which the Indian houses

stand, the site also of the massive former Catholic temple of Pecos. Numerous architectural illustrations accompany the text. It is needless to say that this pamphlet is well edited and admirably printed.

**NEW MANUAL OF GENERAL HISTORY.** With Particular Attention to Ancient and Modern Civilization. With numerous Engravings and Maps for the use of Colleges, High Schools, Academies, etc. By JOHN J. ANDERSON, Ph. D. Part I. Ancient History. 12mo, pp. 302.

Mr. Anderson is well known as a successful author of school histories. The purpose of the present volume is to accompany brief sketches of the political history of ancient and modern nations with the necessary general information as to the social peculiarities of each people, and their progress in every department of civilization. The treatment is by nationalities, the author justly holding that comparisons by periods belongs to a different class of study than this work is intended to aid. It is also accompanied by outline reviews, topical synopses, chronological tables and numerous maps and illustrative cuts. It is divided into two parts, the first devoted to ancient, the second to mediæval and modern history. It has an analytical table of contents and a pronouncing index. It will be found an excellent reference book for general use.

#### THE CORWIN GENEALOGY (CURWIN.

CURWEEN, CORWINE), IN THE UNITED STATES, by EDWARD TANJORE CORWIN, Millstone, N. J. 8vo, pp. 284. S. W. GREEN. New York, 1872.

Several of the families of this name in the United States are of English descent. One of them, however, claims to be of remote Hungarian origin, although for a time, perhaps, naturalized in England. This branch hold their name Corwin to be simply an anglicized form of Corvinus which again is derived from Corvus (a raven). In 1638, one George Curwin (or Corwin), came from Northampton, England, and settled at Salem, Mass. In 1652, one Samuel Corwine (or Curwin), settled in Essex and Old Norfolk, Mass. In 1676, Thomas Curwin, a Quaker, is found at Boston. Matthias Corwin, for whom Hungarian origin is set up, is found settled at Ipswich, Massachusetts, in 1634, whence he removed in 1640 to Southold, Long Island.

An introduction gives a brief account of those several families, after which follows a genealogy arranged in alphabetical order of Christian names. A general index, indispensable to this mode of arrangement, closes the volume.

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**NOTICE.**

An error in the coloring of the official map of Yorktown has delayed the issue of this November number. The map will appear in the December number, 15th instant.

**EDITOR.**

New York, December 1, 1881.



W. F. W.



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# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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## THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS IN ENGLAND

MUCH was expected from the appointment of Lord Cornwallis to an important post in the British army, in its attempts to subdue the rebellion in America. His previous military record had been such as to justify their expectations, and the general success which had followed him in his Southern campaign, seemed to confirm the wisdom of his appointment. The news of the defeat of General Gates at Camden, August 16th, 1780, had been received with the greatest satisfaction in England, and it was believed that Cornwallis had completely crushed the rebellion in the South. It is true that the affair at King's Mountain (See Magazine of American History, Nov., 1880) furnished evidence that the smouldering embers of opposition to Great Britain were still burning, and it was not realized that the defeat of Colonel Ferguson was "the beginning of the end" of the final overthrow of the English army in the South. What was the feeling of the British soldiers who were still at Camden, after the defeat of General Gates, appears from a letter written from that place, under date of November 13, 1780.

"We are under no apprehensions of having a visit paid us by the Americans. They have nothing for miles round to subsist on; and their only incitement for coming into the country, is plunder. Lord Cornwallis is perfectly recovered (he had had an attack of bilious fever), and his army in high spirits."

Some weeks later, Lieut.-Colonel H. Balfour, under date of Charleston, January 16, 1781, writes Lord George Germain:

"It is with pleasure, I inform your Lordship, that many of the principal inhabitants of this province, and some who held the chief offices under the late rebel power, have reverted to their loyalty, and declared their allegiance to his Majesty's government."

A day later, the 17th, Captain Bowers, of the ship *Halifax*, writes from Charleston:

"We promise ourselves a brilliant campaign; to which opinion the approved military ability



of our great and good commander of the Southern army adds almost an absolute certainty. By the first of April, we flatter ourselves, North Carolina and Virginia will be in the King's peace; a blessing which the repenting rebels of this Colony begin with gratitude to acknowledge."

The roseate view taken by the naval officer is confirmed by an army officer, who writes from Portsmouth, Va., under date of January 23, 1781:

"The station his Majesty's forces have now taken in the Southern Colonies, must be the means of entirely crushing the rebellion here, as it is impossible the rebels can have any communication with the North, but by a round of several miles through swamps and other places, as disadvantageous."

In connection with this letter, we find the following:

"The province of South Carolina being now happily restored to government, and peace and tranquility established, Lord Cornwallis, as one of the first salutary works to the new government, has appointed a board of commissioners, to ascertain the progressive depreciation of the currency, issued by the usurpers in that province, and by the Continental Congress."

Meanwhile there began to appear some foreshadowings of what, in a few months, was destined to effect a complete change in public opinion in England touching the progress of the government in bringing to a successful close the rebellion in the American Colonies. A gentleman in South Carolina, writing to his friend in London, under date of February 24, 1781, says:

"I should be very happy indeed to confirm your *supposed* orderly state and government of this country, since the surrender of Charleston, but am very sorry to inform you, it is far otherwise. For a while, there was a calm, which made us hope resistance was at an end, but it was of short duration. The surges had scarcely subsided, before the storm gathered afresh, which being industriously nourished and aroused by the sons of treason and rebellion, has again burst on this unhappy distracted country, which, at present, abounds with robbers and plunderers, and who, generally, and without distinction, carry into captivity all the friends of good government they meet with; insomuch that we are not safe 20 miles from Charleston. Such is our present unhappy situation, and God only knows when our sufferings will have an end."

An army officer at New York takes a more hopeful view of things, He thus writes to his friend in London, under date of March 27, 1781, a little less than seven months prior to the surrender of Lord Cornwallis:

"I have the pleasure to acquaint you that our affairs here go on so extremely well that I doubt not but we shall soon be masters of America; for it is impossible for them to hold out much longer. Washington's army is reduced to a handful of men, half starved, without clothing, and in want of every necessary, daily deserting, some coming over to us, and others returning home. General Gates is driven out of both the Carolinas, and every expedition our troops go upon, proves successful, and we believe that the summer's campaign will finish the American war. The city is crowded with inhabitants, who come from all parts of America, to be out of the hands of the arbitrary Congress, who are becoming odious to the greatest part of the people."

The Carolina Gazette of the same date with that of the army officer, makes the announcement that "in consequence of the signal victory lately obtained by his Excellency, Earl Cornwallis, over the Rebel Army under General Greene, a Feu-de-Joye was fired by the whole Garrison off Duty; the Town was very generally illuminated, and the night concluded with every demonstration of joy."

The influence of the conflicting reports which came from America is traceable in the debates of the House of Commons. On Wednesday, May 30, 1781, Colonel Hartley moved for leave to bring in a bill empowering his Majesty to treat with persons who may be authorized to agree on terms of peace with America. Lord North contended that the King, of his own prerogative, without the intervention of Parliament, could make peace with America, and therefore the motion was an impertinence. Mr. Fox replied to Lord North in a long and animated speech, saying, among other things, that "if the Crown had the *power* to make peace with America, it was very clear that ministers had not the *will*—that they were averse to peace, because the war with the colonies was necessary to maintain them in their places; and with *it*, their consequence in the empire must expire—it was therefore incumbent on them, not to have a wish for peace, as long as they desired to keep their places." He closed his speech, which was packed with argument and sharp satire, by professing his great satisfaction at finding an opportunity, before the rising of Parliament, for expressing his sentiments on so important a subject. Lord George Germain came to the support of the government, and boldly asserted the right of the King, if, in his wisdom, he saw fit, on his sole authority, to conclude a peace with America. He closed a long speech by saying that, though he was ardently desirous of peace with America, yet, if it could not be obtained without an admission of her independence, he, for one, would forego the blessings of peace rather than give his vote for so degrading a confession. Burke followed in a speech, full of fire and wit, some of the latter bordering, if he was correctly reported, a little too much on the vulgar, for refined and polite ears to listen to, but which, we doubt not, convulsed a portion, at least, of the Commons with irrepressible laughter.

The motion of Colonel Hartley was voted down—Ayes, 72; Noes, 106. On the same day the London Chronicle announced that "the last letters from Cornwallis contain very pleasing accounts of the unanimity which prevails in Charleston," and adds that "the French ministry are thrown into great dejection by the confirmation of General Greene's

defeat; and the vigor with which Lord Cornwallis pushes his successes in the Southern Colonies, gives them the most alarming apprehensions."

There was another spirited debate in the House of Commons on American affairs on the 12th of June. Mr. Fox made another able plea for conciliation, citing Lord Cornwallis himself, as endorsing his own frequently expressed opinion on the impracticability of attempting to subdue the colonies by force of arms. The vast extent of country to be traversed, the difficulty of procuring provisions, the liability to sudden attacks from unexpected quarters, were alluded to, as obstacles to success, which the commander of the British army in the South very distinctly recognized. He had, it was true, gained victories over Generals Gates and Greene, but he had no one good consequence of his success, not being joined by any body of Americans, as he expected, nor even retaining the ground upon which he had conquered. Of course, among the gentlemen who replied to the great Commoner, was Lord Germain. He repeated what he had so often said, that he would never recognize the independence of the American Colonies. "He had always protested against independence; he would do so to his latest breath. A reconciliation upon terms that should not dissolve the sovereignty of the country over the colonies was what he worked for." He closed his speech with the utterance of words which indicated he was controlled by those motives of commercial policy which have always so largely influenced the action of the English government. He said "that it was proper to proceed with vigor in the prosecution of the war, and not leave it in the power of the French to tell the Americans that *they* had procured their independence, and *were consequently entitled to a preference, if not an exclusive right to their trade.*"

General Burgoyne made a draft on his own bitter experience, declaring "that no man *could* go out with more zeal in the service of his country, and that, in consequence, he did his best; but when he came there he found that he had been greatly deceived respecting the dispositions of the Americans and their power of procuring provisions, recruits, etc." He warmly supported Mr. Fox. Pitt, who made one of his vigorous speeches, declaring "that he was from principle an enemy to that cruel, oppressive and ruinous measure—the American war, a war which had with the strictest propriety been called an *accursed war.*" After several other members of the House had spoken, Fox closed the debate, making, as the London Chronicle tells us, "one of the best replies ever made in Parliament," and ended by saying that "the faces

of the opposite Bench were full of doubt, confusion and despair. He hoped, therefore, necessity would oblige them to make peace." The motion of Mr. Fox was then put, and the result was: Ayes, 99; noes, 172.

An extract from a letter written from New York, under date of May 24th, shows how the hopes of the friends of the administration were kept alive. The writer says:

"You would be amazed to see what numbers daily flock into this city from all parts, from whom we learn that Congress is broken up, and most of them are returned home, there to wait in hopes that the royal proclamation will soon be published, granting a free pardon to all those that have been any ways concerned in the rebellion, on surrendering at a certain day. However, be it as it may, they cannot hold out much longer, General Washington being determined to quit the command of the army; and this afternoon it was reported that advice is received that he had actually thrown up his commission, and returned home. Therefore, you may expect some extraordinary news by the next mail."

Extraordinary news, but not exactly of the sort anticipated by this writer, did reach England not many mails after this letter was received from New York. For a time, however, confidence in ultimate success was strengthened by the reports which reached England, that Cornwallis had been reinforced by the addition of 3,000 men to his army, that the South would without doubt soon submit to the British government; that there had been a battle in which the forces under the command of La Fayette had been routed, the Marquis mortally wounded by Colonel Tarleton, and had fallen a prisoner into his hands; that the rebel officers go on from bad to worse daily; that Dr. Johnson (a well-known Tory of Connecticut) came very near being elected governor, and that "Old Trumbull" carried the election by a very small majority. These are samples of reports which found their way into the public prints, and kept alive the hopes of the advocates of the war.

It is not necessary to give the details of the campaign of the summer of 1781, or rehearse the particulars of the battle of Yorktown. Cornwallis was caught in a net, out of which he struggled in vain to extricate himself, and on the 19th of October he capitulated to General Washington. It may gratify curiosity to note the kind of communications the press of London was giving to its readers on these very days when the siege of Yorktown was going on. A gentleman writes from Charleston under date of August 28th:

"The latest advices from Virginia represent Lord Cornwallis having taken post at York and Gloucester Point on York River. At the latter strong works are throwing up. Should the reports of a French fleet being on the coast prove true, it appears probable that the Chesapeake will attract

their attention ; perhaps the Earl being of that opinion has occasioned his occupying the ports above mentioned. Every body acquainted with Virginia says he could not have made a more eligible choice."

This appeared in the London Chronicle of October 17th, two days before the surrender. On the day of the surrender, the 19th (an unlucky Friday for Cornwallis), the same paper says:

" Captain Duncan, who was charged with Admiral Graves's dispatches, says that reports were circulated and believed in the fleet when he came away, that Lord Cornwallis had been apprised of the superiority of the French fleet, and, therefore, of the probability that there was of effecting a passage up the Chesapeake ; in consequence of which he had made every disposition that was possible for receiving M. La Fayette, and in particular had exerted himself in collecting a large quantity of provisions as possible, to enable him to hold out till the proper reinforcements should arrive. The situation which Count de Grasse, in anchoring his fleet within Cape Charles, has taken, effectually blocks up, not only the Chesapeake Bay, but also York and James Rivers, so that he may land what forces he pleases, and also send his small ships up these places, while he prevents any supplies being sent to Lord Cornwallis."

One cannot help feeling that news like this must have been anything but comforting to the anxious spirits of George III. and Lords North, Germain and their associates. This anxiety would not be lessened when they read in the Chronicle of October 24th—

" The situation of Lord Cornwallis and the British army must be very far from safe ; Greene, Wayne and Stevens on one side, with the rebel army, and the Marquis de la Fayette, with between five and six thousand French, on the other."

A few days later came more welcome intelligence, in the form of dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton, with regard to which the London Chronicle of November 3, says :

" These dispatches from Sir Henry Clinton, we have the pleasure to acquaint our readers, have, in a great measure, relieved government from all anxiety respecting the gallant Cornwallis. In his letters to Sir Henry Clinton (and which are likewise inclosed in the dispatches to Lord Germain) he says that notwithstanding La Fayette and Wayne have been joined by 3000 French troops, landed at James River, yet the position he had taken is so strong, and his men so healthy, that he can bid defiance to any force that can be brought against him in that quarter ; that he had nearly two months' provisions with him, and that he made no doubt of receiving a fresh supply before his stock was exhausted."

A postscript in the same number of the Chronicle adds news received from another source, to the effect that to the camp of Cornwallis "abundance of fresh provisions are daily brought up: the Troops are remarkably healthy, and under no apprehension from any Force the French and Rebels have in Virginia." Later intelligence says that Lord Cornwallis "is very strongly fortified, and rather wishes than fears an attack from the French and Rebels."

On the day of the surrender of Cornwallis, the British ship of war *Lively* sailed from Sandy Hook, its commander, Captain Manly, of course ignorant of what had transpired at Yorktown on the very day of his departure. He reached the Admiralty office in London, November 15. He was bearer of dispatches from Admiral Graves to the effect that on the 19th of October, Admiral Digby sailed from New York for the Chesapeake with a large fleet and "7,000 determined troops to relieve Lord Cornwallis." The next issue of the *London Chronicle*, *i. e.*, on Friday, November 16, quotes from the dispatches of Sir Henry Clinton to Lord Germain. Among other things, a communication from Cornwallis to the former, in which he says "he has the satisfaction that the enemy had experienced no inconsiderable loss from the well directed fire of his batteries, and that as long as his provisions lasted that he had little to fear from the united force of the besiegers."

Reports of what had happened at Yorktown were thus brought down to the 11th of October, eight days prior to the surrender of Cornwallis, and it was known certainly, that a strong reinforcing army had left New York the 19th. We may readily suppose that, although there must have been great anxiety and suspense in the public mind, on the whole the prevailing feeling was that the signs were hopeful. Had we been able to look into the clubs of London on that 15th of November, 1781, we should, without doubt, have listened to some lively discussions on the state of affairs across the ocean. With an impatience, of the strength of which we can form some idea if we go back to the experiences of our own late civil war, men waited anxiously for the next intelligence which should come from the West. Nothing new came, however, on the 16th, 17th, 18th, 19th, or the 20th. In the *Chronicle* of November 20th, we find this brief and most encouraging extract from a letter from Yorktown: "*This garrison is in the highest spirits, and bids defiance to all the combined fleets in the Universe.*" The date of this letter, however, was September 30, and stirring events, as was well known, had occurred since it was written. Wednesday, the 21st, passed, and Thursday, the 22d—still no further news. Thursday's *Chronicle* gives extracts from a letter from New York, written two days before the *Lively* sailed, *i. e.*, the 17th of October, in which was this assuring statement, "that though the number of the enemy was much superior to his Lordship's army, and doubtless the most vigorous exertions would be made by them, yet that, unless some unforeseen accident should happen, there was the highest probability that an army so brave, with such

a commander as Lord Cornwallis, would be able to withstand the most strenuous efforts of a formidable enemy till he may be succored from hence."

Friday and Saturday pass away, but the suspense is not broken. Sunday was the 25th, and, as English people reverently keep the Sabbath, news, though ever so important, was out of the question. But, on the evening of that day, some eager watchers for the latest intelligence, hanging about the neighborhood of the Admiralty office, might have noticed an officer wearing the uniform of the British navy hastily entering that place. It was Captain Melcombe, commander of his Majesty's sloop the *Rattlesnake* (late a Congress armed ship which had been taken by the English), and bearer of dispatches from Admiral Graves. At that Sabbath evening hour it is probable that only some subordinate officers were in attendance when Captain Melcombe made his appearance, but it is likely that the painful intelligence which was brought from America was at once communicated to the heads of departments. If such a piece of stirring news should reach headquarters in these modern times, the earliest hours of Monday morning would see the printers, with busy fingers, setting up type to print the important message, and as soon as the instruments could be brought into use, the telegraph operators would be sending the intelligence to the remotest corner of the kingdom. But those were the days of comparatively slow communication, and the people of England were not to hear of the terrible disaster until a later hour on Monday. Lord North is in his office in Downing street probably, at that most proper aristocratic hour, ten o'clock Monday morning, in anxious suspense, for it was time something was heard from Cornwallis. The first to announce to him the news of the direful disaster is Lord George Germain, his warm supporter in all measures to subdue the rebellious Americans. In company with Lords Walsingham and Stormont he drives to Downing Street and tells the dismal tale. "And how did he take it?" some one enquired afterwards of his Lordship. "As he would have taken a ball in the breast," replied Sir George, "for he opened his arms, exclaiming wildly, as he paced up and down the apartment, 'Oh God! it is all over!' words which he repeated many times, under emotions of deepest agitation and distress."

Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, in his *Historical Memoirs*, gives a graphic account of the painful conference of the four Lords, and what followed. Parliament was to meet in twenty-four hours. As the time was so near at hand, it was deemed unwise to postpone the commence-

ment of the session to mature plans to meet the emergency in which the ministry found itself. But it was necessary to remodel the King's speech, which had been prepared to be read the next Tuesday morning at the opening of Parliament, and to make it correspond with the circumstances in which the government was now placed. This was done without delay, and a dispatch was sent by Lord Germain's messenger to Kew, where his Majesty then was, to acquaint him with the melancholy termination of Lord Cornwallis' expedition. On that day, **Wraxall**, who had not heard the news, relates that he dined at a late hour at Lord Germain's. He said :

"I thought the master of the house appeared serious, though he manifested no discomposure. Before the dinner was finished, one of his servants delivered him a letter brought back by the messenger who had been despatched to the King. Lord George opened and perused it ; then, looking at Lord Walsingham, to whom he exclusively directed his observation, 'The King writes,' said he, 'just as he always does, except that I observe, he has omitted to mark the hour and the minute of his writing, with his usual precision.' This remark, though calculated to awaken some interest, excited no comment."

The narrative goes on to say, that after dinner, the ladies having retired, the host announced to his guests what had taken place at Yorktown, and placed in the hands of **Wraxall**, the paper setting forth the terms of capitulation. This he did "not without visible emotion." **Wraxall** adds :

"By his permission I read it aloud, while the company listened in profound silence. We then discussed its contents as affecting the ministry, the country and the war. It must be confessed that they were calculated to diffuse a gloom over the most convivial society, and that they opened a wide field for political speculation."

The London Chronicle of Tuesday, Nov. 27, prefaces its account of the surrender of Cornwallis by saying : "We are sorry to communicate to our readers the following authentic particulars of the disastrous catastrophe of the gallant Lord Cornwallis and his army." Subsequently it adds : "Yesterday the Captain of the Rattlesnake, sloop, which arrived with the disagreeable news of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, in Virginia, was at the Queen's house, and underwent an examination relative to the above important affair previous to the Council held on that occasion." The same paper contains a fierce attack on Sir Henry Clinton, in which the editor declares that every one must see "that the melancholy capture of the gallant Cornwallis and the brave troops under his command, had risen from an unaccountable neglect in suffering Washington quietly to march by him down to Trenton, without making the least attempt to attack him or do any one thing to



prevent his march." "Never, sure," he goes on to say, after detailing the movements of Washington, "was a nation so ill served by its Commanders. For these six years past, we have been perpetually told of strong holds, and strong countries, and as often as Washington has lain still in his camp, that was a strong hold which could not be, attacked. Here, at least, in a march, of 100 miles. he could avail himself of no strong holds, and we, it seems, in all this pretended strong country, could not find one strong enough to stop him."

The Postscript of the Chronicle has this announcement: "This day his Majesty went in the usual state to the House of Peers, and opened both Houses of Parliament with a gracious Speech from the Throne; in which he told them that the war is unhappily prolonged by that restless ambition which first excited our enemies to commence it, and which still continues to disappoint his earnest desire and diligent exertion to restore the public tranquility; that it was with great concern that he informed them, that the events of the war had been very unfortunate to his arms in Virginia, having ended in the loss of his forces in that province. The late misfortune in that quarter called loudly for their firm concurrence and assistance to frustrate the designs of our enemies, equally prejudicial to the real interests of America and to those of Great Britain."

The speech from the throne having been delivered, the King retired. And now commenced an exciting scene in both Houses of Parliament. The joint convention was broken up, the Peers remaining in their own Chamber, and the Commons retiring to theirs. The usual motion touching the King's speech, was made by Lord Southampton, in the House of Peers, who strenuously enforced the necessity of continuing the war in America, urging, among other things, that to quit the contest would be to destroy the very being of the country; that commerce would receive a fatal blow, on the independence of the rebels, and that the loss of America would, in the end, be the consequent loss of Jamaica and all the other West India Islands. He admitted that the "late unfortunate event in the Chesapeake" was a severe blow, but he affirmed that it was the chance of war and not the fault of ministry. Certainly, Lord Cornwallis should not be blamed. On the contrary, he believed that he "has added lustre in his misfortunes to the laurels he had gained by victory, and by excellent judgment and well timed humanity in suppressing the ardor of his soldiers, where the numbers of the enemy left no hope for victory, he saved the lives of thousands."

The motion of Lord Southampton was seconded by Lord Walsing-

ham, in a speech, very similar in character to that of the mover. The Chancellor then read the address, and was about to put the question, when Lord Shelbourne moved an amendment to the address, to wit: that, after that part of the address which mentions the restoration of public tranquility, the rest of the address should be omitted, and words to the following effect should be substituted: "That the House would, with the utmost unanimity and dispatch, prepare and digest such councils, as should best serve to excite the efforts, point the arms, and gain the confidence of all his Majesty's subjects." This motion, he followed with a most animated speech of an hour's length, in which he charged upon the administration all the misfortunes which had befallen the country. He declared that the nation, from a state of brilliant superiority, from a pinnacle of the highest national glory, was tumbling into dust. "Our fleets," said he, "the pride of Britain, and the terror of the universe, was merely obliged to skulk away from the naval force of France. Our expeditions are all ill planned and worse executed; the enemy has known their destination before they left port, and the intended effect has, in consequence, been frustrated."

The Duke of Richmond seconded the amendment, and urged that a stop be put to an offensive war in America, and that what shall henceforth be done shall be done by a naval force acting on the defensive. The discussion was prolonged to ten o'clock at night, when the vote on the amendment was called. The result—we use the language of the times—was as follows: *Contents*, 65; *Proxies*, 10; *Total*, 75; *Non Contents*, 31.

Equally spirited and exciting was the debate in the House of Commons, and, just here, one is reminded of Justin McCarthy's word picture of the House on such an occasion as this. "There are," he says, "few scenes more animated and exciting than that presented by the House of Commons when a great debate is expected, or when some momentous announcement is to be made. A common thrill seems to tremble all through the assembly as a breath of wind runs across the sea. The House appears for the moment to be one body pervaded by one expectation. The ministerial benches, the front benches of opposition, are occupied by the men of political renown and of historic fame. The benches, everywhere else, crowded to their utmost capacity. Members who cannot get seats, on such an occasion a goodly number, stand below the bar or have to dispose themselves along the side galleries. The celebrities are not confined to the treasury benches, or those of the leaders of opposition. Here and there among the independent

members, and below the gangway on both sides, are seen men of influence and renown. This was written in view of what transpired at the opening of Parliament, January 22d, 1846, when the question of the repeal of the Corn Laws and of Free Trade was to be discussed—a question which had awakened the greatest interest in every part of the kingdom.

Quite as deep, perhaps deeper, was the interest which gathered about the matter which was to be considered on that Tuesday night, November 27th, 1781, by the Commons of Great Britain. On the floor of that House were the great Parliamentary orators of the opposition, Fox, Burke and Pitt, while Lord North, Lord Mulgrave, and others represented the administration. The address to his Majesty was moved by Hon. Mr. Percival, and seconded by the Hon. Mr. Ord, the latter closing his speech by saying that "the honor of our country, the justice of our cause, and the necessity of it, must compel us to continue a war, which, however disastrous it might be, was undoubtedly founded in justice and dictated by necessity." The ordinary course of procedure in the matter of an address is thus described by the writer whom we have thus quoted: "The address has been moved and seconded. Now is the time for debate, if debate there is to be. On such occasions, there is always some discussion, but it is commonly as mere a piece of formality as the address itself. It is understood that the leader of the opposition will say something meaning next to nothing; that two or three men will grumble vaguely at the Ministry; that the leader of the House will reply, and then the affair is all over."

But on this memorable night, there was no such tame common-place sort of procedure, as is here described. The feeling which had been aroused by the melancholy tidings brought to London on the previous Sunday night, was too profound and the forebodings of the future too dismal to allow the House to adjourn until the pent-up emotions of *some* excited souls had been poured out upon that August assembly. We are not surprised to learn that as soon as the speaker had put the question, that illustrious orator, Charles James Fox, one of "the bright particular stars" of the opposition, was on his feet with an amendment similar to the one presented in the House of Peers by Lord Shelbourne. He declared that "anyone unacquainted with the British Constitution, and not knowing that the speech was contrived by a Cabinet Council, would pronounce it that of an arbitrary monarch, who having involved the slaves, his subjects, in a ruinous and unnatural war, to glut his enmity or satiate his revenge, was determined to persevere in spite of calamity

or fate itself." In words of bitterest invective, the orator attacked the ministry. "Retrospective measures," he said, "are deprecated, but ministers must bear to hear them from the representatives of an abused people; he even trusted that they would hear them at the tribunal of justice and expiate them on the public scaffold; he would not say that they were actually in the pay of France, for he could not prove the fact, but they had worked for the aggrandizement of the *grand Monarque* more faithfully than any minister of his had ever done." These fierce threats of Mr. Fox pierced to the quick, and after another brief speech from a member of the opposition, Lord Mulgrave came vigorously to the defence of the administration. He declared, among other things, that "to call this a disgraceful war, was ungrateful and ungenerous. It was a war in which the honor and spirit of the nation has been carried as highly as at any period of our history."

Wraxall says that "Lord Mulgrave was distinguished by a singularity of physical conformation, possessing two distinct voices, the one strong and hoarse, the other weak and querulous, of both which he occasionally availed himself." So extraordinary a circumstance probably gave rise to a story of his having fallen into a ditch on a dark night, and calling for aid in his *shrill* voice. A countryman coming up was about to have assisted him; but Lord Mulgrave addressing him in a *hoarse* tone, the peasant immediately exclaimed! "Oh, if there are *two* of you in the ditch, you may help each other out." Whether he used *one* of his tones or *both* on the exciting occasion of the debate, we are not told.

After one or two speeches in favor of Mr. Fox's amendment, Lord North rose to reply to the charges brought against the ministry. He affirmed that the war with America had been unfortunate, but not unjust. He had, at all times, thought so, and should he hereafter mount the scaffold for that part which *he* had borne in the administration, he should continue to think so. It was not a war of ambition; it was not a war of administration. It was a war founded in right, and dictated by necessity.

The speech of the Prime Minister aroused the indignation of Mr. Burke, who declared that "if there could be a greater misfortune than those which the country had suffered in the disgraceful contest the government was now carrying on, it was hearing men rising up in the great assembly of the nation to vindicate such measures." He affirmed that the King's speech was the "greatest of all calamities, since it showed the determination of ministers to consummate our ruin. The administra-

tion claimed the right," he said, "to tax the Colonies. But did we not know," he asked, "that right without might is worth very little, and that a claim, without the power to enforce it, was nugatory in the copyhold of rival States? 'O,' says a silly man, full of his prerogative of dominion over a few beasts of the field, 'there is excellent wool on the back of a wolf; therefore he must be sheared.' 'What, shear a wolf?' 'Yes.' 'But will he comply? Have you considered the trouble, and how you will get this wool?' 'O! I have considered nothing, and I will consider nothing but my right. A wolf is an animal that has wool; all animals that have wool are to be shorn, and therefore I will shear the wolf.' Such," said Mr. Burke, "was the kind of reasoning urged by the ministers of this country. Much had been attempted, but how barren the results. The capture of the forces of Lord Cornwallis was not the only capture of an English army. Where," he asked, "is General Burgoyne's army? *Redde nobis legiones*—Give us back our legions, nor protract this *burdensome, disgraceful*, for it is not *unfortunate* war, which, 'like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along,' nor hug in our bosom that snake which will sting us even to the last agony of dissolution."

The discussion was protracted long after midnight. The motion on Mr. Fox's amendment being taken, the result was a defeat. Ayes, 129; Noes, 218; and the address was ordered to be committed. When brought up the next day, the 28th of November, William Pitt made one of his most eloquent speeches against the administration. The address was finally voted, 131 for it, and 34 against it; a great falling off on both sides from the vote of the previous night. The King's reply to the House of Commons was: "Gentlemen, I return you my most cordial thanks for this very loyal, dutiful and affectionate address. It breathes the spirit and firmness of a brave and free people. Nothing could afford me so much satisfaction, or tend so effectually to the public safety and welfare in this critical situation."

Notwithstanding the mortified pride of George III, and the unfaltering determination of Lord Germain, that *he never* would vote for the cessation of the war, if there was to be a recognition of American Independence, the end of the conflict was near at hand. For a few weeks Parliament was the scene of most exciting debates, and the public press, by the reports which from time to time were published, kept up the excitement. Some of these reports we give, as throwing light on the state of feeling in England at the time of which we are now speaking, a few weeks after the surrender of Lord Cornwallis.

The London Chronicle of *December 3d*, says:

"We are informed that a large body of troops are ordered to be in readiness to embark for America to prosecute the war with vigor. The greatest part of this body is to be composed of Hessians, Swiss and German troops, and it is said that the King has received a new plan for effectually manning the navy, which he has ordered to be carried into execution."

Again, *December 5th*:

"A scheme is said to be in agitation to make (if not already taken) Savannah, Charleston, New York and Halifax, in North America, places of arms, and to garrison them so completely as to defy an attack by land or sea."

*December 11th*:

"The American war, it is said, will be pursued, on our part, with the utmost vigor; and to facilitate this system, it is reported, overtures have been made to Russia for 40,000 troops and a naval re-inforcement. Each officer and private surviving the war, in case it should terminate against America, is to be rewarded with a portion of land in proportion to his rank."

*December 26th*:

"If the reports thus far quoted were encouraging to the friends of the Administration, the following, under this date, must have been far otherwise. A private letter from an officer, who is a prisoner at Boston, has the following article: 'The Americans are now raising fresh troops, and by next Spring, they will have as powerful an army as any in Europe, and as well disciplined. Dear bought experience has made me alter my opinion of the Americans; for I once thought them mere poltroons, but I have found that they are quite the reverse; they are brave in the field, and a generous, humane enemy.'"

*January 1st, 1782*:

"Another discouraging letter from New York. A gentleman writes to his friend in Edinburgh: 'Such are the gloomy apprehensions of the inhabitants of this place since the defeat of Lord Cornwallis, that many of the merchants will not open their goods received by the last fleet, and there are few who will sell anything but for the ready cash. We forebode a horrid scene of confusion next Spring. Should this city be abandoned, we shall consider the King's government as lost forever, at least in this part of America.'"

*January 9th, 1782*:

"Of a similar strain was an extract from a letter written by a Charleston gentleman, and published under this date. 'Since the unfortunate affair at Yorktown,' he writes, 'we have been making this place as strong as possible, and hope, for the honor of the British crown, we shall be able to keep it. I am certain we had many friends in the Colony till the late most unfortunate capitulation, but now every hope of assistance from friends, or the submission of enemies, is entirely banished.'"

In the same paper is a proclamation by the King for a general fast, to be observed throughout the country, February 8th, to confess the national sins and to implore the divine blessing upon the prosecution of the war in America.

Thirteen days later, January 22, Lord North and Lord Germain must have read with feelings of satisfaction the following from New York:

"Although we have lost a veteran army, it is not attributed to the mighty arms of America. In fact, it has never been weaker than at the present moment, and the numbers in favor of the old Constitution have not been greater at any period during the contest than at the present. The jealousies of the Americans, that the laws of France, their religion and politics will be introduced, are greater than you who know them can imagine. Be assured the Americans had rather their ancient friends should give them laws than the upstart fops that seem to be taking possession of their country, and who call and treat them as rebels."

*January 29th.* The Chronicle says:

"The greatest efforts will be made the ensuing summer in America and the West Indies, that it is possible for Government to exert, to obtain once more a superiority in the western world."

*February 4th—*

"It is said that General Arnold is shortly to return back to America, and to have the command of the loyalists, a prosecution of the war having been determined upon."

The debate in the House of Commons, February 22d, on the motion of General Conway, to the effect that an address be presented to the King, asking for a cessation of hostilities, was participated in by the mover and Lord John Cavendish and Mr. Secretary Ellis, now filling the post lately held by Lord Germain. Mr. Ellis closed a long and elaborate speech by saying, "that he had thought it his duty to say thus much by way of confession of his faith in his new situation, and to gratify the curiosity of the House."

Immediately Burke rose to reply. He was exceedingly severe in his bitter sarcasm. He said:

"I have listened very attentively to the honorable member's confession of faith, and have found it, like most confessions of faith, very clear to the framers of them, but dark, mysterious, and totally inexplicable to every one else. It is needless for me to say that my curiosity remains totally unsatisfied. The honorable member, I find, is the residuary legatee of his predecessor, who has left him, with his office, all his doctrines, all his opinions;—the honorable member has his refugees, who lull him to rest, and please him with bewitching ideas of numerous friends in America. The honorable member is true to his old opinions; and the old member of Parliament and the young minister have still the same mind. He is clearly of the caterpillar kind; for, after having remained bound up in the soft windings of a good and lucrative employment, he has burst his ligaments, and now flutters, the minister of the day; still the creature is the same."

The most distinguished members of the House took part in this exciting debate—Wilberforce, Townshend, Colonel Barré, Fox, Lord North, William Pitt and others. How close the vote was which was taken at two o'clock in the morning of the 23d, appears from the

record. For discontinuing the war, 193; for carrying it on, 194; a majority of one! As soon as the vote was declared, another most exciting scene followed. Fox declared that the same subject would again be brought to the notice of the House in a few days. Colonel Barré got himself into a fever heat, charged Lord North with being "the scourge of the country, since he has drained it of its resources and reduced it almost to beggary; that his conduct to the House was insulting and intolerable; that his asking for a new loan was most indecent and unbearable, and ought to arouse the indignation of every gentleman present," and much more in the same style.

Lord North rose in great wrath and said: "As to the language he had just listened to, he had been so used to words from that quarter, so extremely *uncivil*, so *brutal* and so insolent"— Here he was interrupted by a perfect uproar in the House. The Chair called him to order, and half the opposition, with loud voices, joined in the call. Townshend finally got the floor, and handled the Premier without gloves, affirming that he had never before seen such a total disregard of decency as the noble lord in the blue riband had been guilty of. What was he but simply a servant of the House and the Public, and yet he had dared to call an honorable member of that House *insolent* and *brutal* for speaking what he and every other member had a right to say to any one of the King's ministers. He was proceeding in this strain, when Lord North arose and interrupted him with an apology, admitting that he had been disorderly, and withdrew the offensive expressions. The House, having accepted his apology, closed its services at *three* o'clock, it is to be hoped, in a comfortable frame of mind, after such a pitch of excitement. There was but one more prolonged debate on the question of an address to the throne, asking that the war might be terminated, and that was on Tuesday, the 26th of February. Colonel Conway presented another motion similar in substance to the one already presented, and it was carried. The address was laid before the king two days later, and we are told that "an amazing concourse of people assembled in Parliament street, Pall Mall, etc., to see the House of Parliament go up to St. James with their address to the throne. The number of carriages which attended the Speaker was by far greater than on any former address for many years past."

It was impossible to resist the rising tide of popular opinion, and, after many delays, a treaty of peace, in which there was a full recognition of the independence of the United States, was signed, at Paris, January 20, 1783, the news of which reached this country on the 23d of



the March following. The formal declaration of a cessation of hostilities was made in the army on the 19th of April, exactly eight years after the battle of Lexington.

I have thus traced the leading events in the history of the times, embraced between the period when Lord Cornwallis surrendered his sword, October 19, 1781, and the declaration of peace, this period being just one year and a half. What momentous results followed from what transpired on that memorable autumnal day at Yorktown, who can compute? Can we better sum up these results than in the language of the eminent English scholar, Prof. Symth?—

“An independent empire arose, boundless in extent, and removed from the reach of the arms—secure, at least, from the invasions of Europe; beginning its career with such advantages as communities in the old world never possessed; beginning almost from the point at which they have arrived in the progress of nearly two thousand years. It is even possible that what England once was may have to be traced out hereafter by the philosophers of distant ages from the language, customs, manners and political feelings of men inhabiting the banks of the Mississippi, or enjoying the benefits of society amid what may now be a wilderness, inaccessible to the footsteps of every human body.”

J. C. STOCKBRIDGE

## OFFICIAL MAP OF YORKTOWN

The accompanying map of Yorktown is founded upon a topographical survey made by officers and men of the Army, detached from the United States Artillery School at Fort Monroe, Virginia, during the Autumn of 1880. The work is strictly accurate in every detail. Nothing but the meridian line (which was reestablished upon coast survey notes) is borrowed from any source. No attempt was made to present anything not actually found on the ground.

The lines of works by which Yorktown is surrounded were those left by the war of 1860-65, and still standing at the time of the survey. The hachures were drawn from contour-lines put in by plane-table work and levels, for every twenty feet above mean high water. The remnants of the lines of Cornwallis were obliterated by those built by Magruder for the defence against McClellan's advance in 1862. At the present time but one small mound is found which indisputably made part of Cornwallis's defensive line. It was necessary, therefore, to re-locate topographically the old revolutionary works by the aid of the most reliable historic maps. Two of these pre-eminently met the need. Of these, the better was drawn by Lieut. John Hills, of the 23d British Regiment, an engineer officer of Lord Cornwallis's, and was engraved and published by Wm. Faden in London in the year 1785. The accuracy of this map is proven by the fact that the principal features of the ground in the immediate vicinity of Yorktown can be distinctly identified by the survey of 1881, and that there has been no difficulty whatever in re-tracing Lord Cornwallis's line upon the new map with fidelity. The same cannot be said of the maps of the surrounding country which constituted the field of operations and the camping ground of the American and French armies. The best map of this region, as well as of the works of attack, is that of Regnault, who was Assistant Secretary to the Count de Grasse and Engineer to the French army at the Siege of York. He made a fair survey, which accords with the British conception of the besiegers' works, but is not altogether accurate when tested by the survey of 1881.

By a careful study of the ground, all the lines, American, French and British, have been located with the greatest possible accuracy in order to present a perfect map of the siege. The red lines show the lines of Cornwallis, and of the American and French armies, with the location of the camp of every regiment, and of the parks and headquarters. The black lines present the survey of 1780, with the defensive lines of Magruder and a few of McClellan's advanced works.

## WILLIAM FEW

### LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GEORGIA MILITIA IN THE REVOLUTIONARY SERVICE

The following autobiography is from the pen of one who, unassisted by family or fortune, yet sustained by natural capabilities, a strong character, a determined will, and a laudable ambition, triumphed over the lack of early education and the retarding influences of the *res angustæ domi*, and bore a prominent part alike in the Revolutionary annals of Georgia, and in those acts and deliberations which culminated in the establishment of this general government. Brave of heart, firm in purpose, full of patriotic impulse, bred in the school of the self-reliant pioneer, possessing an admirable knowledge of men and events, and exhibiting on all occasions a sound and comprehensive judgment, his counsel and aid were invaluable during the trying epoch when the government of an infant State, changing its seat as the tide of revolution ebbed and flowed in the presence or absence of the King's soldiers, stood in sore need of the substantial encouragement of those accustomed to deal with emergencies and difficulties, and loyal to the cause of Independence. Material was the assistance rendered by Colonel Few, not only in the shock of arms, wherein he took rank with Twiggs, and Clarke, and Dooly, and Elbert, and Walton, and Baker, keeping the flame of resistance alive when the territory of Georgia was well nigh over-run by British Regulars, Tories, and subsidized Indians, but also in devising means for sustaining the Revolutionists when they sadly needed arms, clothing, food, organization, munitions, and all sorts of equipments. Potent was his voice in the discussions which eventuated in framing a constitution and the enactment of laws suitable for the governance of a new State just emerged from kingly rule.

As a Representative from Georgia in the Continental Congress, his course in the national councils was marked by integrity, fidelity and ability. The reputation acquired at home was here broadened and heightened until it became national in its scope. As a Judge, his conduct was at all times impartial and dignified, and his administration of the law, just, capable and inflexible. More than once was he called upon to aid in settling the boundary lines of Georgia, and in the paci-

fication of the Indian tribes cormorant near her borders. As one of the original trustees of the State University, his exertions in devising a scheme for the liberal education of the youths of the land are well remembered. His labors in the Convention for revising the Articles of Confederation, and his exertions in behalf of Georgia and her sister Colonies in their contest for an independent national existence, were rewarded by a seat in the Senate of the United States. Thus, as a partisan officer, as a member of the Executive Council of Georgia, as a State Legislator, as a Judge, a Trustee, a Commissioner, a Member of Congress, and as a United States Senator, was he complimented with nearly every prominent office within the gift of his adopted State. At all times and in every place did he endear himself to his people; and the value of his patriotic and public services was thoroughly recognized. Faithful and energetic in the hour of doubt and peril, he lived to behold the full triumph of the Republic, and to share liberally in the general honors.

Upon his removal to New York in 1799, his services were speedily invoked in the interest of the good order of the community, and the remainder of his life was there spent in usefulness, in the efficient administration of various noted charities, in the discharge of duties appertaining to offices of trust and honor within the gift of the city, and in the proper guidance of the affairs of one of its most respectable financial institutions.

A descendant of one of the early settlers of Pennsylvania, Colonel William Few was born in Baltimore County, Maryland, on the 8th of June, 1748. Removing with his parents to North Carolina when just ten years of age, his boyhood and early manhood were spent in a region where privation and severe labor were the heritage of the many, where opportunities for acquiring even the rudiments of an education were very limited, and where the battle with nature for subsistence and reasonable comfort was incessant and all-absorbing. Even under such disadvantageous circumstances the longings of his active mind for culture and knowledge were extraordinary, and the progress made in intellectual improvement was quite astonishing. The narrative which he has left of his early struggles unfolds a bright example worthy the emulation of ingenuous youth of the succeeding generations whose lots may be cast in rough places. He came to reside in Georgia in the autumn of 1776. Just twenty-eight years of age, full of vigor and enthusiasm, and accustomed to deal with men, he was there accorded a hearty welcome. Those were stirring times, and almost immediately upon his

arrival he threw himself with patriotic ardor into the midst of them, taking an active interest in public affairs which he maintained during his residence of nearly a quarter of a century in that State.

His life was characterized by probity, decision, independence, strength, courage, and devotion to country and duty. Ardent in temperament, yet deliberate in forming his opinions, he adhered with a tenacity worthy of admiration to all projects promotive of good morals and the general welfare. Toward those entertaining opposite political views he was tolerant and courteous. Candor in thought, word, and act, was one of his distinguishing traits. As a partisan officer he was enterprising, intrepid, and patient of every fatigue and privation. The success of the Republic he held superior to every other consideration, and to the cause of the Revolutionists he gave, on every occasion, his unswerving allegiance. In the domestic circle he was affectionate, true, and confiding. A staunch believer in the truths of revealed religion, he governed his life in obedience to the established tenets of the Church of Christ. During his declining years he was much given to meditation and repose. Having acquired an ample fortune, it was his pleasure to disburse all surplus income in support of such charities as commended themselves to his philanthropic heart. In person, Colonel Few was tall, erect, slender, and well-proportioned. His regular and finely-poised head was indicative of resolution, intellect, and character. His countenance was agreeable, and his eyes were full of expression. In his manners he was grave and dignified, and his deportment was such as to inspire confidence and respect. He died at the residence of Mr. Albert Chrystie, his son-in-law, at Fishkill-on-Hudson, on the 16th of July, 1828, full of years and of honors.

CHARLES C. JONES, JR.



AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF  
COL. WILLIAM FEW OF GEORGIA

*From the original M.S. in the possession of  
William Few Chrystie*

When we sensibly feel the approach of age and find that it has diminished the enjoyments of those pleasures which engage our juvenile pursuits, the mind seems to want objects on which it may be employed. Then it is that we ruminate on times past for a subject to exercise our faculties, and generally find amusement in taking a retrospective view of those transactions of which we have been agents or actors, and love to dwell on events that are long passed in which we were most interested.

On these reflections I have taken up the pen with the intention of appropriating a few leisure hours in recording some of the most interesting of those transactions which have engaged my attention in my progress through life.

I was born in Maryland, in the county of Baltimore, on the 8th day of June, 1748. My father was a farmer, and having lost the greatest part of two or three crops by frost, determined he would seek for a country more favorable to agriculture, and having conferred with his neighbors on the subject, two of them agreed to accompany him in search of a more fertile country and milder climate; having prepared for their journey, set out southwardly, and after traveling about three hundred miles, found themselves near the middle of the province of North Carolina. There they halted in order to explore the country, and being pleased with the soil and climate, purchased lands on the banks

of the river Eno, in the county of Orange. Those lands were in their natural state. Not a tree had been cut. The country was thinly inhabited, and the state of society was in the first state of civilization. My father employed a man to build a house on his lands, and returned to remove his family. After selling his lands in Maryland and such of his goods and chattels as were not movable, the remainder were placed in a wagon drawn by four horses and in a cart drawn by two horses. In the autumn of 1758 he set out for North Carolina with all his family and property. There a new scene opened to us. We found a mild and healthy climate and fertile lands, but our establishment was in the woods and our first employment was to cut down the timber and prepare the land for cultivation. My father had taken with him only four servants, who were set to work, and every exertion was made to prepare for the ensuing crop.

Then it was that I commenced the occupation of farmer. An axe was put into my hands, and I was introduced to a hickory tree about twelve or fifteen inches diameter, and was ordered to cut it down and cut off all the branches. There was novelty in the business which I was at first pleased with, and cheerfully began the operation, but soon found myself extremely fatigued. My hands blistered, and the business progressed very slowly. I thought my situation most deplorable, for I dared not to resist the order I had received to cut down the tree. I was obliged to proceed, and found that practice every day made the labor more agreeable, and I was gradually instructed in the arts of

agriculture ; for that was all I had to learn. In that country, at that time, there were no schools, no churches or parsons, or doctors, or lawyers ; no stores, groceries or taverns, nor do I recollect to have seen during the first two years any officer, ecclesiastical, civil or military, except a justice of the peace, a constable, and two or three itinerant preachers. The justice took cognizance of their controversies to a small amount, and performed the sacerdotal functions of uniting by matrimony. There were no poor laws nor paupers. Of the necessities of life there were great plenty, but no luxuries. Those people had few wants, and fewer temptations to vice than those who lived in more refined society, though ignorant. They were more virtuous and more happy. In the year 1760 a schoolmaster appeared and offered his services to teach the children of the neighborhood for twenty shillings each per year. He was employed, and about thirty scholars were collected and placed under his tuition ; in that number I was enrolled. This was the second school I had been put to. When about six or seven years of age, I was sent to a country school of the lowest grade. The teacher was an ill-natured, arbitrary man, who punished with rigor, and enforced his precepts by terror. This man was to me the most dreadful of all mankind. I detested the man, the school and the books, and spent six or eight months at that school in terror and anxiety, with very little benefit. I was now more fortunate. This schoolmaster was a man of a mild and amiable disposition. He governed his little school with judgment and propriety,

wisely distinguishing the obedient, timid child from the obstinate and contumacious ; judiciously applying the rod when necessary. He possessed the art of making his pupils fear, love and esteem him. At this school I spent one of the most happy years of my life. I had the highest respect for my preceptor, and delighted in his society and instruction, and learned with facility. With him I finished my education, the whole expense of which did not exceed five dollars. In that simple state of society money was but little known ; the schoolmaster was the welcome guest of his pupil, fed at the bountiful table, but clothed from the domestic loom.

In 1764 my father purchased a farm and removed his family near to Hillsborough, which was the metropolis of the county, where the courts were held and all the public business was done. It was a small village, which contained thirty or forty inhabitants, with two or three small stores and two or three ordinary taverns, but it was an improving village. Several Scotch merchants were soon after induced to establish stores that contained a good assortment of European merchandise, which changed the state of things for the better. A church, court-house and jail were built, but there was no parson or physician.

Two or three attorneys opened their offices and found employment. Superior and inferior courts of justice were established, and a fair field was opened for the lawyers. It was to me the highest gratification to attend the courts and hear their pleadings, and my ambition was excited to acquire the knowledge and ascendancy they seemed to possess ;

but I had no other way or means of learning but by attending the courts and hearing the principles of law discussed and settled, until I had prevailed on a lawyer to lend me Jacob's Law Dictionary, which I considered the greatest favor that he could confer. I read the book attentively but not with much benefit, for I was not sufficiently acquainted with the law terms to make much progress, notwithstanding it was believed that I had acquired some law knowledge, for my neighbors sometimes applied to me for my opinion on their matters of controversy, which was flattering to my vanity and stimulated me to greater exertions.

In that country at that time there was great scarcity of books. My father's whole library consisted of a folio bible, Tillotson's Sermons, Barclay's Apology, and a few other religious books which I read over and over, for I was fond of every book I could get.

About this time my father purchased Dyche's Dictionary and a set of the Spectators, with which I was greatly delighted, although I found the Spectators were wrote in a style different from those books I had been accustomed to, and contained many words I did not perfectly understand, which often made it necessary to apply to the dictionary for a definition. In this way I soon acquired the knowledge of those books and read them with additional pleasure and much improvement. The principles of moral rectitude they contained were then so deeply impressed on my mind that I shall never cease to feel their influence. About the year 1767 my father bought a farm seven miles distant, which was

placed under my care, and it required my whole attention.

It became my duty every Monday morning to go to the farm and remain until Saturday, and I was employed at the plow. It was my practice every Monday to take with me a book which I read at leisure hours, and took it with me to the fields, and when fatigued I retired to a shade and read. By those means labor became pleasant and agreeable, while the mind was amused and the understanding improved. Here I enjoyed the greatest part of one year in uninterrupted peace and tranquility. I had only two objects in view ; reading to acquire knowledge, and the cultivation of the soil which alternately exercised my corporal and mental faculties. I now experienced that the proper and equal exercise of body and mind insures the greatest portion of human happiness. I was successful in my labor ; the season was favorable and I raised a good crop.

My father had now unfortunately got entangled in law ; he had been security for two or three persons who deceived him. Several law-suits had been commenced against him and judgment had been obtained, with which his property was embarrassed ; although there was property more than sufficient to meet all demands, there was difficulty in converting it into cash. Under those circumstances my father thought it most advisable to remove with his family to Georgia and place the whole management of his affairs in my hands, with full powers to sell his property, receive the debts due to him, and pay his debts, and finally settle all his business. This introduced me to a more intimate ac-



quaintance with courts, sheriffs, clerks and lawyers, from whom I derived much useful knowledge. I now learned the operation and effects of Courts, Judgments, and Executions, and the general characters and practice of lawyers.

About this time I obtained access to a gentleman's library that contained a small collection of well chosen books, which gave me the highest gratification. Here I first saw Rollins' work, Plutarch and Smollet, etc., which I seized with delight and read with much pleasure. I soon made myself pretty well acquainted with ancient and modern history, and made some progress in the study of natural philosophy and astronomy. I indulged the most insatiable propensity for reading, and if I could not get such books as I wanted, I would read any that I could get. I was upward of three years in settling my father's business, and during that period the American Revolutionary war commenced, and with it commenced my political life. Although at that time I knew but little of politics, nor had I much studied the principles of free governments, I felt the spirit of an American, and without much investigation of the justice of her cause, I resolved to defend it. I was among the first who proposed to raise an independent company of infantry in the town of Hillsborough. About twenty young men came promptly into the measure. We enrolled ourselves, chose our officers, purchased arms and uniforms, and an old British corporal was employed to teach us the manual exercise, which we soon acquired. In 1776 the convention of North Carolina convened at Hills-

borough, which was composed of the most respectable of men of the State. There I first learned the principles of our controversy with Great Britain, and began to think on politics. This convention resolved to raise two regiments of continental troops, and the greatest part of our little independent company were appointed officers. I was then offered the commission of Captain, but other engagements prevented my acceptance.

Having now settled all my father's business in North Carolina, in the autumn of 1776 I went to reside in Georgia. There the principles of the Revolution had begun to operate. The powers of Government had been wrested from the hands of the legitimate officers, and had devolved on committees of public safety appointed by the people. It was now deemed advisable to hold a General Convention of the State, for the purpose of forming a Constitution. Although but little acquainted with the people, I was induced to offer as a candidate, and was elected a member of the Convention which met in Savannah, and formed a Constitution for the future government of the State. By this Constitution the powers of Legislating were placed in the assembly, and the Executive powers were vested in the Governor and sixteen Councillors. The Members of Assembly were chosen by the people, and the Governor and Councillors were chosen by the Assembly from their own body. At the ensuing election of Members of the Assembly, I offered as a candidate for the County of Richmond, and was elected by a unanimous vote of the County. The Legislature convened in

Savannah under the new Constitution, and their first act was to appoint a Governor and sixteen Executive Councillors. I was chosen a member of that Council.

We had not yet felt the effects of war, nor did we apprehend danger until we were alarmed at the approach of General Prevost with the British army from East Florida. He had passed Sunbury, and had penetrated within forty miles of Savannah, spreading terror and devastation. Every person was called to arms, and as many volunteers as could be enrolled were required to immediately advance and meet the enemy. With those volunteers I marched with full expectation of coming to action; but we were most agreeably disappointed; for the enemy retreated before we came within ten miles of him. This invasion from East Florida roused the indignation of the Georgians, and they resolved on retaliation. A plan was formed for attacking St. Augustine, which was the Capital of East Florida. In the spring of 1778, the military force of the State was collected, which consisted of militia and six or eight hundred Continental troops, which was commanded by General Howe. The militia were commanded by Governor Houston. This force was supposed to be sufficient for the conquest of East Florida; but the whole was defeated—not by the sword of the enemy, but by the dissension of the Governor and General; they contended which should have the command, until the season for military operations was so far advanced—the hot weather commenced, and the fever raged in their camp and destroyed more than a general action. A retreat became necessary to

save the remainder of the troops, of which near one-half had been destroyed or dispersed without seeing the face of an enemy.

Thus terminated an expedition foolishly planned and worse executed. We had neither stores of provisions, munitions of war, nor money in our treasury. Our dependence was on paper money, and a large emission was ordered, and I was appointed one of the signers of the Bills, which were issued in such quantities that the money immediately depreciated, and soon became of little value. I was now appointed to the office of Surveyor General of the State, kept at Savannah, which presented a prospect of great emolument; but I held it only six or eight months. I was attacked with the fever, which compelled me to give up that office with all its advantages. I was then appointed one of the Commissioners of Confiscated Estates and Senior Justice for the County of Richmond, which were appointments of more honor than profit.

In December, 1778, the British fleet and army appeared in the Savannah River, approaching the town, and on the 28th the British landed, attacked and defeated the American army under the command of General Howe, and took possession of Savannah.

The Governor of the State fled to South Carolina, the Continental troops were withdrawn, and the State left defenceless. The plundering parties of the enemy ravaged through the greatest part of the country without opposition. The whole force of the State then consisted of the militia of the three upper counties, which did not in the whole ex-

ceed 500 men. My brother commanded the militia of Richmond County, and determined to check the progress of those parties. He raised about 200 men, and was joined by Colonel Twiggs with 50 or 60. They advanced toward Savannah, about 30 miles below Augusta, and erected the American standard, and formed their camp in Burk County, and detached parties of cavalry to intercept the enemy. The British commander had now collected his whole force at Savannah, commenced his march toward Augusta, and detached Colonel Brown, with 300 or 400 cavalry, to attack us. The plan was so secretly executed that the enemy had completely surrounded three-fourths of our camp during the night, and had fixed on the signal of our morning gun for the commencement of their attack.

They instantly advanced on us, drove in our pickets, and poured on us a volley of musketry before one-half of our men were awake. The consternation was awful and unexpected. The first panic was irresistible; many of our men attempted to make a precipitate retreat, but they soon rallied and commenced the action with much bravery, which continued about an hour, when the enemy retreated and left us masters of the field. This was the first successful military effort that was made against the British in Georgia, which produced the most salutary effect. It inspired our militia with courage and confidence in their prowess. Our numbers were greatly inferior to the enemy; we had the evening before the action detached 80 of our men, which reduced us to about 150; the enemy had more than twice that

number. Our killed and wounded did not exceed 20; we had reason to believe the loss of the enemy was much greater. This was the first time I had heard the whistling of bullets, and found that those terrific messengers of death lost all their terror in a few minutes after the action began; the exertion of the faculties, the ardor of the mind and ardent desire to destroy the enemy soon extinguished every sensation of fear.

The British army advanced, and we were obliged to retreat. The British commander established his head-quarters at Augusta, and took possession of the State. I collected a few men, and crossed the Savannah River and joined General Wilkinson, who commanded the militia of South Carolina, and had embodied about 1,500 men on the bank of the river, opposite to Augusta, within view of the enemy. General Lincoln, who commanded the Continental army in South Carolina, had made a movement which indicated an intention to cross the Savannah River about 60 or 80 miles below Augusta, and cut off the retreat of the enemy. By this movement the British were alarmed, and commenced a rapid retreat toward Savannah. A volunteer detachment of 200 horsemen proposed to pursue the enemy, and harass him on his march. I engaged in that enterprise, but having received information that a British Captain, with 50 men, were stationed to guard military stores, we determined to attack him; and marching all night, we completely surprised him, and killed or took all but one man, who escaped to inform the enemy of their disaster.

The British continued their march to

Savannah, and left us in possession of the western part of the State. But another formidable enemy was now approaching to attack us. Tate, the British agent in the Creek nation, had collected about 700 Indian warriors, and was marching against us. Our situation was awfully alarming, for the whole of our force did not amount to half their numbers. After making every exertion, we collected about 250 horsemen, and, fortunately, received a reinforcement of 150 from South Carolina. With this force we determined to march and meet the enemy, who, we were informed, were encamped on Ogeechee, about 25 miles distant, and had taken possession of a stockade fort. We collected our men in the evening, and commenced our march with all possible expedition, and marched all night in expectation to meet the enemy before sunrise the next morning; but when we arrived at the fort and their camp, we found the whole abandoned, with marks of precipitation, leaving a part of their provisions and camp utensils. We afterward learned that this rapid and unexpected retreat was occasioned by information that Tate, the British agent, received by a Tory who knew the most direct way through the woods, and had arrived at the Indian camp two or three hours before us, and informed them that we were advancing to attack them, which spread terror and confusion among the Indians, who rebelled against the authority of Tate, and determined to retreat. They divided into three parties; one of their parties fled back to the Creek nation, and another party went up the Ogeechee to destroy and plunder the frontier inhabi-

tants, and the third party, consisting of about 70 or 80, marched toward Savannah.

We divided our force into two companies; one company pursued those Indians who went up Ogeechee, and overtook and killed one and dispersed the rest. I pursued the party of Indians who went toward Savannah with 150 men, and overtook them before sunrise and surprised them in their camps, killed eight and took two prisoners and some of their camp equipage. Heaven was thus pleased to preserve the State from the rage of savages and the bloody intention of the British agent. His project was defeated, and the awful storm which seemed to threaten general destruction was dissipated with the loss of only one man. I was now appointed Lieutenant-Colonel of the militia of Richmond County, and was kept on almost continual duty, in guarding the frontier and repelling the Indians and predatory parties of Tories, with whom I frequently had skirmishes.

The Legislature of Georgia had ordered a treaty to be held with the Creek and Cherokee nations of Indians, in order to negotiate and endeavor to establish a permanent peace with them, and I was appointed one of the three Commissioners for that purpose. Information was sent to the Kings, head men and warriors, inviting them to meet us at Augusta for the purpose of burying the hatchet, and living in friendship. A large number of Indians, of all ranks, ages and sexes, attended, and all our grievances were mutually discussed, and we smoked the calumet of peace with their Kings and warriors, and gave them

presents, and parted in peace and friendship. But it lasted not long, for the British had their agents and emissaries among these Indians, who hired or persuaded them to raise the hatchet against us, in which they were too successful in cruelly murdering many families of women and children, and in destroying and carrying off much property.

In 1779 I was again elected a member of the Legislature. In January, 1780, the Legislature met in Augusta, and I was appointed a member of Congress, and in May I set out for Philadelphia, where Congress was then sitting. There I was introduced to the President and members of the most dignified and respectable assembly of Statesmen and Patriots that perhaps ever adorned a nation, and directed its operations in the most perilous times. When I looked round on the ancient sages—the selected wisdom of the States—sitting in council and deliberating on the most important national concerns, I was struck with veneration and respect. The destiny of three millions of people and the existence of the republic seemed to be in their hands; their proceedings were marked with wisdom, justice and firmness; in the discussion of every question the most respectful order was preserved, and the opinion of every member was respectfully received and duly considered. At this time our political affairs wore a gloomy aspect. The Continental money had depreciated to forty for one, and an effort was actually made to restore credit and carry on the operations of war by emitting paper money, of which one dollar should be estimated and passed at the value of forty of the old emission;

but the project failed, and we had not sufficient supplies for the army, nor money to pay the soldiers, whose pay was greatly in arrears. Under those pressing exigencies. Congress appointed R. Morris Fermier Général of the United States, with full power to manage all the Revenue. From his credit and exertions, much benefit was derived. In May, 1780, the British invested and took Charleston, in South Carolina, and the greatest part of their army were soon after detached, under the command of Lord Rawdon, and established their camp at Camden. The war was thus removed from the Northern to the Southern States. Congress therefore deemed it necessary to appoint General Gates Commander-in-chief of that department, with full powers to call for the militia and resources of the Southern States. An army of upwards of 3,000 was raised, consisting of Continental troops and militia; they were marched to attack Rawdon, who met and defeated them near Camden. Gates fled to Hillsborough, about 200 miles, before he stopped, to give Congress the melancholy information of his defeat. Congress now requested General Washington to appoint an officer that he thought best qualified to command the Southern army, and General Greene was sent, who successfully attacked the enemy in detail, and drove them back to Charleston.

In the year 1780 Congress received information from their Ministers in Europe, that the British were disposed to terminate the war, and had proposed to negotiate for peace. At this time the British had possession of all the sea coast and southern part of Georgia, and

the State had not been able to exercise the powers of government over the other part. This alarmed the Delegates in Congress from that State; they were apprehensive that the enemy would offer us peace on the principle of each power holding all that part of the country each had in possession, which would have ruined the State of Georgia. In order to avert that evil, Congress advised the Georgians to make every exertion to establish their government, and extend their possession of the State as far as possible. In order to facilitate those measures, the Delegates of Georgia in Congress thought most advisable to immediately send one of their own members to make those communications, and inform the Georgians of the necessity of making every exertion to avert the evil.

I was appointed, and requested to proceed immediately to Georgia, and advise the citizens to convene and elect Members of the Legislature and organize Government; but a difficulty arose from the want of funds to defray the expense of going to Georgia and establishing the Government. Congress was disposed to aid us, and passed an order in favor of the Georgian Delegates for \$1,000, specie; but such was the state of the Treasury, that it required exertion to raise that sum.

It was at length procured and paid to me, and on the 17th of July, 1781, I set out from Philadelphia accompanied by Col. Martin and Major Deveaux, and arrived in Georgia the 1st September. On the communications I made, elections were immediately held for members of the Legislature to represent the

different counties, and the Legislature convened at Augusta. N. Brownson was elected Governor, and the other officers of government were appointed, and I was again appointed a Member of Congress.

The Governor arranged the militia of the State, which at that time did not exceed 300 men; parties were detached down the country to extend the authority of government as near to Savannah as practicable.

In May, 1782, I returned to Congress in Philadelphia and found the aspect of public affairs more favorable. The King of France had advanced to us 10,000,000 livres, and sent to our assistance Count Rochambeau, with 6,000 troops, which united with American army under the command of General Washington, and soon after invested the British army in Virginia under the command of Lord Cornwallis, and captured the whole, consisting of about 8,000 men. This was the finishing stroke which placed the independence of the United States beyond a doubt, and relieved Congress from those fears and anxieties with which they had been long oppressed.

Direct proposals were now made by the British for peace, and plenipotentiaries of both nations met in Paris, and on the [3d] day of [September, 1783,] a treaty of peace was signed which acknowledged our independence.

I soon after returned to Georgia, and a general election of Members of the Legislature was held throughout the State. I was elected a member for Richmond County. In January, 1784, the Assembly met in Savannah and

entered on the important business of establishing law, order and government, which had been nearly annihilated. The citizens, who had been robbed and plundered by the enemy of nearly all their movable property, now turned their attention to their various occupations and pursuits for the acquisition of property. I also found it necessary to commence some kind of business for support ; for I possessed not much property nor had I any in expectation that I did not acquire by my own industry. I therefore determined to commence the practice of the law, although I had never spent one hour in the office of an attorney to prepare for the business, nor did I know anything of the practice, but I well understood the general principles of law, and I had acquired a tolerable proficiency in public speaking. I had no difficulty in getting admittance to the Bar, and at the same time commenced the study and practice of the law. I at first experienced some discouraging difficulties from the want of practical knowledge, but it rather stimulated me to greater exertions. I soon found myself progressing in the knowledge of my profession, and my increasing practice was sufficient evidence of my standing in public estimation, not inferior to the oldest practitioners ; my pecuniary prospects were very flattering. About this time a controversy arose between the States of Georgia and South Carolina relating to territory which was to be decided by Congress, and I was appointed an agent by the State of Georgia to advocate her claim before Congress, and I was also appointed a member of Congress for 1786. Although I was

sensible that pecuniary considerations forbid the accepting of those appointments, I was induced to accede to them and made arrangements to set out for Congress then sitting in New York, and arrived there on the 3d of May.

I found but few members of my former acquaintance then in Congress. An evident change had taken place. The dignity and consequence of that assembly had greatly diminished. Their former recommendation operated as laws and gave motion to the great political machine. But since the peace it was found their powers were not sufficient for the government and preservation of the union and safety of the States. After various efforts and resolves and recommendations to the States to vest Congress with more powers, which were rejected by most of the States, it was resolved by Congress to call a general convention of delegates from all the States for the purpose of taking the subject under consideration and forming a Constitution for the government of the States, to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday in May, 1787. This resolution was agreed to by all the States, and the State of Georgia appointed me a member of the Convention and a Member of Congress for that year. At the time appointed for the meeting of the Convention at Philadelphia, a full representation of all the States convened in the State House, and chose G. Washington for their President, and commenced their business, but they had to encounter incalculable difficulties. The modification of the State Rights, the different interests and diversity of opinions seemed for some time to present

obstacles that could not be surmounted. After about three weeks deliberation and debating, the Convention had serious thoughts of adjourning without doing anything. All human efforts seemed to fail. Doctor Franklin proposed to appoint a chaplain and implore Divine assistance, but his motion did not prevail. It was an awful and critical moment. If the Convention had then adjourned, the dissolution of the union of the States seemed inevitable. This consideration no doubt had its weight in reconciling clashing opinions and interests. It was believed to be of the utmost importance to concede to different opinions so far as to endeavor to meet opposition on middle ground, and to form a Constitution that might preserve the union of the States. On that principle of accommodations the business progressed, and after about three months' arduous labor, a plan of Constitution was formed on principles which did not altogether please anybody, but it was agreed to be the most expedient that could be devised and agreed to. The Constitution was transmitted to Congress, and by Congress was sent to all the States for their assent and ratification. The Constitution was soon adopted by most of the States, and they chose their Senators and Representatives agreeable thereto. The State of Georgia was among the first of the States which adopted the Constitution, and appointed me a member of the Senate. The new Congress met in New York on the 4th day of March, 1789, and on that day the old Congress calmly expired. I left my seat there and took my place in the Senate. Perhaps it is the first time that

a change or such important revolution in government was ever effected with so much deliberation and unanimity. Agreeable to the powers vested in the Senators and Representatives, they appointed George Washington President, and he was, with much solemnity, inaugurated. Public notice was given of the time and place appointed for that purpose, and a vast concourse of people assembled. The oath of office was administered to the President by Chancellor Livingston, in the balcony of the City Hall, in the view of many thousand people, who manifested the highest gratification. The scene was closed with universal acclamations, which, with the roaring of cannon and martial music, inspired the most pleasing sensations.

Congress, being now organized, proceeded to business, and many important subjects came under their consideration. The funding system now originated and was much opposed; but one of the most singular and extraordinary propositions that was brought forward was a motion to establish titles of nobility to be conferred on the President, Members of Congress, and high officers of government; this proposition had its advocates, and was seriously urged, but fortunately was rejected.

A predatory war was still carried on by the Creek Indians against the frontier citizens of Georgia, and the Legislature of that State instructed their Senators to confer with the President on the expediency of sending a military force sufficient to chastize them, but it was the opinion of the President it would be more advisable to endeavor first to settle the con-



troversy amicably with them by treaty, and he nominated three commissioners to meet the chief men of the Creek nation, and propose to adjust all differences with them. Two sloops were chartered to convey the commissioners and suite to Savannah with the goods and presents necessary for the Indians. I felt so much interested in the success of those measures that I determined to accompany the commissioners. We sailed from New York in September, and after a boisterous and dangerous passage arrived safe in Savannah, and went from thence to the Oronee River, which at that time was the boundary line between Georgia and the Creek Indians. We there met a great number of Indians who appeared to be well disposed to settle all differences, and invited us to meet them in council in their territory on the south bank of Oronee River, to drink black drink and smoke the calumet of peace with them, which was done with great formality and apparent friendship, and they accepted our invitation to meet us the next day on our territory on the north bank of the river, to enter on the discussions of the principles of a treaty, but to our great surprise and disappointment we found on the next day that instead of meeting us the Indians had commenced a retreat. They were at time under the influence of McGilvary, a half breed Indian, who was the son of a Scotch trader, who had given him a good education and prepared him for civil society, but McGilvary preferred a savage life and fled from his father to the Creek Indians, and without assuming the character of warrior or king, became their

chief director in all matters of political importance.

After the retreat of McGilvary, the commissioners had an interview with several of the Indian kings who could not inform us why McGilvary had retreated, but proposed, if any of us would go with them, to pursue him and persuade him to return. I then proposed to three other gentlemen to pursue McG. under the escort of two Indian kings to ascertain the reason of his retreat, and endeavor to bring him back, but he had marched with so much rapidity that we did not overtake him until he had crossed the Okmulgy River, which was more than 30 miles. We arrived about midnight and were admitted into his tent, but he would not give us any reason why he fled from us, nor would he return.

Thus by the obstinacy or wickedness of one perfidious savage, the benevolent intentions of the President and commissioners were defeated.

I then returned to my plantation in Columbia County, and after having made the necessary arrangements set out for New York to attend Senate. Congress met on the day of 1789. In the classification of the members of Senate, which was done by lot, I was placed in the class which was to continue four years. During the different recesses of Congress I visited my plantation in Georgia several times.

My time of service in the Senate having expired in March, 1793, I removed with my family to Georgia, and being divested of all public cares, I settled on my plantation and devoted my time to agricultural pursuits; this was a situation

I had many years been anxiously looking for. There I hoped to find that tranquillity and happiness which could not be found in public life. I had now continued more than sixteen years in public employment. I was eight years a member of the Legislature, and four years a member of the old Congress, and four years a member of the Senate of the United States, and during those periods the duties of other important offices devolved on me. I was now freed from all public cares and political vexations, and breathed the pure air of leisure and independence. But it was not long till I was again drawn into the political vortex. A circumstance occurred which roused the indignation and energies of the Georgians. The mania of land speculation had seized the people of that country, and one of the most wicked and corrupt combinations was formed in the Legislature to sell to a company of speculators all the unlocated lands of the State, which included extent of territory sufficient for a kingdom (and was of incalculable value), for only six or seven hundred thousand dollars. Several members of the legislature became purchasers, and others were bribed. Those nefarious transactions alarmed the people, who determined to make every exertion to counteract or amend the injurious transaction at the next Legislature by rejecting those members who voted in favor of the Yazoo Act, as it was then termed. Candidates for the Legislature were selected of those who were decidedly opposed to the Yazoo fraud. I was then elected to represent the County of Columbia as a Member of the Assembly.

The Legislature met in January, 1795, and passed an Act declaring the said Yazoo Act to be null and void, and cut from their books and burnt every record and document relative thereto.

Although the bribery and corruption of several members of the Legislature was sufficiently proved, and the injustice and injurious consequences were obvious, it became a question rather doubtful whether a succeeding Legislature had the power to null or repeal an Act founded on such principles. On that question the public mind was agitated, and the most violent and acrimonious party was created which will be long remembered by the term Yazoo party. The mischievous consequences of the Yazoo Act was felt through all the States. The people of Massachusetts and Connecticut purchased largely of the Yazoo lands for which the State of Georgia would not admit a title.

A vacancy now happened in the Senate of the United States of a Senator from Georgia. I offered as candidate for that appointment and was rejected by the Legislature, which was one of the greatest mortifications I had ever experienced; it was indeed the first of the kind I had met with; notwithstanding I now believe it to be one of the most fortunate events of my life, for if I had obtained that appointment I should have most probably spent the remainder of my days in the scorching climate of Georgia, under all the accumulating evils of fevers and negro slavery, those enemies to humane felicity.

The Legislature of Georgia now revised the Judiciary system, and divided

the State into four districts, and appointed a Judge to preside in each, and I was appointed the Judge of the Second District, which I experienced to be a laborious and arduous office, although I held it three years until my health was greatly impaired, and the health of my family was also declining. I then determined on visiting New York, and in May, 1799, I set out with my family for Savannah, where we embarked for New York, and arrived after a passage of ten days.

Soon after my arrival symptoms of the yellow fever were discovered in the city, and many of the citizens fled for safety to the country. Mr. Nicholson took a spacious house on the eastern bank of the East River, to which both families removed, where we spent an agreeable summer and so much more healthy and pleasant than I had experienced in Georgia that I began to think seriously on the expediency of removing my property from thence and residing in this State, and had viewed several houses and lots and lands that were offered for sale, and at length agreed, in conjunction with Mr. Nicholson, to purchase the little farm on Greenwich lane, containing about five acres, with all the buildings, for which we paid \$15,000.

In the years 1801, 1802, 1803 and 1804, I was appointed a Member of the Assembly of this State, and attended the Legislature in Albany three years. In May, 1804, I was appointed Commissioner of Loans, which prevented my attending of the Legislature that year at its commencement, but the important question on the incorporation of the Merchants' Bank was brought into the

Assembly, and I was urged by the citizens to go to the Legislature and oppose it. I then had the mortification to find that avarice, intrigue and corruption prevailed over virtuous opposition. The bank was incorporated, the dignity of the Legislature was wounded, and several of its members were charged with bribery. It was now demonstrated that there was not integrity and virtue in the representatives of the State sufficient to resist the sending influence of a large monied institution. and it is to be lamented that no bank has since been incorporated that has not dishonored the Legislature with base bargaining, intrigue and corruption. Nor is there any reason to believe that the same cause will not continue to produce the same effect, so long as the creation of banks continues to be the objects of legislation. In 1803 I visited Georgia for the last time, and made arrangements for the disposal of my property there, and determined to establish my residence in New York. In April, 1802, I was appointed Inspector of the State Prison, which was an arduous and troublesome office. The institution was then in its infancy, and I was enthusiastically impressed with the humane and beneficial effect of it if properly administered, although no pay or emolument was annexed to the office. I felt seriously engaged in the duties of it, and labored to correct and improve the system, and I do believe I rendered some benefit to the public. I held, and I think faithfully exercised, the duties of that office about ten years, until the federal party gained the ascendancy in the council of appointment. I was then removed from office in order that

federal inspectors might be appointed, which was one of those party measures to gratify individuals that was injurious to public interests.

In the years 1813-1814 I was elected Alderman of the 8th Ward, when the spirit of party was violent and the Federalists had the majority in the Common Council, which rendered the duties of that office disagreeable to me, and was the cause of my attending seldom in council. I was appointed Director of Manhattan Bank in the year 1804, which continued until 1814, when I was appointed President of the City Bank, which I held two years, and was disgusted with the cupidity and partiality of the Directors. They had taken on discounts and applied to their own use more than one-third part of the capital of the bank, and had speculated on the stock of the bank in a manner which I conceived to be injurious and unwarrantable, by which the interest of the bank was sacrificed to the cupidity of the Directors, against which I remonstrated, and laid before them a report which contained statements showing their errors and pointing out the evils that had resulted and would continue if the system was not amended. In doing this I faithfully discharged what I conceived to be my duty, although I well knew it would displease the Directors, against whose interests and speculations it militated, and the consequences were they would not reappoint me President.

This event, although not unexpected, excited some indignation; but the conscious rectitude of my intentions compensated, and on a retrospective view of the transaction I have no doubt but I

enjoy more pleasure in the reflection than either of those avaricious directors who opposed me. I had drawn up a statement of facts relative to the management of those directors with the intention of publishing the whole in order to bring their conduct fully into public view, but on reflection I was deterred from publishing, because it would tend to diminish the public confidence in the bank, and injure the stockholders, for in exposing the errors and avidity of the directors, it would unavoidably expose the state of the bank, and that exposure would look rather too much like a breach of confidence, and it would appear too much like revenge, which is a principal that I trust I shall never be influenced by.

In 1815 the operations of the war and the obstructions of commerce created difficulty with the banks, a great portion of their gold and silver had been drawn from their vaults, and the reflux of specie was so rapid that it became absolutely necessary to speedily adopt measures to avert the evil. A convention of all the directors of the banks in this city was called to take the subject under consideration; and it was unanimously agreed to suspend the payment of specie and issue no more bank paper until the payment of specie was resumed. A standing committee of two members from each bank was appointed to keep the subject under consideration, and report from time to time such measures as might be most proper. I was appointed the chairman of that committee in which there were great diversity of opinion on the principles of banking. I found the subject complex and diffi-

cult to fully comprehend, and properly arranged in such manner as to form in the mind a well connected system. I applied diligently to the investigation of the subject and collected such documents as would give the best information, and I had the vanity to believe that I understood the subject as well as any of them and better than the greatest part of the committee. It was now thought advisable to hold a general convention of all the banks of New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, and three bank representatives were chosen for each city, to meet in Philadelphia, to confer on the subject, and report such measures as would best support the general interest. I was appointed one of the bank representatives from this city, and met the convention at Philadelphia in July, and also in January, when I had an opportunity of taking a more extensive view of the banking system, and of acquiring some information on the subject, but very little public benefit resulted from those conventions.

In October, 1816, the office of commissioner of loans was transferred to the Branch Bank of the United States. This year I sustained a diminution of my revenue amounting to four thousand dollars. The salary as President of the City Bank was \$2,000, and the salary and perquisites of the Loan office was \$2,000. It then became necessary to make an estimate of all my property, and to arrange my finances in such a manner as to make my expenses not exceed my income. My property, real and personal, amounted in value to upwards of one hundred thousand dollars, and I estimated my annual revenue at about

six thousand dollars which I considered quite sufficient to support my family in the style I wished to live, and leave a balance annually of a few hundred dollars to be applied to charitable and friendly purposes, for it is my intention to appropriate all my surplus revenue to those purposes. Having successfully labored many years to accumulate the property which bounteous Heaven has pleased to bestow upon me, I now acknowledge with thanks and gratitude—it is enough—it is not necessary that I should any longer endeavor to increase it, and I conceive it a duty incumbent on me to duly economize in my expenses and endeavor to increase the sum that must be applied to charitable purposes.

*[Here the autobiography closes.]*

## DIARY AND MEMORANDA OF HENRY CRUGER

CONVERSATIONS WITH EDMUND BURKE  
AND LORD NORTH

1775

It will be conceded that two of the most prominent political characters in England, at the period of the American Revolution, were the two gentlemen above named. Inherited manuscripts have brought into my possession several written memoranda made at the time, by an intelligent American then in England, of conversations had by him in the year 1775, on the subject of American affairs, with each of the two prominent characters to whom I have referred. Before presenting these papers,

which are in the handwriting of Henry Cruger, Sr., father of Henry Cruger, Jr., the latter being at these dates the colleague and co-representative for the city of Bristol of Edmund Burke in the British Parliament, Lord North being at the same time Prime Minister, it will be proper for me to refer to the position and history of the gentleman who made the manuscript notes to which I have referred, although that position is generally understood.

Henry Cruger, Sr., was a prominent New Yorker when the Revolution broke out, having been for many years a member of the Provincial Assembly, and one of his Majesty's Council. He had at that time retired from public life, and from mercantile affairs in which he was prominent, being then in very poor health. In May, 1775, he took ship for England in the hope of securing relief from a disease with which he was afflicted, and made his home at Bristol; in which city his son, the member of Parliament, resided, and at whose house he was brought into company with Edmund Burke on the latter's visits to his colleague. He died in February, 1780, and was buried in the cathedral in that city.

Mr. Cruger was a gentleman of great intelligence, of high integrity, and of precise accuracy in business; and he commanded the respect and confidence of all who knew him. His son-in-law, Peter Van Schaack, being in England the last year of his life, was by him made one of his executors, and in this way came into the possession of the historical memoranda above referred to.

The first of these papers, in the order

of their dates, is thus indorsed in Mr. Cruger's handwriting: "Memorandum of conversation with Ed. Burke Esqr—" The inside of this paper reads thus: "memorandm, Bristol, August 27th, 1775. At about nine o'clock in the evening, Edmund Burke Esq., member for this city & agent for the Assembly of New York, visited my son, Hen. Cruger, who introduced me to him. After the ceremony of my introduction, I inquired of Mr. Burke about the fate of the Continental Congress's Petition to the King. He said he did not know that it was presented; although it was sent to him, Mr. Bolland, agent for the Massachusetts Colony, Mr. Gath, agent for S. Carolina, and Mr. Lee, agent for Virginia. That as the Assembly of New York, nor their Committee had wrote to him about it, he, (E. B.) thought himself not authorized to do any thing with the petition; in answer to which, I told Mr. Burke that I considered it the duty of all Colonial agents to deliver the petition; and that, on so interesting an affair to America, all punctilios should be waived; especially as our Assembly, nor their Committee of Correspondence, could know nothing of the petition being sent, and therefore I wished he would present it. All which conversation I communicated the next morning to John Watts & Roger Morris, Esquires, who seemed to be of my opinion."

The Petition to the King referred to in the foregoing memorandum, had been adopted by the second Continental Congress on the eighth day of July, 1775. This measure was carried against a strong opposition in the Congress, based on the fact that the petition of the first

Congress having been treated with insulting neglect, there was no reason to anticipate a different fate for this second effort at reconciliation. The petition was, however, signed by each individual member of the Congress. It was respectful and loyal in its terms, and was evidently a sincere effort to avoid the horrors of a civil war. The fact that Mr. Burke kept this petition in his pocket without presenting it, is not a little singular. Had it been sent to his colleague, we have good reason to know that Mr. Cruger would have promptly presented it. It is probable, that about this period there was no great amount of love lost between Burke and his colleague; for, although at their first election to Parliament in 1774, they were "hand and glove," Cruger became dissatisfied with his colleague soon after their first legislative association, and as early as May, 1775, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Peter Van Schaack, in America: "Mr. Burke by no means proves what I wish him. He is so cursed crafty and selfish, no one can possibly receive the least benefit from a connection with him. Tho' an agent, he boasts that he never wrote politics, or gave any advice to the people of America, or even to the Assembly his constituents."

In regard to the visit of Henry Cruger, Sr., to Lord North, I would remark that Mr. Cruger kept a diary, now in my possession, in which we find entries made on each successive day from the period of his arrival in England on the 20th of June, 1775, down to the 31st of January, 1780, which was only four days before his decease. It appears from

entries in this diary, that on the 22d of October, 1775, Mr. Cruger set out from Bristol with his son, the member of Parliament, for London, and reached that place on the morning of the 24th, taking lodgings in that part of the city known as Westminster. That on the 31st, he waited on Sir William Meredith, who engaged Mr. Cruger to dine with him on the next Thursday, which would be the 2d of November. On that day Mr. Cruger was indisposed, and wrote this apologetic note, marking the draft of it, "Card to Sir William Meredith." "Sir, I shall do myself the honor of waiting on Sir William Meredith at breakfast tomorrow, and should with equal pleasure avail myself of your polite offer of attending me to the House if I were not discouraged by a bad cold going out; which will also deprive me of the pleasure of dining with you to-day. I am, with great respect, your most obdt Servt. Thursday morning, Novr. 2d, 1775."

Under the date of November 3d, we find this entry in Mr. Cruger's Diary: "Breakfasted with Sir Wm. Meredith in Fleetyard Street, who informed me that Lord North would be glad to see me. Sir Wm. accordingly introduced me to his Lordship, at his house in Downing street, where I was politely received. Our conversation for about half an hour, was chiefly on the subject of American affairs, which his Lordship said he wished could be accommodated to the satisfaction of all parties." This is all we find on this subject, in the well-kept diary. But Mr. Cruger did not content himself with making this barren entry in his journal. He made a separate and fuller memorandum of his conversation

with Lord North, which I will here present. It was indorsed by him : "Memorandum of visit to Lord North." The inside reads as follows :

"Westminster, Novr. 3d, 1775—By invitation, I breakfasted with Sir William Merideth, Baronet, this morning. After breakfast, Sir William told me that Lord North would be glad to see me ; and he would accompany me to his house ; to which I had no objection, and was accordingly politely received, by my Lord, at his house in Downing street. My visit was about half an hour. Our conversation was chiefly on the subject of American affairs, which his Lordship said 'he wished could be accommodated without further trouble, &c.' The questions asked me were : If troops should be sent to New York, would they not be joined by the friends to Government ? My answer was, that I believed not. As I had been informed, that, upon the first appearance of a body of King's troops, the inhabitants of the city intended to set fire to the town, to prevent the soldiers having the use of the houses, and that they would meet with opposition on landing."

"The next question (put by Sir William) was what I thought of the American gentlemen now in London going over to settle matters. To which I freely answered that it was my opinion that the most probable way of succeeding in such a plan would be to send from hence gentlemen of dignified characters, that had no connection in that country, avoiding to send such as had distinguished themselves for their warmth against the Colonies. This plan, I took the liberty to say, I most heartily wished

could be tried, as I verily believed it would be opening a door for a reconciliation. To which his Lordship said that it would give him the greatest pleasure to see peace restored to that country, but signified that the Americans had claimed rather too much.

"I then begged leave to refer his Lordship to the Petition brought over by Mr. Richard Penn, which, I said, I thought was conceived in very decent humiliating terms ; at least, is much more moderate than the productions of the first General Congress, and seemed clearly, in my opinion, to point out and wish for a negotiation on the important subject of American disputes. His Lordship asked me what age Col. Phil. Schuyler was, and which of the Livingstons Captain Montgomery married. Which was the substance of our conversation."

It is, I think, quite evident from these memoranda, that Mr. Cruger's interview with Lord North was brought about by his Lordship through Sir William Merideth, who appears to have been a friend of both the gentlemen. According to this memorandum, Mr. Cruger breakfasted with Sir William Merideth, by special invitation, and after breakfast Sir William hastened to tell Mr. Cruger that Lord North would be glad to see him. This clearly shows that there had been a previous conversation between the Minister and Sir William on the subject of securing this interview. As Mr. Cruger was an intelligent and liberal-minded American, and a man of sound judgment and great moderation and candor, of which traits Lord North had no doubt been fully apprised, he was



the very man whose opinions and advice would be likely to be sought by the Minister, or whom, as Sir William Meredith expressed it, "Lord North would be glad to see."

It will be observed also, that the question asked of Mr. Cruger as to what he thought of the American gentlemen then in London going over to endeavor to settle matters, was put by Sir William Meredith, and not by Lord North. In this we may, as I think, fairly infer that there was a design, and that by pre-concert between his Lordship and Sir William Meredith, the latter gentleman was to put that precise question so as not in any way to commit the Minister to the propriety of the measure.

It is worthy of note also, that in answer to Lord North's suggestion that the Americans claimed rather too much, Mr. Cruger referred his Lordship "to the Petition brought over by Mr. Richard Penn, which he thought was conceived in very decent humiliating terms, at least much more moderate than the productions of the first General Congress, and seemed clearly, in his opinion, to point out and wish for a negotiation on the important subject of American disputes." To this just characterization of that petition Lord North seems not to have made any reply, but to have turned from the subject by enquiring of Mr. Cruger the age of Colonel Schuyler, and which of the Livingstons Captain Montgomery had married. It would puzzle a Jesuit to find the pertinency of these enquiries about Schuyler's age and Montgomery's wife, but those who have studied Lord North's course in Parliament, cannot fail to have noticed the ingenuity and

dexterity with which the Minister, when threatened with embarrassments in the debates, artfully contrived to divert the attention of members from his predicament by starting some new point or theme calculated to fix their minds in a different direction.

Now the petition referred to by Mr. Cruger at this interesting interview was that petition of the second Continental Congress to the King, which, as I have before remarked, had been sent by the Congress to Mr. Burke, and which that gentleman had carried in his pocket without making that prompt presentation of it for which it was designed, and which from its grave importance became its just due. Whoever will take the trouble to read that petition, will not fail to be astonished that the British Ministry, if they really desired a reconciliation, did not at least make an effort to improve the opportunity it offered for securing an adjustment of the American disputes. But punctilios were then the order of the day.

It is a severe commentary on the inactivity and neglect of the Minister in 1775, in not sending over the American gentlemen of character then in London to endeavor to settle matters, as urged by Mr. Cruger in his interview with Lord North, that three years afterwards Commissioners were sent over for that purpose. But it was then too late, for independence had been declared and acted upon for two years, and, as the Minister, in the name of his royal master, had curtly said to the Congressional Petition in 1775 that "no answer would be given to it," so now, upon the arrival of the Royal Commissioners at Philadel-

phia, in June, 1778, Congress, standing upon its rights, as well as its dignity, utterly refused to have any intercourse with them except as an independent nation.

HENRY C. VAN SCHAACK

## THE STORM OF THE YORK-TOWN REDOUBTS

### I

*From the Evening Post, August 11, 1802*

HAMILTON TO THE EVENING POST, N. Y.

New York, August 10, 1802

Sir

Finding that a story long since propagated under circumstances, which it was expected would soon consign it to oblivion (and by which I have been complimented at the expense of Generals Washington and Lafayette), has of late been revived, and has acquired a degree of importance by being repeated in different publications, as well in Europe as America, it becomes a duty to counteract its currency and influence by an explicit disavowal.

The story imports, in substance, that General Lafayette, with the approbation or connivance of General Washington, ordered me, as the officer who was to command the attack on a British redoubt, in the course of the siege of York-Town, to put to death all those of the enemy who should happen to be taken in the redoubt; and that, through motives of humanity, I forbore to execute the order.

Positively and unequivocally, I declare that no such nor similar orders, nor any intimation or hint resembling it, was ever

by me received, or understood to have been given.

It is needless to enter into an explanation of some of the occurrences on the occasion alluded to, which may be construed to have given rise to the calumny. It is enough to say that they were entirely unconnected with any act of either of the two Generals who have been accused.

With esteem, I am, dear sir

Your obedient servant

A. HAMILTON

To Editor of the Evening Post

### II

*From the Works of Hamilton, VI., 555*

LAFAYETTE TO HAMILTON

Paris, 31st March, 1803

My Dear Hamilton

I would like, by this opportunity, to write you a long letter; but having been lying on my back for two months past, and being, three weeks to come, doomed to the same situation, I must confine myself to a few lines written near my bed. The particulars of the accident, and his cure, will be given to you by General Bernadotte—whom I must particularly introduce, and his lady, to Mrs. Hamilton and you. Politics I will not dwell upon. My sentiments are so well known to you, that it were superfluous to say what I think of *Senatus Consulta* at home—and settling colonies in North America; yet I hope this late affair may still be arranged to mutual satisfaction, and I am sure nobody could have better personal dispositions than my friend, General Bernadotte, who, to those high and brilliant

abilities which have so much contributed to the triumph of the French arms, joins one of the most civic, generous and candid hearts it is possible to meet with. I know he sets a great value by the approbation of the citizens of America, and is particularly desirous of your acquaintance, and properly sensible of its advantages. I have seen in the papers a letter from you relative to the transactions at our York Town redoubt, in which I have found my friend Hamilton's whole character, and the more pleased I have been to receive it, as the attack had been some time known to me, but on the proposal of some friends to write to you, I had answered you were on the spot, and would know better what was best for me to be done. Adieu, my dear friend; my best respects to Mrs. Hamilton. Remember me to our friends. I know you are most friendly interested in my private concerns, and have ever depended upon it.

Most affectionately, I am your constant friend,

LAFAYETTE

[General A. Hamilton]

### III

#### LAFAYETTE TO ARCHENHOLZ

*Translated from the original in the possession of  
Jeremiah Colburn*

La Grange, 20 September, 1804

On my return from a long journey, I received your letter of the 8th September, my excellent and dear friend. I recognize in it the sentiments which for a long period I have found it honorable, useful and agreeable to myself to find in you. It would be unjust to accuse me of the interruptions which have oc-

curred in our correspondence. I take delight in repeating to you the expressions of my gratitude for all the evidences of your friendship, and particularly for the last public testimony you have given me of it. But I must first of all reply to the article published in a Berlin gazette.

The calumny, of which this newspaper has been the organ, supposes great ignorance concerning the American war. New York was not captured; it was evacuated, in pursuance of a convention between Generals Washington and Carleton. The English were embarked; their last pickets left the city at the moment our troops entered it; hence there were no prisoners taken; and, moreover, at this time I was not in America, but in Europe, where preparations were making for the great expedition which was to sail from Cadiz, under the orders of M. d'Estaing; I was serving in it as Chief of Staff of France and Spain.

No doubt *New York*, the capital of the State of this name, has been confounded with *York-town*, a town in Virginia, where Lord Cornwallis, notwithstanding his courage and talents, was forced, by the chances of war, to capitulate, in the month of October, 1781, to General Washington, who commanded, in person, the American and French troops. It is absurd to suppose that Washington, Rochambeau, Lincoln and Lafayette could have concerted to massacre an army which had just been surrendered by a formal treaty; that the Commander-in-Chief, Washington, should have replied to me, "It is you who command here;" that Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, commanding a battalion of light infantry, should have been ordered

to put this army to the sword, and severely blamed because he did not obey. There is not one word in this whole story which is not absolutely ridiculous.

The explanation is not less concise. It was in spite of the French government, that I espoused the American cause, and after the government had been carried into it by the will of the nation, I could not have dishonored the cause, the army of the United States and myself, to please M. de Vergennes. Moreover, this Minister was too high minded to have entertained any such policy, and, if he had, would not have been fool enough to confide it to me. Here is what gave rise to this atrocious absurdity.

It will be remembered that the English displayed a brutal cruelty in the war of independence. I could cite letters of General Washington, several reports made to Congress, and many authentic facts; it will suffice to say that during the siege of York-town we learned, with indignation, that at the capture of New London by the infamous Arnold, the officer commanding the assault on the fort, after receiving the sword of the American commandant, plunged it into his breast, and that the other prisoners, especially the wounded, suffered the most barbarous treatment. All the troops, and particularly the officers, exclaimed that reprisals must be resorted to as the only means to put a stop to such cruelties. It was at this time that the American Light Infantry, which was under my command, was about to make an assault on an English redoubt; I entrusted it to Hamilton, and, notwithstanding the unanimous cry for

vengeance, our soldiers, who carried the redoubt at the point of the bayonet, not only gave quarter to the enemy, but neither indulged in reproaches or pillage. Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton and I, who accompanied the assaulting column, took pains on every occasion to do justice to the generosity of our troops and corps, without an idea that either praise or blame should be ascribed to us at a later day. Hence, when twenty years afterward, an idea occurred to some one to insert in an American newspaper the statement which has been repeated in a much more incredible manner in that of Berlin, General Hamilton hastened to deny it by a public letter.

During the course of the American Revolution, I had many hostile relations with the English and German troops. You are aware that during the entire campaign of 1781, and until Generals Washington and Rochambeau joined me in the blockade of Yorktown, I was the Commander in chief of the army corps opposed to Lord Cornwallis. I have had no reason to complain of the judgment which the military men who were engaged in this war have been good enough to pass upon me, and I believe that they were as much surprised as myself to find me accused of barbarity toward a conquered enemy. Lord Cornwallis did me the honor to address to me in particular his desires concerning his captured army. It is not probable that when the English officers, such as my noble friend Fitzpatrick, and General Tarleton, urged my deliverance from captivity upon the British Parliament, the ministerial party which replied to them by strange falsehoods concerning my conduct in France,

would have neglected to cite any cruelties of mine in America.

There is a history of the United States by a respectable gentleman, my personal friend, Doctor Gordon, who lived for a long time at Boston, and who, many years since, returned to England. He is the originator of this anecdote, which has since been personal—or rather, I am myself, for I remember to have related to him, in praise of American generosity, that even though their Generals, in order to put an end to the excesses committed upon their prisoners, had spoken of reprisals at the moment of an assault, there was reason to rely on the magnanimity of their troops, and that I had myself best had the opportunity, personally, to test this noble quality of the American soldier. But I repeat, that when Hamilton and myself sought to make it a credit to our troops and to show our enemies that it was through their generosity alone that they were not treated as we were treated on so many occasions, and under circumstances much less excusable by the usages of war, we never dreamed that it would become a subject of eulogium to him whose high and merited reputation needs no such addition, or for me the occasion of a censure quite contrary to that opinion which I have constantly found to be entertained of me by the troops of the enemy.

Here you have a long reply my excellent friend to this passage in your letter; you will understand that if I do not dwell here upon the others, it is not from any want of confidence in yourself, or in the manner with which you feel and present everything that concerns

me, but because of the present situation of affairs, the characteristics of which as far as they regard me, do not escape your sagacity, and upon which all my friends are engaged in a more or less active manner; I think, therefore, that more disadvantages than advantages would arise from giving too much importance to my opinions and to my retirement. I will therefore this time close my letter by saying to you that if you make use of my reply to the charges of the Berlin Gazette it must only serve you as material for your use, and not to break my resolution kept up to this moment, not to enter upon any polemic refutation of the calumnies of all sorts which party feeling of various kinds has so long directed upon me; this will not prevent your saying, however, that these explanations are drawn from my friendly correspondence with yourself.

Adieu, my excellent and very dear friend; you will learn with pleasure that the douches of Mont d'Or have benefitted me greatly; I still limp; I have only partially recovered the flexibility of my knee and foot, but I can walk for a long time, and my improvement is such that I have reason to hope for a complete cure, certainly next year. I shall take one more season at the Mont d'Or.

My wife's health is passably good considering its habitual condition, with which you are familiar. My children and grand-children will all be united at La Grange, except my son-in-law, the husband of Virginie; he will be detained on duty with his regiment. All my family send you a thousand

thanks and expressions of friendship. Repeat our sentiments to Madame de Archenholz and your children. Write me concerning yourself and all of your family, and continue your affection for your faithful, tender, and grateful friend,

LAFAYETTE

M. de Archenholz

## THE NAVAL ENGAGEMENT OF DEGRASSE AND GRAVES

OFF THE CAPES OF THE CHESAPEAKE

SEPTEMBER, 1881

*From the London Gazette*

Admiralty Office, Oct. 15, 1781

Captain Duncan, of his Majesty's frigate *Medea*, arrived at this Office on Saturday night, with dispatches from Rear-Admiral Graves, Commander-in-Chief of his Majesty's ships in North America, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are extracts :

London, at Sandy Hook

August 31, 1781

The 28th Sir Samuel Hood arrived off the Hook, with fourteen sail of the line, four frigates, one sloop, and a fire-ship, from the West Indies. The same evening intelligence was brought, that Mons. De Barras had sailed the Saturday before, with his whole squadron. As Sir Samuel Hood had brought intelligence from the West Indies, that all the French fleet from the Cape were sailed, I immediately determined to proceed to the Southward, in hopes to intercept the one, or both, if possible.

London, at Sea, Sept. 14 1781

I beg you will be pleased to acquaint my Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, that the moment the wind served to carry the ships over the Bar, which was buoyed up for the purpose, the squadron came out, and Sir Samuel Hood getting under sail at the same time, the fleet proceeded together, on the 31st of August, to the Southward.

The cruizers which I had placed before the Delaware could give me no certain information, and the cruizers off the Chesapeake had not joined ; the winds being rather favourable, we approached the Chesapeak the morning of the 5th of September, when the advanced ship made the signal of a fleet. We soon discovered a number of great ships at anchor, which seemed to be extended across the entrance of the Chesapeak from Cape Henry to the middle ground, they had a frigate cruising off the Cape, which stood in and joined them, and, as we approached, the whole fleet got under sail, and stretched out to sea, with the wind at North North East. As we drew nearer, I formed the line first a-head, and then in such a manner as to bring his Majesty's fleet nearly parallel to the line of approach of the enemy, and when I found that our van was advanced as far as the shoal of the Middle ground would admit of, I wore the fleet, and brought them upon the same tack with the enemy, and nearly parallel to them, though we were by no means extended with their rear. So soon as I judged that our van would be able to operate, I made the signal to bear away and approach, and soon after, to engage the enemy close. Somewhat after four the

action began among the headmost ships pretty close, and soon became general as far as the second ship from the center towards the rear. The van of the enemy bore away to enable their center to support them, or they would have been cut up. The action did not entirely cease till a little after sun set, though at a considerable distance, for the center of the enemy continued to bear up as it advanced, and at that moment seemed to have little more in view than to shelter their own van as it went away before the wind.

His Majesty's fleet consisted of nineteen sail of the line; that of the French formed twenty-four sail in their line. After night I sent the frigates to the van and rear to push forward the line and keep it extended with the enemy, with a full intention to renew the engagement in the morning; but when the frigate *Fortunee* returned from the van, I was informed that several of the ships had suffered so much, they were in no condition to renew the action until they had secured their masts; we however kept well extended with the enemy all night.

We continued all day, the 6th, in sight of each other, repairing our damages. Rear-admiral Drake shifted his flag into the *Alcide*, until the *Princessa* had got up another main topmast. The *Shrewsbury*, whose Captain lost a leg, and had the First Lieutenant killed, was obliged to reef both top-masts, shifted her top-sail-yards, and had sustained very great damage. I ordered Captain Colpoys, of the *Orpheus*, to take command of her, and put her into a state of action.

The *Intrepid* had both top-sail yards

shot down, her top-masts in great danger of falling, and her lower masts and yards very much damaged, her Captain having behaved with the greatest gallantry to cover the *Shrewsbury*. The *Montagu* was in great danger of losing her masts, the *Terrible* so leaky as to keep all her pumps going; and the *Ajax* also very leaky.

In the present state of the fleet, and being five sail of the line less in number than the enemy, and they having advanced very much to the wind upon us during the day, I determined to tack after light, to prevent being drawn too far from the Chesapeake, and to stand to the Northward.

Enclosed is the line of battle, with the numbers killed and wounded in the different ships. The ships in general did their duty well, and the officers and people exerted themselves exceedingly.

On the 8th, it came to blow pretty fresh, and, in standing again a-head sea, the *Terrible* made the signal of distress. I immediately sent the *Fortunee* and *Orpheus* frigates to attend upon her.

It being determined, in a council of war, on the 10th, to evacuate the *Terrible* and destroy her, I took the first calm day to effect it, and at the same time distributed the water and provisions. This took up the whole of the 11th; the wreck was set fire to, and I bore up for the Chesapeake about nine at night.

The fleets had continued in sight of each other for five days successively, and at times were very near. We had not speed enough, in so mutilated a state, to attack them, and they showed no inclination to renew the action, for they generally maintained the wind of

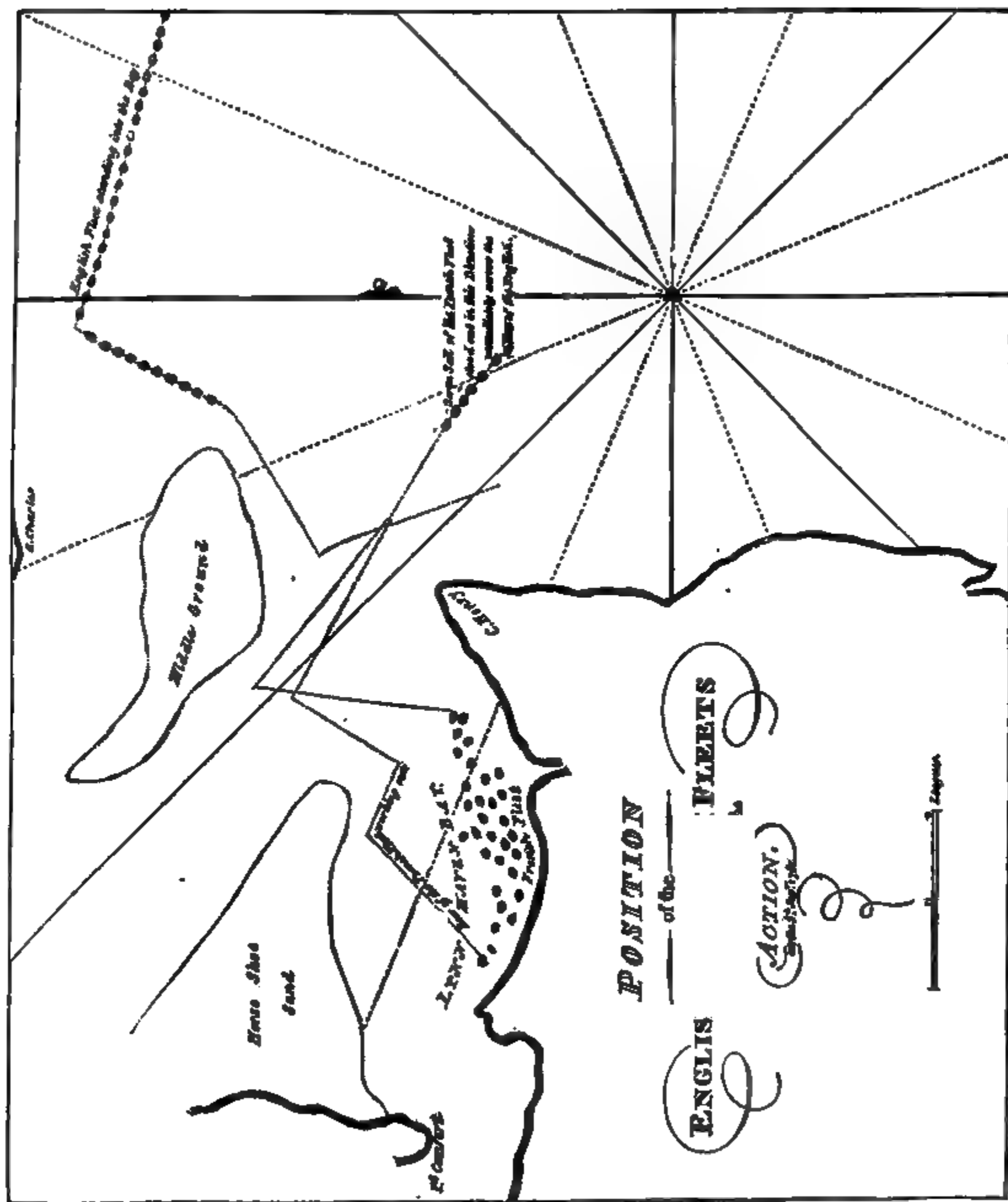


Diagram for the Battle of the Clouds.



us, and had it often in their power. I sent Captain Duncan to reconnoitre the Chesapeake, who brought me information of the French fleet being all anchored within the Cape, so as to block up the passage. I then determined to follow the resolution of a council of war, to proceed with the fleet to New York before the Equinox, and there use every possible means for putting the ships into the best state for service, and I immediately dispatched the Medea with this packet for their Lordships information.

☞ Captain Duncan reports, that before he left the fleet, the Prudent, of 64 guns, had joined it; and that an account was just received of Rear Admiral Digby being upon the coast.

#### LINE OF BATTLE

| RATE | SHIPS   | COMMANDERS                            | GUNS | MEN |
|------|---|---------------------------------------|------|-----|
|      | Division Sir Samuel Hood, Bart, Rear-Admiral of the Blue, &c. |                                       |      |     |
| 3d   | Alfred  | Capt. Bayne                           | 74   | 600 |
| —    | Belliqueux  | Brine                                 | 64   | 500 |
| —    | Invincible  | Saxton                                | 74   | 600 |
| 2d   | Barfleur  | { Rear Admiral Hood }<br>Captain Hood | 90   | 768 |
| 3d   | Monarch   | Reynolds                              | 74   | 600 |
| —    | Centaur   | Inglefield                            | 74   | 650 |
|      | Frigates—Santa Monica to repeat—Richmond                      |                                       |      |     |

|    |   |   |    |     |
|----|---|---|----|-----|
|    | Division Thomas Graves, Esq., Rear Admiral of the Red, Commander-in-Chief |   |    |     |
| 3d | America   | Thompson                                  | 64 | 500 |
| —  | Resolution  | Lord Robert Manners                       | 74 | 600 |
| —  | Bedford   | Graves                                    | 74 | 600 |
| 2d | London  | { Rear Admiral Graves }<br>Captain Graves | 98 | 800 |
| 3d | Royal Oak   | Ardesoif                                  | 74 | 600 |
| —  | Montagu   | Bowen                                     | 74 | 600 |
| —  | Europe  | Child                                     | 64 | 500 |
|    | Frigates—Salamander, fireship. Nymph to repeat. Solebay. Adamant.         |   |    |     |

|    |   |  |    |     |
|----|---|--|----|-----|
|    | Division F. S. Drake, Esq., Rear-Admiral of the Blue, &c. |  |    |     |
| 3d | Terrible  | Finch  | 74 | 600 |
| —  | Ajax  | Charrington                                  | 74 | 550 |
| —  | Princess  | { Rear-Admiral Drake }<br>Captain Knatchbull | 70 | 577 |

|   |                                     |          |    |     |
|---|-------------------------------------|----------|----|-----|
| — | Alcide                              | Thompson | 74 | 600 |
| — | Intrepid                            | Molloy   | 64 | 500 |
| — | Shrewsbury                          | Robinson | 74 | 600 |
|   | Frigates—Sybil, to repeat. Fortunee |          |    |     |

LIST OF MEN KILLED AND WOUNDED ON BOARD HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS UNDER THE COMMAND OF REAR-ADMIRAL GRAVES, IN THE ACTION WITH THE FRENCH FLEET OFF CAPE HENRY, THE 5TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1781.

|                  | KILLED | WOUNDED | TOTAL |
|------------------|--------|---------|-------|
| Shrewsbury ..... | 14     | 52      | 66    |
| Intrepid .....   | 21     | 35      | 56    |
| Alcide .....     | 2      | 18      | 20    |
| Princessa .....  | 6      | 11      | 17    |
| Ajax .....       | 7      | 16      | 23    |
| Terrible .....   | 4      | 11      | 25    |
| Europe .....     | 9      | 18      | 27    |
| Montagu .....    | 8      | 22      | 30    |
| Royal Oak .....  | 4      | 5       | 9     |
| London .....     | 4      | 18      | 22    |
| Bedford .....    | 8      | 14      | 22    |
| Resolution ..... | 3      | 16      | 19    |
| America .....    | —      | —       | —     |
| Centaur .....    | —      | —       | —     |
| Monarch .....    | —      | —       | —     |
| Barfleur .....   | —      | —       | —     |
| Invincible ..... | —      | —       | —     |
| Belliqueux ..... | —      | —       | —     |
| Alfred .....     | —      | —       | —     |
| Total .....      | 90     | 246     | 336   |

From Almon's Remembrancer. Vol. XII., (pp. 283-285).

#### NOTES

ALTITUDE OF THE NAVESINK HILLS—  
Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell wrote January 10, 1819, "Ships destined from foreign places to New York had often been run ashore near the light house at Sandy Hook, when there was no distress of weather, and under mysterious and inexplicable circumstances. Underwriters were obliged to pay for property lost and damaged, though this could not compensate for the sufferings by pain and death. It was supposed there must be an error in the estimated height of the adjacent Neversink Hills. Though the port had been frequented by navigators for two centuries and more, their altitude above the oceanic level had

never been ascertained. It was conjectured to be about six hundred feet. Being then a director of an insurance company, I determined to go myself and find their altitude. A company of learned and intelligent friends honored me with their assistance. We found the summit of these famous piles to be considerably less than three hundred feet. The reason immediately appeared why mariners, deceived in their altitude had been deceived in their supposed distance, and, in full confidence that they were safe in the offing, found, to their astonishment, their vessels thumping on the bottom. Since the publication of this discovery, the line of distinction and decoy to shipwreck are removed.

PETERSFIELD

FAMOUS APPLES—The following extract is from a letter written by Samuel L. Mitchell, Sept. 3, 1824: "How can I forbear to mention the *Swaar-apple* of Poughkeepsie, the *Spitzenbergh* of Kingston, and the *Pippins* of Newtown? New Jersey has become famous for the cider of Newark. Virginia is proud of her *Hughes' Crab*. New York dwells with satisfaction upon the praises of *Paine's Red-streak*."

PETERSFIELD

FAST HORSES—In Stone's Life of Brant, Vol. I. p. 32, referring to the death of Sir William Johnson, he says: "In the afternoon of that day Sir William was taken with a fit. Colonel Johnson, his son, was absent at the Old Fort, distant nine miles. An express was sent for him, and, mounting a fleet English blood horse, he rode for the Hall with all possible haste. His horse

fell dead when within three-quarters of a mile of the house, having run upwards of eight miles in fifteen minutes." This incredible statement is recalled to mind by the time made by Maud S. at Pittsburgh, July 13th, 1881, of a mile in 2.10½. Sir John Johnson's time of eight miles in fifteen minutes, would be at the rate of a mile in 1.52½! I. C.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

THOMAS LOVELACE—In August, 1880, I visited the Schuyler mansion at Schuylerville, N. Y., and was there shown by Mr. George Strover, who now and for many years past has occupied the house, in a box on a table in one of the rooms, the skull of Lovelace, the Tory spy.

"Lovelace," says Sabine, "was found within the American lines with a British commission in his possession, and by order of General Stark, who had established his headquarters at Saratoga, was brought before a court-martial, tried, condemned and executed as a spy."

Lovelace was hung on a hill which can be seen from the lawn of the mansion wherein now his skull is preserved.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

NICHOLAS ST. ANDRÉ—Major John André, in his will recorded in the Surrogate's office of the city of New York, says: "I desire a ring, value fifty pounds, to be given to my friend, Peter Boissier, of the 11th Dragoons."

It may be mentioned as a curious coincidence of names, if nothing else, that there was published at Paris in 1731 a small volume entitled "*Recueil des Lettres au sujet des Malefices et du Sortilege, servant de response aux*

Lettres de M. de St. André," par le *Sieur Boissier*.

The book against which it is levelled is St. André's "Lettres sur la Magie, les Malefices et les Sorciers." 12mo, Paris, 1725. This "M. de St. André," I believe, was none other than the notorious Nicholas St. André, the adventurer and charlatan. This Cagliostro-like character is thought to have been of the same lineage as Major André.

CHARLES A. CAMPBELL

PETROLEUM—"The Seneca Indian Oil in so much repute here (Pittsburgh, 1803) is Petroleum, a liquid bitumen which oozes through fissures of the rocks and coal in the mountains, and is found floating on the surface of the waters of several springs in this part of the country, whence it is skimmed off and kept for use. From a strong vapour which arises from it when first collected, it appears to combine with it sulphurous particles. It is very inflammable. In these parts it is used as a medicine, and probably in external applications with considerable success. For chilblains and rheumatism it is considered as an infallible specific. I suppose it to be the bitumen which Pliny describes under the name of Naptha, Lib. II. ch. 105."—*Harris' Tour*.

H. E. H.

*Wilkes Barre, Pa.*

### QUERIES

WHO WAS THE FIRST ALMANAC MAKER IN AMERICA?—The honor has long been claimed for John Tully, of Old Saybrook, Connecticut, by his descendants in that town. He printed his in Boston from 1681 to 1702, in an unbroken series, it

is said. We have been shown one of them for the year 1693, by Mr. William B. Tully of Saybrook.

President Eliot, of Harvard University somewhere mentions a Benjamin Pierce as an earlier New England Almanac publisher. Are any of his Almanacs now in existence? W. H.

JAMES SMITHSON—What is known of the parentage of the founder of the Smithsonian Institute? Drake's Am. Biog. says: "The birth of this gentleman is thus described by himself at the commencement of his will: 'I, James Smithson, son of Hugh, first Duke of Northumberland, and Elizabeth, heiress of the Hugerfords of Stadley, and niece to Charles, the proud Duke of Somerset.'" Chamber's Encyclopædia says: "He was an Englishman, a natural son of Hugh, third Duke of Northumberland and Mrs. Elizabeth Macie, a niece of the Duke of Somerset."

Some notices of the Smithsons and Percies of the last century are in the Life of Bishop Percy, prefixed to the first volume of "The Folio Manuscript." C.

AN ANCIENT SWORD—In the State Library at the Capitol, Richmond, Virginia, is a broadsword which was found buried at Jamestown about two years ago. The sword is in excellent preservation. Upon its guard is engraved the following legend:

1600.

42d Regiment

Royal Highlanders.

What can be the history of this blade?

ARMOR

OLD HOUSES IN HARLEM—There is now (Oct., 1881) standing on the east side of Eighth avenue, between 147th and 148th streets, a very old stone house, which is apparently the one laid down as Bussing's house on the map in the Mag. of Am. Hist., IV, 362.

There is another very old house in 123d street, south side, between Lexington and Fourth avenues. It is of wood, one story high, and from the position in which it stands must have been on or near a road which ran up by Snake Hill (now Mt. Morris), which road may also be seen on the map alluded to above.

There is an old wooden country-house on the east side of Third avenue, its grounds occupying the block between 114th and 115th streets.

What is known of these houses, and when were they built?

In Valentine's Manual for 1863, p. 610, is a folding plate, "A View of Harlem from Morrisania," in 1765, from an original MS. in the British Museum. Can anyone describe this picture. There is a church in it. Where was this church located?

A. M.

## REPLIES

THE VAN BRUGH LIVINGSTON MANSION ON THE HUDSON—[VII, 145] The following facts respecting this historic house recently received from the gifted pen of Mrs. John Thorp Lawrence of Washington, D. C., a grand-daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston, afford information doubtless obtainable from no other source, and which are apparently conclusive against Dr. Lossing as regards its occupation by General Washington

for his headquarters at any time. Our venerable correspondent's statement is as follows: "The house (still standing I believe) at 'Dobbs Ferry,' was *never* occupied by my grandfather Peter V. B. Livingston; indeed, I think it was not built until after his death, but am not certain whether it was built or purchased by my uncle, Philip Livingston, eldest son of P. V. B. L., who lived there during his married life. He married Cornelia Van Horne. I have not the record, but it must have been near the close of the last century. His three sons were born there—he had no daughters. P. Van Brugh, the eldest (always known by his second name), married a widow Houston, of Georgia, about the year 1820, inherited the property at Dobbs Ferry, and resided there with his widowed mother for some years. At her death he moved to New York and afterwards to France, where he lived with his family for several years. The only house I know of belonging to my grandfather, and sold by him at the close of the last century, just before his death, to Mr. Nicholas Low of New York, was a large mansion situated on the east side of Hanover Square, the grounds and lawn at the back of the house running down to the East River. There he passed the whole of his married life during his first marriage to Miss Sarah Alexander, a sister of Lord Stirling, and there all his children were born. Some years after the death of his first wife, he married my grandmother, the widow Ricketts, and moved to Elizabethtown, N. J., living with his wife at my father's the remainder of his life. The above is all the information I can give you with

regard to the Dobbs Ferry property, which my cousin, Van Brugh Livingston, sold to a Mr. or Col. St. Clair. It has since passed into other hands, and when I last heard of it, was occupied as a boarding house. I know nothing of its being Washington's headquarters."

*Elizabeth, N. J.*

W. H.

MATCH COATS—[VI. 60, 225, 382.] In Robert Beverley's History of Virginia, 1705, mention is made of this garment which an accompanying picture shows to have been a loose cloak, gathered at the waist and apparently with a large hood at the back. "The method the women have of carrying their children after they are suffered to crawl about, is very particular; they carry them at their backs in summer, taking one leg of the child under their arm and the counter arm of the child in their hand over their shoulder, the other leg hanging down, and the child all the while holding fast with its other hand; but in the winter they carry them in the hollow of their match-coat at their back, having nothing but the child's head out, as appears by the figure."

*Williamsburg*

C. W. C.

REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTERS—*Lieut. Colonel Francis Barber*—[VI. 60, 301, VII. 66] In the Magazine for July Mr. D. C. Chandler says that Col. Barber was buried in cemetery of Bethlehem church, Cornwall, and without monument. This is an error. Col. Barber was buried in cemetery of Goodwill church, Montgomery, and has a monument, the latter a heavy slab resting on masonry about two feet from the ground. His father,

Patrick Barber, was an Elder of Goodwill church at the time of the death of his son, and the remains of father and son were buried side by side. Patrick Barber removed to Orange county in 1764. His sons, Francis, John and William, were all officers in the army of the Revolution—Francis and William in the New Jersey line. Francis attained the rank of Colonel, and acted as Assistant Inspector-General under Baron Steuben. He was accidentally killed as stated by Mr. Chandler.

E. M. RUTTENBER

*Newburgh*

PRYNNE'S JUDGE—[VII., 93] In my note on William Peartree Smith, I mention a copy of "Reports and Cases" collected by Wm. Noy, the Judge who condemned Prynne. The name is printed Nog. Noy is the name.

*Manor House, Croton Landing.*

C. E. V. C.

SPRINGETTSBURY MANOR, PA.—[VII., 229] In York Co., Pa., and included the present town of York. It was granted to Springett, Pa., in 1722, and contained 64,520 acres.

*Alleghany, Pa.*

ISAAC CRAIG

PEN AND INK PORTRAIT OF WASHINGTON—[VII., 107, 301] The inscription on the back of this portrait, which states that it was "made about 1790," was written and placed there within the memory of its present owner. Therefore, the date was somewhat of a guess, although the aim was to get it within the proper decade. The date not being

positively asserted, leaves it a mootable question. CHAS. W. COLEMAN, JR.

THE BLUE BELL TAVERN—[IV. 460; V. 142; VI. 64, 223, 300; VII. 300] That the exact location of this colonial tavern may be determined, I beg leave to offer a few notes for the consideration of your correspondent W. H. and others interested in its history.

I. *West side of the Kingsbridge Road.* Hendrick van Oblenis owned a tract of land extending from 173d to 183d streets, and from the Kingsbridge road to the Hudson river; his stone dwelling house was located at the present intersection of 176th street and 12th avenue (afterwards the site of the Arden dwelling). Here he resided until his death in 1745, when the property passed to his son John, who occupied it many years. May 23, 1769, John Oblenis conveyed 100 acres of the paternal farm, with a dwelling house, to Blasius Moore of New York City, tobacconist. The deed describes the property sold as "bounded easwardly upon the Post Road or High way to King's Bridge, southerly by the land of Hendrick Oblenis, westerly upon the North River and northerly by the land of Benjamin Benson."

March 25, 1784, the land was conveyed by Blasius Moore and Mary, his wife, to Jacob Moore. March 27, 1784, Jacob sold a piece of land and house on the Post Road to Barnet Bowers. June 19, 1817, Margaret, wife of Blase Moore, remits to Jacob Moore all her dower rights to land described in a deed dated March 1, 1809, between Blase and Jacob Moore of a piece of the farm of the late Blase Moore at Fort Washing-

ton, bounded easterly in front by the main road, northerly by the widow Bow-er's, southerly by other ground of Blase Moore and westerly also by ground of Blase Moore. September 2, 1817, Jacob Moore and Margaret, his wife, sold to William and Gerardus Post, merchants, for \$150 five acres of the farm of Blase Moore, at Fort Washington, bounded easterly in front on the main road, northerly by the widow Brower's, southerly and westerly by other land of Blase Moore.

Cadwallader Colden passed a night at the Blue Bell, on his way to New York, in September, 1753.

Abraham Meyer offers for sale in the New York Mercury of February 15, 1768, eight acres of good woodland lying above the Blue Bell.

In a list of persons, who paid the excise for the year 1776 (Col. of Rev. Papers, I. 287), appears the name of "Jacob Moore, within 3 miles of King's Bridge."

A letter, printed in the Connecticut Gazette of August 5, 1776, describes the movement of the British frigates up the North River, and states "that the most damage they received was in passing the batteries at Powle's Hook and the Blue Bell."

Force's Archives, fifth series, II. 882, contains "Proceedings of a Court Martial held on the 4th day of October, 1776, at Mount Washington. at the Blue Bell"

Sauthier's Survey of the Northern Part of New York Island, made by order of Lord Percy in November, 1776, locates the Blue Bell west of the road on the lane leading to Fort Washington.

The late John M. MacDonald, an authority in all that relates to the war of the revolution, made the following note in 1848: "The old stone house in the field west of the road at Fort Washington, was the Blue Bell Tavern of the Revolutionary War, kept by Jacob Moore."

The New York Packet of June 10, 1784, contains the following advertisement:

#### THE BLUE BELL REVIVED

STEPHEN DOLBEER

Begs leave to acquaint his friends and the Public in General that he has opened the Blue Bell Tavern, at Fort Washington, where he hopes for the continuance of his former customers, and all those Gentlemen who please to favour him with their custom shall be waited on in the genteel manner. Also good stabling and Pasture for Horses.

In the Daily Advertiser of February 17, 1787, John Battin advertises that his Porter House, at the Sign of the Blue Bell, Sloat Lane, will remove on the first of May to the house opposite to the one he then occupied. The carrying of the sign to the city probably disposes of the revolutionary Blue Bell, as Colles, in his Road Map of 1789 marks the old house as Waldron's Tavern.

II. *East side of the Kingsbridge Road.* In 1786 Jacob Moore bought land of Hassel Penfold, extending to the Harlem river. February 20, 1799, Jacob Moore conveyed to Barney Bowers land on the east side of the Post Road, bounded by the Harlem river. February 21, 1799, he sold to Blase Moore part of the Penfold purchase, bounded west by the Post road and east by Harlem river.

May 24, 1802, George Robson of the New York Gentleman and Robert Bo-

gardus, attorney-at-law, and Maria Sabina, his wife, for the sum of \$2,000, conveyed to Blase Moore, tobacconist, twenty-two acres of land, with the dwelling house situate near Fort Washington, on the south side of the public road, formerly owned and then occupied by David Wilson. In the conveyance of this land to Bogardus it is described as being on the "Eastmost side of the Post Road."

This is the house mentioned by Blazius Ryer (VI. 300; VII. 301) as the Blue Bell Tavern purchased by his grandmother's brother previous to the yellow fever of 1803. The name of Wilson, the former tenant, was also remembered (VI. 64). It is possible that Blase Moore kept it as a public house after May, 1802, and revived the old family sign of The Blue Bell, but it was not the tavern of the colonial period.

The two following extracts are interesting in connection with the subject:

Died, yesterday at noon, at Fort Washington, Harlem Heights, Margaret, wife of Blazius Moore, in the 69th year of her age, after an illness of thirteen years. She died, as she had lived, in the hope of a blessed immortality. The friends of the family, and those of her brother, John Remmey, of this city, are invited to attend her funeral this afternoon, at 3 o'clock, from Harlem Heights.—*N. Y. Evening Post*, Aug. 30, 1826.

Died, at Fort Washington, Upper Harlem Heights, at the house of the late Blasey Moore, on Monday afternoon, Abraham Stuyvesant, a black man, native of this city, in the 66th year of his age. He lived in Mr. Moore's family 40 years. His remains were decently interred in the garrison burying ground near the fort, yesterday, attended by a number of white and colored people.—*N. Y. Spectator*, June 23, 1829.

W. K.

## FRAY SAHAGUN'S HISTORY OF NEW SPAIN

Two remarkable civilizations were found by the conquerors of the New World in its two continents of North and South America, and both of them were ruthlessly stamped out by the bigoted invaders. There seemed in the case of the northern one, which had its centres in Mexico and Central America, some reason to justify these harsh proceedings on the part of the Spaniards, incited to blind zeal for the conversion of the heathen by their attendant priests. The Aztec races worshipped the sun, but numerous human sacrifices, accompanied by fearful torments, were an almost daily accompaniment of their religious rites and ceremonies. This crushing out of paganism was also, most unluckily, directed towards the destruction of the curious native records, written in ideographic signs on materials very similar to our parchment and papyrus. These were fancifully colored, and some of them no doubt were histories and chronologies of these races thus isolated from the Old World. All that could be found in every part of the Empire were destroyed by the first Archbishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, and strict orders were issued to the soldiers to continue this iconoclastic work. Some few of these, however, were successfully concealed, and afterwards brought to Mexico, where they were neglected, stolen and used as waste paper.

By means not now known, several originals and some copies of entire or fragmentary portions of some of these manuscripts were taken to Europe, and are to be found in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Dresden, Rome, Bologna and Oxford. Lord Kingsborough was the first, and hitherto the only one, to publish all that he could find. Archbishop Lorenzana and Purchas had published imperfect copies of one, known as the Mendoza Codex, which includes a brief history of the nation, a tribute roll, and some notes for domestic discipline and economy. The Dresden Codex differs from the Mexican picture-writings, and Prescott thought that the characters had a phonetic significance. Humboldt gives colored fac-similes of parts of it. Not one of the Aztec manuscripts has been deciphered. A few were interpreted in part by the natives for the Spaniards, but the American historian of the conquest says, "it is not probable, therefore, that the art of reading these picture-writings will ever be recovered." The books were in rolls or folded like a Siamese book. The Peruvians worshipped the sun also, but their rites were not accompanied by bloody human sacrifices, and the form of their government was based on milder principles, most interesting to study. Their records were knotted cords of various colors, called *quippus*, many of which are found in their tombs, but the key to their interpretation is utterly lost. I shall not here enter into any more detailed notice of the remaining Mexican manuscripts, the historical importance of which has perhaps been unduly magnified; but wish to draw attention to the work of an intelligent Spaniard, who wrote at a time when the signification of these records was apparently quite familiar to native scholars.



Fray Bernardino de Sahagun,<sup>1</sup> whose real surname is not known, was a student in Salamanca, entered the order of San Francisco, and accompanied Fray Antonio de Ciudad Rodrigo, who came out, for the second time, in 1529, with twenty learned Franciscans,<sup>2</sup> to establish the Colegio de Santiago Tlatelolco. Their duties and special mission was to instruct the natives. Sahagun became deeply interested in this work, teaching Spanish and Latin while learning himself the Mexican language and writing. Mendieta says that no one, up to the date at which he writes, 1596, was so well skilled or had written so much in it. That is, in Nahuatl or Mexican, spelled with the European alphabet, an art that the native scholars soon acquired from their teachers. Their method of recording anything up to that time was by their pictures and numerals, which but few could explain, and which of course did not admit of any kind of expression of ideas, thoughts, or abstract operations of the mind. The grammar of the language had to be learned and analyzed, in order to effect the desired result. The Franciscans and other priests deserve all the credit for this mutual instruction, which developed a number of native writers, delighted to use this power of syllabic writing, while the use of the idiograms was at once abandoned and their signification soon forgotten. Among the most distinguished of these teachers, we can name Fray Toribio Motolinia, Alonso de Molina, Andrés de Olmos and Bernardino de Sahagun. Sahagun wrote voluminous works on the religion and manners of the Mexicans, but his labors were not to see the light for nearly three centuries, and his great work was then published, nearly simultaneously, by Lord Kingsborough in England, and by Bustamente in Mexico. The manuscripts of Sahagun remained in Mexico, and with those of Mendieta were freely used by Torquemada without any acknowledgment. Sahagun lived sixty-one years in America, devoting himself with the utmost zeal to his duty as a reader of the above mentioned college of Santa Cruz of Tlatelolco, and instructor of native students. Other charges were intrusted to his care, but he preferred the one of education in Christian faith, languages and medicine. Sober and moderate in his habits and mode of life, he lived to his ninety-first year, venerated by all who knew him.

During and in the midst of his varied occupations, he composed his great work, now first translated into French, soon, we hope, to appear in English also. As he tells us himself, it was at first written in the *Nahuatl*, the language spoken from the Valley of Mexico south to Nicaragua, mostly from the dictation of learned or old men. This text he valued so highly, that the translation of it into Spanish affected the style and clearness of expression of his version, and he also preserved certain passages that our modern idioms call *realistic*, though he was a perfectly pure-minded and virtuous man by nature and cultivation. The early Spanish priests listened, no doubt, to conversations and confessions of the natives, of the most immodest and licentious character, and, like the letters of Peter Martyr, which are often filled with similar gossip about court life, their details are innocently recorded without that prudery which would now require their suppression.

The work is divided, as is well known to those who have been familiar with the portable, but somewhat faulty, edition of Bustamente, into twelve books, which are in some points repetitions of each other; for the author, by a strict adherence to the separate titles heading them, is constrained to repeat matters that he had given before. This I do not, like Mons. Jourdanet, regret, for it is a proof that the author was sure of his facts, and could repeat them without varying his narrative. The sixth book, containing an account of the customs of the Mexicans before the conquest, their prayers to their deities, etc., appeared to Lord Kingsborough at first the only matter worth printing, and he published it alone; but in a later volume the whole work is given without note or comment. This, to many, would be the most interesting portion, but without the rest we should have but an imperfect record of the material and physical state of the arts and resources of this wonderful and self-developed civilization, arrested in its progress by another, composed of the various growths of humanity in the so-called Old World. The Mexicans in some things had anticipated Europe in their study of nature, and the books, in which Sahagun treats of the natural productions of the empire, prove that he knew much less than his native scholars about them. Up to and including the whole of the fifteenth century, science had done but little towards explaining nature in the animate creation, so that the Franciscan monk may be excused for not being able to understand much that was told him on this subject. Cortès describes the zoological and botanical gardens of the emperors, where all that was curious, beautiful and useful was preserved and studied, long before any such institutions were thought of in Europe.

It is not possible in a sketch of this character to give due attention to the different subjects treated of in this great encyclopædia of the Mexican Empire in its various aspects. Our author has tried to include everything that could give a clear idea of its condition just antecedent to the conquest. The work must be a guide to the philologist and to the antiquarian, to the scientist and the theologian, and nothing else approaching it was ever written by a European. The last book, a condensed history of the conquest, was better told by Cortes and Bernal Diez, and is of interest mainly for the record of names of persons and places not elsewhere found. Mons. Rémi Siméon, the co-translator of Sahagun, is a philologist, well versed in the Nahuatl, who had edited the grammar of that language by F. Andrés de Ormos, and Mons. Jourdanet freely confesses that without his assistance the task would have been impossible. He says that so many Nahuatl words occur in the Spanish text without explanation, that it became necessary to invoke the assistance of this collaborator. The part of the introduction written by Mons. Siméon is deeply interesting. The translator gives an excellent *résumé* of Mexican theogony and chronology, or rather an explanation of the names of the deities and mode of measuring time. He prefers the Kingsborough text as the most correct one, although Bustamente had a copy of the same text, in the possession of Muñoz, that was used by Kingsborough. He appends to the

work a carefully prepared alphabetical list of all the Nahuatl words found in the history.

I close this imperfect notice of a really valuable contribution to Mexican literature, with the hope that an English version of Sahagun may appear before long.

J. CARSON BREVOORT

<sup>1</sup> *Histoire Générale des Choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne* par le R. P. Fray Bernardino de Sahagun, traduite et annotée par D. Jourdanet et par Rémi Simeon. Paris. E. Masson. 1880. One vol., roy. octavo, pp. 79, 898. Map of the Valley of Mexico, and cuts of calendars.

<sup>2</sup> In 1523, at the request of Herman Cortes, three Franciscans were sent to Mexico, and in 1524 F. Martin de Valencia arrived with twelve others, in order to found a convent of the order. Mendieta, in his *Historia Ecclesiastica Indiana*, published in Mexico, 1870, by Don Joaquin Garcia Icazbalceta for the first time, gives biographies of all of them, and also of Sahagun. Kingsborough names F. Francisco de Toral, who became in 1560 the first Bishop of Yucatan, as the leader of the party in 1529. This is a mistake, but Toral led a party of thirty-six *religiosos* back to Mexico in 1553, having been there himself for some years already.

FROM CARTAS DE INDIAS, MADRID, 1877

ARMS OF NEW SPAIN

## THE YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL

We continue from the last number the official correspondence in regard to the presence and entertainment of the foreign guests of the Nation at the Yorktown Centennial:

## INVITATION TO FRANCE

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, TO HIS EXCELLENCY, JULES GREVY, PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: I have the honor to inform you that the Congress of the United States have adopted a Joint Resolution authorizing and requesting me to extend to the Government and People of France a cordial invitation to unite with the Government and People of the United States, on the nineteenth day of October, eighteen hundred and eighty-one, in a fit and appropriate observance of the Centennial Anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown. It becomes, therefore, my agreeable duty to hasten, in the name of the Government and People of the United States, to tender their invitation to the Government and People of France.

Our friendship with France, formed during the war of our Revolution, rendered glorious by feats of arms performed by soldiers of the two nations on the same victorious fields, confirmed by a hundred years of peace, and now happily strengthened by our common enjoyment of popular institutions of government, has always been highly valued and cherished by the American people. I trust that the celebration of the hundredth anniversary of a victory which consecrated the early union of our arms, may serve to draw still closer the bonds of fraternal regard and amity between the two Republics.

I embrace this opportunity to repeat the assurances of my fervent desire for the prosperity and happiness of yourself and of the great Republic over which you have been so fortunately called to preside.

Written at Washington, this second day of March, 1881.

Your Good Friend,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

By the President,

WM. M. EVARTS,

Secretary of State

JULES GREVY, PRESIDENT OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC,  
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES  
OF AMERICA

GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND: I have just received the letter whereby your honorable predecessor, Rutherford B. Hayes, announced to me that, in pursuance of a resolution of Congress, he invited the Government and People of France to unite with the Government and People of the United States, on the 19th of next October, in celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the battle of Yorktown. I have accepted this invitation in the name of the Government of the Republic and in that of the whole French people. This solemn testimony of the remembrance

which has been preserved by your fellow citizens of the part taken by eminent natives of France in the glorious struggle which secured independence and liberty to the United States, has called forth a feeling of deep emotion in France, of which it has afforded me pleasure to be the interpreter by informing General Noyes, your worthy representative, that, "having taken part in the toil we would take part in the honor." The American nation, which has become so powerful and prosperous, has, by inviting our fraternal cooperation as the occasion of this anniversary forever consecrated the union which was created by noble and liberal aspirations, and by our alliance in the battle-field, and which our institutions, which are now of the same character, must draw clear and develop for the welfare of both nations. Offering you the assurance of my high esteem for yourself personally, and my best wishes for the glory of the United States, I desire also to convey my sincere thanks to Mr. Hayes for the cordial feelings which he expressed to me, and for his good wishes for the prosperity of the French Republic.

Your Good Friend,

Signed, JULES GREVY

Countersigned, B. ST. HILAIRE

Done at Paris, March the 25th, 1881:

## INVITATION TO LAFAYETTE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Washington, March 2, 1881 }

SIR: Rarely has a more agreeable duty devolved upon me than that which I now fulfill in transmitting through you to the family of General Lafayette the cordial invitation which, by a joint resolution of the Congress of the United States, is tendered to them to unite with the Government and People of the United States on the 19th day of October next, in a fit and appropriate observance of the centennial anniversary of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. To this expression of the national will and the fervent gratitude of the people of this country for the noble and fraternal aid they received from the truest and best blood of France in their memorable struggle for freedom, no words of mine can add emphasis to the sentiments of reverence for the memory of Lafayette and affection for his descendants which have ever animated and always will animate the people of the United States. I have instructed the Minister of the United States at Paris to convey this invitation to you in a fitting manner, and to say that the members of this illustrious family who may do us the favor to visit our country upon this commemorative celebration will be welcomed as the guests of the nation.

I have the honor to be, with the highest esteem,

Sir, your friend and servant,

WM. M. EVARTS

Mr. OSCAR DE LAFAYETTE, Paris

THE MINISTER OF THE UNITED STATES AT PARIS TO THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES

Paris, March 25, 1881 }

SIR: I have the honor to inform you that I was, on Monday, the 21st day of the present month, admitted to

a private audience with the President of the French Republic, and that I delivered to him the autograph letter of the President of the United States, inviting the French government and people to unite with the government and people of the United States in a commemorative celebration of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. President Grevy received the letter very graciously, and said:

"I receive with pleasure the invitation of which you are the bearer, and I thank the government of the United States for having thought of extending it to us. As in the great undertaking of securing American independence, France, it is true, had some trouble, she will take her share of the joy which the celebration of the Centennial of the achievement of that undertaking will bring. During the hundred years which have elapsed since the heroic feat which the contemplated Centennial will commemorate, the United States have developed themselves marvelously. France has been the sympathetic witness of that prosperity, and her government will be happy to accept the invitation extended to it and the nation."

The interview was altogether informal, and my part in it was very brief and simple, as seemed to me befitting the occasion. The President was very cordial, and was evidently much pleased with the invitation. I also sent to Mr. Oscar de Lafayette, with a brief note of transmittal, the invitation for him and other members of the Lafayette family. He is very ill at the present time, and sent me word by a member of his family that he would transmit to me as soon as possible, a formal acknowledgment of the exceedingly kind, thoughtful and polite invitation of my government.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant,

EDWARD F. NOYES

Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE, Secretary of State

LEGATION OF THE UNITED STATES }  
PARIS, March 29, 1881 }

SIR: Only a few days since I took great pleasure in forwarding to Mr. Oscar de Lafayette the invitation for him and his family to take part in the celebration of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown. He was then seriously, but not supposed to be dangerously, ill. To-day, as one of the pall-bearers, I followed him to his grave. His death was sudden and unexpected. M. de Lafayette and his family were deeply touched by this invitation of our Government, and all expressed to me their profound gratitude. I take a mournful satisfaction in the fact that the invitation reached M. de Lafayette before his death, and while he was still conscious. I sent from this Legation a beautiful wreath, to be placed upon his coffin. The funeral mass was attended by an immense concourse of people, and by a great number of the dignitaries of the State, and the service was a most impressive one. The only remaining member of the family, having the name of Lafayette, is Edmond de Lafayette, Senator brother of the deceased. There are many other relatives not bearing the same name.

I have the honor to be, your obedient servant,

EDWARD F. NOYES

Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE, Secretary of State

THE SECRETARY OF STATE TO THE MINISTER OF THE  
UNITED STATES AT PARIS

DEPARTMENT OF STATE }  
WASHINGTON, June 24, 1881 }

SIR: I am informed by the Secretary of the Navy, under date of 21st instant, that orders have been sent to Rear Admiral John C. Howell, commanding the United States Naval force on the Eastern Station, directing him to give passage in the U. S. Flagship Trenton to certain persons who visit the United States, in pursuance of the invitation of this Government to attend the celebration at Yorktown, Virginia, on the 19th of October, in commemoration of the surrender of the British army, under Lord Cornwallis, to the American and French forces in 1781. It is desired that you will communicate to Rear Admiral Howell, at as early a date as practicable, the names of the persons who are to be received as guests of the "Trenton." You will accordingly inquire of Mr. Bartholemy St. Hilaire whether any of the representatives of the French Government will accept the hospitality thus tendered, and you will make like inquiry of the members of the family of Lafayette. In this connection I beg you will take an early occasion to send to the Marquis de Rochambeau the enclosed personal letter, in which I convey to him the assurance of the pleasure it would afford the President, as well as myself, to have him visit the United States on this interesting occasion. If the Marquis should so desire, the hospitalities of Admiral Howell may be extended to him likewise. The Trenton will leave Nice on or about the 18th of September next. You will take care to notify Admiral Howell, in ample season, of the day on which his guests may be expected to repair on board the Trenton at Nice.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE

EDWARD F. NOYES, Esq.  
Minister Plenipotentiary, France

#### INVITATION TO THE MARQUIS DE ROCHAMBEAU

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, }  
WASHINGTON, June 23, 1881 }

MONSIEUR: As the time for celebrating, by the mutual cooperation of the two governments, the glorious deed of a century ago at Yorktown, is drawing near, I cannot refrain from addressing you, personally, and expressing the great pleasure it would afford the President and myself were you to make it convenient to be among us on that eventful occasion, and so realize for yourself, as the representative of your illustrious lineage, the love which the American people feel for the memory of your gallant ancestor, whose skill and valor so signally aided in bringing about the decisive success we are now about to commemorate.

Accept, Monsieur le Marquis, the expression of my sentiments of high regard.

JAMES G. BLAINE

To the MARQUIS DE ROCHAMBEAU

## ACCEPTANCE OF THE MARQUIS DE ROCHAMBEAU

(Translation)

CHATEAU DE ROCHAMBEAU

PAR VENDÔME (LOIR-ST-CHE)

August 21, 1881

Sir: I have received the invitation which you were kind enough to address to me in the name of the Yorktown Centennial Association. I am highly honored and sensibly touched by it; you have understood the large place which the traditions of your history hold at my hearth-stone, and the joy I shall feel on taking part with you in the rejoicings upon this glorious anniversary. I thank you for it. I shall take care not to be missing at this rendezvous and, beholding the vitality which at this close of a century of life characterizes your great nation, I shall incline in reverence with you before the Supreme Power which has vouchsafed to you one century of life, and may grant to you many more I trust.

I have delayed my reply to you in the desire to give you thorough information as to the manner in which the French government will be represented at your centennial festival. Unfortunately the preoccupations of our internal politics have absorbed our rulers of late, and I can make no official announcement. In the absence of a fixed programme I send you for your information the general outline of the programme arranged at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

The delegation will be presided over by Monsieur Outrey, the Minister of the French Republic at Washington. It will be composed of six branches:

1. An officer of the household of Monsieur Grévy will represent the President of the Republic.
2. A delegation from the Department of Foreign Affairs composed of six persons.
3. A military delegation composed of a General officer, and of two or three aids-de-camp of various grades.
4. A delegation from the Department of the Marine, composed of a Rear-Admiral and two or three officers.
5. A delegation from the Department of Fine Arts, composed of several of our best artists.
6. Finally, the members of the family of Lafayette who will be invited to join this State company.

The French West India squadron will escort the delegation with suitable ceremony.

In a few days I hope to complete this information

I am very actively engaged in the fulfillment of the mission with which you charged me of ascertaining and inviting the descendants of the companions-in-arms of General de Rochambeau; I have found a large number, and have addressed to them in your name the courteous and generous invitation which you requested me to convey to them. All are moved with gratitude for the recollection you retain of the services of their ancestors; but age and other imperative considerations will prevent quite a number from crossing the ocean. I have, however, received several acceptances, and I hope to form a group which may worthily represent the brothers-in-arms of your courageous ancestors. We have a de Grasse, a d'Aberville, a Chabannes-la-Pallice, probably a d'Olonne, and a de Ménonville. I hope that there may be additions.

to this number, for there are many answers yet to be received.

Madame de Rochambeau and I propose to embark on the Transatlantic steamer which leaves Havre the 24th September, and it is about certain that the entire delegation will take the same route. Unless otherwise arranged for, we shall all disembark at New York and go thence to Yorktown. Soon then, Monsieur the General Superintendent, I shall have the pleasure of seeing you and of thanking you in person for all that you are doing for the reception of the representatives of our country. I hope that these memorable festivities will tend to strengthen the alliance of a century. It is our earnest wish.

Pray accept, Monsieur the General Superintendent, the assurances of my high consideration.

MARQUIS A. DE ROCHAMBEAU

COL. J. E. PEYTON,

General Sup't Yorktown Centennial Association

NOTE.—In reply to the letter printed in the October number of the Magazine (VII, 310).

## INVITATION OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE, R. I., July 16, 1881

SIR: I have the honor herewith to enclose for the Representatives of the Republic of France who visit the United States in October next, to attend the Centennial celebration of the surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, an invitation to visit this State, and while in the State to remain as the guest thereof. I request that you will cause the same to be forwarded through the proper channels to those gentlemen.

I have the honor to remain,

Very respectfully, yours,

ALFRED H. LITTLEFIELD, Governor

The Honorable JAMES G. BLAINE

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

STATE OF RHODE ISLAND, EXECUTIVE DEP'T, }  
PROVIDENCE, July 16, 1881

I have the honor, in behalf of the State of Rhode Island, and acting by authority of Resolutions of the General Assembly, passed at its session held in Newport on the third day of June last, to invite you, during your sojourn in the United States, to visit this State, and while within the State to remain as the guests thereof. I herewith enclose a copy of the Resolutions,\* under the seal of the State, and beg the honor of an early reply.

Very respectfully your obedient servant,

ALFRED H. LITTLEFIELD, Governor

To the Representatives of the Republic of France appointed to visit the United States at the Yorktown Centennial

\* These resolutions were printed in the October number of the Magazine (VII, 310).

DEPARTMENT OF STATE }  
WASHINGTON, July 26, 1881

SIR: At the instance of his Excellency Alfred H. Littlefield, Governor of the State of Rhode Island, I inclose herewith, for the Representatives of the Republic of France, who are to visit the United States in October next, to attend the Centennial celebration of the sur-

render of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, an invitation to visit the State of Rhode Island, and while there to remain as the guests thereof. I will thank you to transmit the inclosed document relating to the invitation in question to the Government of France through the Foreign Office.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES G. BLAINE

GEORGE T. POMEROY, Esq.

Charge d'Affaires, Paris

#### INVITATION OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

OFFICE OF THE FRENCH RECEPTION COMMISSION }  
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK }

NEW YORK, Sep. 3, 1881

GENTLEMEN: Having been duly commissioned by the Governor of the State of New York, in accordance with the Resolution adopted by the Senate of the State, June 21, 1881, to extend to you the courtesies of the State, we have the honor to inform you that it will be our pleasing duty to welcome you upon your arrival within our borders, and to discharge the agreeable trust with which we have been honored.

For the Commission,

JOHN A. KING, Chairman

JOHN A. KING }  
FREDERICK W. SEWARD } Special Committee  
JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS }

To the Delegation of the French Government, the family of Lafayette, and the descendants of the Count de Rochambeau, the Count de Grasse, &c., &c.

OFFICE OF THE FRENCH RECEPTION COMMISSION }  
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK }

69 BIBLE HOUSE, NEW YORK, Sept. 3, 1881

SIR: I have the honor herewith to enclose, for the Delegation of the French Government, the family of Lafayette and the descendants of the Count de Rochambeau, the Count de Grasse, and of such other general officers of the French Army and Fleet who served in the Yorktown Campaign of 1781 as may visit the United States to attend the Centennial Celebration, a proffer of the hospitalities and courtesies of the State of New York. I request that you will cause this invitation to be forwarded to these gentlemen through the proper channel, and have the honor to be,

Very respectfully, Your Obedient Servant,

For the Commission,

JOHN A. KING, Chairman

HON. JAMES G. BLAINE

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE FRENCH RECEPTION COMMISSION }  
NEW YORK, Sept. 10, 1881 }

SIR—I have the honor herewith to enclose for the descendants of Major-General the Baron de Steuben, who may visit the United States, to attend the Centennial Celebration of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, a proffer of the hospitalities and courtesies of the State of New York.

I request that you will cause this invitation to be

forwarded to these gentlemen through the proper channel.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN A. KING,

Chairman of Commission

The Hon. JAMES G. BLAINE,

Secretary of State, Washington, D. C.:

By order of the Commission.

NEW YORK, September 10, 1881

GENTLEMEN: Having been duly commissioned by the Governor of the State of New York, in accordance with resolutions adopted by the Senate of the State, June 21, 1881, to extend the courtesies of the State to the guests of the nation who may visit the United States to take part in the approaching Centennial Celebration of the Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, we have the honor to inform you that it will be our pleasing duty to welcome you on your arrival within our borders, and to discharge the agreeable trust with which we have been honored.

By order of the Commissioner,

JOHN A. KING, Chairman

JOHN A. KING }  
FREDERICK W. SEWARD } Special Committee  
JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS }

Messrs. the descendants of Major General the Baron de Steuben

#### ACTION OF SOUTH CAROLINA

CONCURRENT RESOLUTION, providing for the proper representation of the State of South Carolina at the celebration of the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Yorktown:

*Be it resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring.* That the State of South Carolina shall be represented at the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Yorktown, in October next, as follows:

That a battalion, formed from the military companies of the State, not to exceed two hundred and fifty men, rank and file, shall be detailed by the Adjutant and Inspector General of the State, with proper field officers to attend such celebration.

That the Governor, accompanied by five aides-de-camp, the Comptroller-General, Secretary of State, Treasurer, State Superintendent of Education, Adjutant-General and Attorney-General, the Chief Justice and Associate Justices of the Supreme Court, the Judges of the Circuit Courts, the Lieutenant-Governor, and the Speaker of the House, be requested to attend the said Celebration.

That a delegation of five Senators and ten members of the House of Representatives be selected by the Senate and House respectively who, when so elected, shall also be requested to attend.

That the sum appropriated at this session for this purpose be expended in defraying the expenses of the military and civic delegations, and any other expenses necessary in carrying out the purposes of these resolutions.

*In the House of Representatives, Dec. 21, 1880.*

*In the Senate, Dec. 22, 1880. Reports and Resolutions of General Assembly.*

ACT No. 318

Section 10. \* \* \* \* \* That the sum of five thousand dollars, if so much be necessary, is hereby appropriated to defray the expenses which may be incurred by the legally appointed representatives of the State of South Carolina at the Centennial Anniversary of the Battle of Yorktown, in October next; the said sum of money to be disbursed upon the warrant of the Comptroller-General, to be paid by the State Treasurer, and shall be expended under the supervision and direction of the Governor of the State, upon proper vouchers furnished.—*Acts of General Assembly, 1880.*

THE FRENCH DELEGATION

PARIS, August 30, 1881

DEAR SIR—I have just arrived in Paris, and have immediately had a consultation with M. Mollard (in charge of the ambassadors), commissioned by our Foreign Minister to look after the details of the French delegation to Yorktown. Everything is at last organized, and I hasten, therefore, to give you notice of it.

1. M. Outrey, Minister Plenipotentiary; M. de Lichtenstein, Chief of Battalion of Dragoons; both representing the French Republic.
2. The Marquis de Rochambeau; M. de Corcelle, Secretary of 2d Class; M. Boulard Pouqueville, 3d class; delegates representing Minister of Foreign Affairs.
3. Brigadier-General Boulanger; Colonel Bossan of the 20th Dragoons; Lieut.-Col. Blondel, of the Artillery; Commandant Bureaux de Puy, of the Engineers; Captain Mason, of the Foreign Legion; delegates representing the Army.
4. Rear-Admiral Halligon; Capt. Murat de Pagnac; Lieut. Thomas; Capt. de la Barrière; Capt. Cavalier de Cuverville; Capt. Descamps; Lieut. Schilling; delegates representing the Navy.
5. M. Regamey, representing the Minister of Fine Arts.
6. Guests of the Yorktown Centennial Association, invited through the Marquis de Rochambeau: de Grasse, de St. Simon, de Chastellux, Henri d'Aboville, Christian d'Aboville, de Ménonville, de Chabannes la Palice, d'Olonne, de Lestrade, de Noailles, d'Haussonville de Broglie, de Clermont Tonnerre de Broglie.

Two French Men-of-War will take part in the celebration: La Magicienne, which carries the flag of Rear Admiral Halligon; Le Dumont d'Urville, which will anchor off Sandy Hook to await the arrival of our steamer and accompany it to New York, where the Magicienne will join her.

Rhode Island, Baltimore, Washington and Yorktown seem to be the stopping places which ought to be celebrated. All those mentioned sail in the steamer France on the 24th of September. You have our sincerest wishes for the recovery of your President, whose health is a source of great anxiety to us all. You would give me great pleasure by sending me any papers giving details of the celebration.

I remain, very respectfully yours,

M. DE ROCHAMBEAU

I leave for Rochambeau in two or three days; shall leave only on September 20th.

Col. J. E. PEYTON,

Superintendent Yorktown Centennial Association

EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

THE Massachusetts Historical Society resumed its stated meetings after the summer vacation, on Thursday, the 8th September, at its rooms in Tremont Street. The Hon. Robert C. Winthrop in the chair. The day being that set apart for prayer for the recovery of the President of the United States, the proceedings were opened by appropriate resolutions. The unusual mortality among the members of the Society was alluded to, and brief tributes were paid to the memory of Charles W. Tuttle, Judge Seth Ames, Samuel F. Haven, John Hill Burton, the historiographer royal for Scotland, John Winter Jones, the librarian of the British Museum, and Arthur Penryhn Stanley, Dean of Westminster. Upon the last of these, for many years an honorary member of the Society, Mr. Winthrop delivered a glowing eulogy, dwelling felicitously upon his broad human sympathy and liberal religious opinions. The genial Dean had earned the affections of Americans by numberless acts of kindness and hospitality, and his name will be held in lasting, grateful remembrance, as a friend of our people. The Rev. Phillips Brooks followed in feeling remarks, and stated as an instance of the Dean's interest in this country, that at every service held in Westminster Abbey since the assault upon President Garfield, special prayers had been offered for his recovery. Mr. H. Cabot Lodge communicated extracts from letters, written by Elijah H. Mills to his wife, of value to students of American politics. Though Mills represented Massachusetts in Congress from 1815 to 1819, and in the United States Senate from 1820 to 1827, he belonged to the Federal party. A pastel portrait of Jean Jacques Rousseau, copied from the original by Latour, was presented in the name of Mrs. Charles C. Little. A committee was appointed to confer with the Board of Overseers of the Poor, with a view to an examination of certain papers in their custody with a view to their publication by the Society.

THE New England Historic Genealogical Society held its first meeting for the season, Wednesday, 7th September, at the Society's House. In the absence of the President, the Hon. Marshall P. Wilder, the Rev. Increase N. Tarbox was



called to the chair. A legacy of one thousand dollars from Ebenezer Alden, M. D., of Randolph, was reported. A further legacy of five thousand dollars from Joseph J. Cooke, of Providence, R. I., to be expended in the purchase of books from his library at public auction was announced. A catalogue is now in preparation under the direction of Hon. John R. Bartlett. A paper was read by General A. B. Underwood on the use and possible utility of middle names. The use of double and treble Christian names he held to be of comparatively recent origin. He instanced the Harvard Triennial Catalogue, in which only one middle name is found from the foundation of the College down to the year 1718. In all the published volumes of the records of the Plymouth and Massachusetts Colonies, not one is found. The inference is that the colonists brought no middle names with them from England. The Israelites used but a single name. The Greeks had but one name. The Romans adopted a different system of nomenclature. Each citizen had besides the individual name two others inherited or acquired by adoption, which were analogous to our surnames. Hereditary surnames became known in Normandy not long before the Conquest. The excellent suggestion was made that every child should bear the family name of the mother as well as of the father, in addition to the Christian name. If this were adopted, the tracing of descent would be comparatively easy. The Hon. Charles L. Woodbury paid a tribute to the memory of Charles Wesley Tuttle as a historical scholar. Among Mr. Tuttle's finished and unfinished works he named the *Life of Captain John Mason*, the founder of New Hampshire, the *Life of Francis Champenowne*, and the *Conquest of Acadia*. Judge Cowley of Lowell made some remarks on the *Cowpens Centennial*, "when South Carolina presented her cherry lips to Massachusetts and to all her sister States to give and take the kiss of reconciliation and peace." The services of the Hon. Wm. A. Courtenay, the public-spirited Mayor of Charleston, and his appeal to the General Government for a fund to aid in the education of the ignorant masses, without regard to color, was cordially commended. John Ward Dean, the Librarian, reported

eighty-two volumes, one hundred and sixty pamphlets, and of fifty-one autograph letters addressed to Hannah Adams, the historian, by Moses G. Daniell, and other donations of minor value. Memorial sketches were reported by the Rev. Dr. Tarbox, the historiographer, of nine deceased members, viz.: Alexander Strong, John Stevens Abbott, the Rev. James Royal Cushing, the Rev. George Sheldon, William Ewing Dubois, Jesse Cooke, Charles Wesley Tuttle, the Hon. Nathan Clifford, and Alden Jermain Spooner.

THE Maine Historical Society held its annual meeting in Adams Hall, Bowdoin College buildings, Brunswick, Me., on Friday, the 15th July, 1881. The President, J. W. Bradbury, of Augusta, in the chair. Fourteen vacancies reported, four by death, and ten by neglect to attend meetings for a protracted period, were filled. The Treasurer, Hon. Marshall Crain, reported an invested fund of \$13,000. Officers were elected for the ensuing year, President, Hon. J. W. Bradbury; Secretary and Librarian, Hubbard W. Bryant, of Portland. A committee was appointed to attend the celebration at Yorktown. Hon. C. J. Gilman, of this committee, submitted three documents belonging to the estate of the Hon. Nicholas Gilman, late of New Hampshire, of rare interest: "First Printed Plan for a Federal Government, in Convention, Philadelphia, September, 1787." "The Second Plan," with numerous marginal and interlinear amendments. The third document is the "Return of Prisoners at the Surrender of the British Garrisons of York and Gloucester, Virginia, October 19, 1781, exclusive of Marine Prisoners and Officers and Sailors taken during the siege." This return is signed Nicholas Gilman, Deputy Adjutant-General, and the following legend is at the bottom of the sheet: "Transcript of the Return received from Ld. Cornwallis, to whom I was sent by the Commander-in-Chief in o York Town." The total surrenders was of 7,050. A committee was appointed on the Field Day. A committee was raised to consider the attacks made by Bancroft, the historian, on General John Sullivan. The propriety of the transfer of the society's rooms to Portland, made last

winter, was discussed, and that of continuing to hold the annual meetings in Brunswick also, and no doubt these troubles will be satisfactorily arranged.

The Society made its field day excursion in the month of September. Embarking at the Custom House wharf, Portland, on board the revenue cutter *Dallas*, placed at the service of the Society by the Secretary of the Treasury for a two days' cruise for historical investigations on the coast of Maine at half past nine on the morning of the 13th. The party arrived at Thomaston, at six o'clock, the same evening. Here they were detained by fog until 11 o'clock, A. M., Wednesday; touched at Pemaquid at 2.30 P. M., and anchored for the night in Boothbay harbor at 5 P. M. In the afternoon the steamer returned to Portland. The route is that supposed to have been pursued by Weymouth in 1605 up George's river to Thomaston; and also to the site of ancient Pemaquid, on the peninsula at Fish Point. The party included Messrs. James W. Bradbury, of Augusta, President of the Society, Professor Packard, of Brunswick, Alexander W. Longfellow, of the U. S. Coast Survey, and numerous gentlemen of distinction. Rosier's narrative of Weymouth's voyage, which unfortunately omitted all bearings and locations by latitude and longitude, was critically compared with the coast survey chart as the river was ascended. The general conclusion arrived at was that George's river answers best to Rosier's description of the course taken by Weymouth, though some of the learned gentlemen still adhere to the Kennebec theory. Thomaston was the home of General Knox after the close of the revolution, and he and Cilley lie buried there. Numerous relics of Washington's famous chief of artillery are still preserved, and Knox sideboards, tables and chairs, abound in the pretty village. Wednesday, the 14th, was devoted to Pemaquid. Evidences of the ancient settlement were found in 1872, when a paved street was uncovered fifteen feet wide and lined with curb stones. The old belief that Pemaquid was the metropolitan of these parts before Boston was settled," is now firmly set in the minds of the historical people of Maine. The field day of 1881 has, it is claimed, il-

luminated the two fields selected for visitation—confirmed faith in Pemaquid, and established the route of Weymouth.

THE Literary and Historical Society of Quebec met on Monday, the 13th July, the President, J. M. LeMoine, Esq., in the chair. A most valuable addition to the museum by one of its founders, the Hon. John Fraser, was reported, in a magnificent collection of coins, medals, specimens of mineralogy, Indian and other curiosities. Among the medals was the Indian medal of Louis XV., *Honos et Virtus*, and a New England Pine-tree shilling of 1652.

THE one hundredth anniversary of the battle of Groton Heights was celebrated at New London and Groton on the 6th and 7th September with great spirit. The day of the 6th will be long remembered for its remarkable atmospheric phenomena. An enormous throng was in attendance; the harbor was full of gaily decorated vessels, naval, merchant, coasting craft and yachts. The exercises of the day began with a mock battle representing the storm and capture of Fort Griswold; after which, the ceremonies were held in a pavilion constructed for the occasion, on the heights. The orator of the day was General Joseph R. Hawley, whose eloquent and masterly address will shortly appear in an official pamphlet issued by the committee of arrangements. A poem was read by Rose Terry Cooke. The next day was set apart for civic exercises, a procession of school children, masonic societies, firemen, and other volunteer associations. An address was delivered by the Rev. E. E. Hale, of Boston, one of the lineal descendants of Nathan Hale, the martyr spy of the Revolution. This day also is memorable for the intensity of its heat.

In noticing the celebration of the one hundred and sixth anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill in the October number, a serious error occurred. Prescott is said to have fallen on the field of battle. A friendly correspondent calls attention to the blunder in this manner: "If Prescott ever *fell* on Bunker's or Breed's Hill, he picked himself up again very speedily and made his way to Cambridge, and lived to fight another day."

THE Centenary of the Spanish dramatic and lyric poet, Pedro Calderon de la Barca, took place at Madrid the 25th of May, 1881, and was celebrated by the literary societies of the Spanish capital. Count de Premio Real, Spanish Consul General for the Dominion of Canada, offered a prize to Canadian authors in the shape of a handsome set of Calderon's Works, for the best essay on his poetry and dramas.

THE Royal Academy, F. M. S., of Milan, Italy, has conferred upon Henry Phillips, Jr., Corresponding Secretary of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, and Curator of the American Philosophical Society, a medal, in recognition of his services to archæology.

MR. L. T. CIST contributed three valuable biographical sketches to the Cincinnati Daily Gazette. One under date of March 15, 1881, entitled, "Old Hickory's Day" Jackson having been born on that day, 1767; a second, April 4th (published on the 5th), "Old Tippecanoe," that date being the fortieth anniversary of the death of Harrison, and the third, April 15th, "Honest Old Abe," that being the sixteenth anniversary of the death of the martyr President.

THE shores of Ragged Island, one of the most remote and inaccessible islands of Casco Bay, present an inviting field for scientific inquiry, which the Portland Society of Natural History propose to explore. There is reason to believe that the remains of an enormous Saurian will be there unearthed from the bed of peat beneath which it has lain for countless centuries. Sufficient indications were found in 1867 to warrant the belief that the head and tail of the Saurian are protected by the piers which rest upon them, and perhaps bones enough remain to indicate the proportions of the monster.

IN a correspondence recently published in the Saratogian, an effort has been made to settle the long disputed question as to the correct spelling of the name of the Bemus who kept the tavern on the river road from Schuylersville to Albany, which was given to the Heights on which the

battle of the 19th September, 1777, was fought between the armies of Gates and Burgoyne. The Reverend Samuel H. Adams, a descendant of the Bemus in question informs Mr. B. B. Burt, of Oswego, that all the family in Saratoga county spell it Bemus and not otherwise. Mr. Wm. L. Stone communicates letters to the Saratogian as a final settlement of the mooted point. The family have surely a right to choose their own way of spelling, but it is not improbable that there were varieties in the colonial days when precision in the spelling of family names was little regarded even by their possessors.

A MOVEMENT is on foot to remove the body of William Penn, which is in the graveyard of the Society of Friends, Jordan's Meeting House, England, to Philadelphia. A similar effort, made some time since by persons not connected with the family, but who had inherited a part of the Penn estate in England, was firmly refused by the Society.

AMERICAN tea culture is receiving practical encouragement from South Carolina. Henry A. Middleton, of the well-known family of that name, has leased to Commissioner Le Duc a tract of two hundred acres on his estate, for twenty years, for a nominal consideration. A practical man who has been engaged in the culture in India for many years, will have charge of the plantation. About seventeen thousand five hundred tea plants will be set out, and the commissioner looks for a fine crop of tea in three years.

ON the Fourth of July, 1881, Mrs. Phoebe Ann Allen, of Newark, N. J., was entertained by her friends at Association Hall in honor of her one-hundredth birthday. She was born in Hoboken and is the daughter of William Seely, who built the first house there. She retains her mental faculties.

THE Ravenswood Bridge across the East River, which extends from New York over Blackwell's Island, on which its central supports rest, to the Long Island shore, has been commenced at the latter point. It will reach the Third avenue between Sixty-sixth and Sixty-

seventh streets. The whole will be supported by eight towers, at a height of one hundred and fifty-six feet above tide water, and will have two railway roads and two carriage roads. Its length will be nine thousand seven hundred and fifty-two feet. It will be completed in 1884, and the cost is estimated at five millions of dollars.

GENERAL JOHNSTONE JONES, of North Carolina, wore, at the Yorktown Centennial, the sword worn by his grandfather, an Aid to Lafayette at the surrender of Cornwallis. This was one of the Toledo blades presented by Charles III., King of Spain, to Washington, and distributed by him among his general officers, in token, no doubt, of the triple alliance entered into by France, Spain and the thirteen United States.

JUDGE FIELDING LEWIS TAYLOR, of Belle Farm, Gloucester county, Virginia, possesses an interesting memorial of the surrender of Cornwallis—a cane made of a captured British flag-staff, inscribed with the name of the regiment to which it belonged. It belonged to his father, Colonel Fielding Lewis Taylor, of Gloucester county.

WASHINGTON'S Birthday was this year celebrated at Rome in a peculiar manner. The Mausoleum of Augustus, which has served in turn as the tomb of the Cæsars, the fortress of the Colonnas and an arena for Spanish bull fights, was converted into a sumptuous theatre with a crystal dome. The amphitheatre was the scene of a masked ball in the evening.

THE Journal des Débats, in a recent number, gave an account of the arrival of the first American turkey in Paris. Twelve of these birds, selected from a flock carried from North America to the French port of St. Malo, were served up at a grand feast which was held in the Louvre on occasion of the marriage of Charles IX. to Elizabeth of Austria 27th June, 1570. Catherine de Medicis, the queen mother, the Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine were partakers. The birds were stuffed. The

king was delighted and recommended the breeding of the fowl in the wood of St. Germain-en-Laye, but no great progress was made in this direction until the middle of the next century. In Normandy and Picardy the finest turkeys are now raised.

AN account should be written of famous American trees. There is a grove of nearly seventeen hundred in California, no one of which measures less than six feet in diameter. At Salem, in New York, there is a white oak, the branches of which spread one hundred and twelve feet. In Berks, Pennsylvania, there is a chestnut tree which measures forty feet in circumference at its base, and at Skowhegan, Maine, a russet apple tree, four and a half feet in diameter, and with branches which cover a space of sixty-three feet in diameter. Then there are historic trees, some of which have disappeared, as the Charter Oak.

THE Annual Council of the Ladies Mount Vernon Association of the Union, who have in their especial care the Home and Tomb of Washington, met at Mount Vernon in the early part of June. There was not a large representation of the Board of Regents, illness and family affliction preventing the usual attendance.

Present, were the Regent Mrs. J. Scott Laughton, with the Vice Regents of Maine, Mrs. Sweat (Secretary), Mrs. Gen. Halstead, of New Jersey, Miss Longfellow, of Massachusetts, Miss Harper, of Maryland, Mrs. Judge Ball, of Virginia, Mrs. Col. Washington, of West Virginia, Mrs. Gen. Barnes, of the District of Columbia, and Mrs. Yulee, of Florida. The Board of Visitors presented the ladies an official invitation to attend the Yorktown Centennial. This was urged by the Advisory Committee, the Hon. W. W. Corcoran and Judge Ball, of Virginia, and was favorably considered by the Council.

A resolution was passed by the Council to extend an invitation to the French officers present at the Centennial to visit Mount Vernon, where they will be welcomed with an official reception by the ladies, in October, after the Yorktown festival.

THE Washington monument, at Washington, D. C., has reached the height of two hundred feet. Thirty feet have been added since spring, and it is thought that thirty to forty feet more will be added before winter compels the suspension of work. When finished it will be five hundred and fifty feet high. The President of the Association has received notice that a stone sent by the King of Siam, and one sent by the State of Nebraska, are on the way to be placed upon the monument.

A STATUE of General Reynolds, who opened the battle of Gettysburg, is to be erected in Philadelphia; one gentleman having given twenty-five thousand dollars for the purpose, and the cannon being a present of the State.

ON Decoration Day, May 30th, 1881, the monument to Thomas Paine was decorated and re-dedicated in the presence of about two hundred people. It stands about two miles distant from the railway station, New Rochelle, Westchester County, N. Y., at the angle of the main road and the lane which leads to the farm given him by the Legislature of the State of New York in recognition of his services to the country. A hickory tree marks the spot where his remains lay before they were removed some years since to Europe. The monument, which had been considerably defaced by relic hunters, has been repaired and the lettering recut. P. L. McLellan, of Mount Vernon, N. Y., presided, and an oration was delivered by Abram Wakeman of New York. He described the author of the Age of Reason as a man devoted to Liberty, Science, and Humanity. Remarks were also made by Mr. Mendheim, of Boston, and De Boigne M. Bennett.

THE Huguenots of America will be interested to learn that a statue is to be erected in Paris, France, to the Admiral Coligny, who fell during the massacre which began on St. Bartholomew's Day, 24th August, 1572, in the square in front of the Louvre, and in face of the church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois; the bell of which gave the signal. The statue will be placed on the Square. Thirty-three thousand francs have been

awarded by the government for the purpose, and the execution has been extended to Frank, one of the best sculptors of the Capitol.

ON the 17th June a Garden Party, which received the name of the Channing Fête, was given by Mr. John S. Farlow on Nonantum Hill for the benefit of the Channing Unitarian church of Newton. A large number of visitors was attracted. The entertainment was varied, and the financial success satisfactory.

A GENEROUS response has been made by the people of Canada to the appeal of the committee having in charge the erection of a monument to Colonel de Salaberry, the "Canadian Leonidas." The city of Montreal offered to meet the expense provided the monument were erected there, but this proposition was declined by the committee, and it will be erected at Chambly. De Salaberry was descended from a Basque family. He won his name in the defence of the pass between the marsh and the river of Chateaugay against the invading force under Hampton, October 16, 1812. There is a portrait of him painted by Dickinson and engraved by Durand. Great Britain caused a gold medal to be struck in honor of the victory of Chateaugay.

JOHN Q. A. WARD has finished the sketch for his model of the Washington statue to be erected under the auspices of the Chamber of Commerce in Wall Street. The statue will be of bronze, and sixteen feet high. Washington is represented as in the act of taking the oath of office of President of the United States, his right arm raised and hand extended, and his left hand holding the folds of a cloak which partially covers his full dress costume. The face will be modeled after Houdon's famous work. The statue will stand on the abutment of the Sub-Treasury at the corner of Wall and Nassau Streets. Back of it is to be a commemorative bas relief facing Wall Street. The solid block of granite, part of the old City Hall building, upon which Washington stood is now preserved in the hallway of Bellevue Hospital, and will be transferred to the wall of the Sub-Treasury, in which it will be set.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF THOMAS DONALDSON. By GEORGE WILLIAM BROWN. Large 8vo, pp. 40. CUSHINGS & BAILEY Baltimore, 1881.

This charming sketch has something more than a biographical interest, although doubtless to the family and numerous friends of its subject, who died October 4, 1877, this memorial from his professional associate, Judge George William Brown, cannot be other than gratifying, from its very nicety of finished biographical detail. The life of Thomas Donaldson, the scholarly lawyer, the country gentleman of "Elkridge," the student of Marcus Aurelius, the sonnet writer, the amateur artist, the Baltimore pioneer of Mount Desert, who was trained in New England at the famous Round Hill School, Northampton, Massachusetts, (founded upon the plan of a German gymnasium by James G. Cogswell and George Bancroft, the historian), and who was then sent to Harvard college, where, in his senior year, he became the leader of a college revolt on account of the severe treatment of freshmen by the Faculty, and was in consequence expelled, together with the first scholars in his class, who refused to humble themselves—the career of this high-spirited Baltimorean will appear notable to the outside world for two considerations of a public character. First, his manly and uncompromising attitude upon the question of providing for the full payment of the State debt of Maryland, when, in 1847, as chairman of the committee of ways and means in the House of Delegates, he resolutely opposed the party advocating repudiation, and thus finally saved the honor of Maryland. Second, his loyally conservative attitude during the late civil war. Although his own family was divided in political sentiment, some serving in the United States navy and others strongly sympathizing with the South, yet he himself was "an avowed Union man," a steadfast supporter of the constitution and of the right of the federal government to enforce its authority, and, like many conservative Baltimoreans, a strong opponent of secession. He deprecated, however, unconstitutional interference in State matters and the overthrow of slavery by force of arms, even though war should be waged for the restoration of the Union. He was, in short, no radical. He sympathized with old friends who had suffered from political arrest and were confined, perhaps unjustly, in Northern prisons for conscientiously opposing the war, although by no means advocating secession. Among such friends was Judge Brown himself, then Mayor of Baltimore, the

man who marched through Pratt Street of that city at the head of the Union troops, on the 19th of April, 1861, and did his utmost, at great personal risk, to restrain the mob and protect the soldiers from violence.

The position of such men as Judge Brown and Thomas Donaldson, and, indeed, of the State of Maryland, in that crisis, when family ties were sundered and the nation was divided against itself, could not be then, and is not yet, clearly understood by Northern people. Now, however, after the heat of passion has died away, we should all reflect upon this one fact, which was brought out last October, at the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Baltimore, in an oration delivered before the Maryland historical society by General Phelps, a Union officer living in that city. Over fifty thousand white soldiers from Maryland fought upon the Union side and only about one-half of that number upon the side of the Southern confederacy, although, if the situation had been reversed, probably the preponderance would have been in favor of the South. "Toleration of differences of opinion," says Judge Brown, "is a virtue of slow growth, and was not much practiced by either party in Maryland during the war. The domestic strife was bitter and cut through society, often separating in feeling, if not in fact, parents and children, brothers and sisters, and sometimes even husbands and wives. Since then, it has been generously forgiven and forgotten, the dividing line has vanished, and none are now found to regret that the cause of the Union prevailed."

HERBERT B. ADAMS.

CONSTITUTION OF CANADA. THE BRITISH NORTH AMERICA ACT, 1867; ITS INTERPRETATION GATHERED FROM THE DECISIONS OF COURTS, THE DICTA OF JUDGES, AND THE OPINIONS OF STATESMEN AND OTHERS. To which is added the Quebec Resolutions of 1864, and the Constitution of the United States. By JOSEPH DOUTRE, Q. C. of the Montreal Bar. 8vo, pp. 414. JOHN LOVELL & SON. Montreal, 1880.

This work is not a commentary on the text of the Federal Compact of Canada, but the text itself of its several articles side by side with the decisions of the Courts, with the dicta of Judges and Statesmen, affording opportunity for the discovery of the principles that underlie it. Until the passage of the Act of 1867, the Provincial Courts did not venture to enquire judicially,

into the constitutionality of the laws of the Legislature. Now, however, the Supreme Court of Canada and the Privy Council in England concur in recognition of this right. Numerous decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States which have been adopted as precedents by Canadian Judges are noted. The volume will prove of interest to American students of law and jurisprudence.

#### THE ORDERLY BOOK OF COLONEL

WILLIAM HENSHAW, OF THE AMERICAN ARMY, April 20–Sept. 26, 1775; including a Memoir by EMORY WASHBURN and Notes by CHARLES C. SMITH, with Additions by HARRIET E. HENSHAW. 8vo, pp. 167. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, 1881.

The brief Memoir which precedes the Orderly Book gives the parentage, birth and military services of this officer, who appears to have commanded a regiment of minute men organized in Worcester county, Mass., at the breaking out of the Revolution. Colonel Henshaw had already seen service in the French war. In 1759, at the age of 24, he received a second lieutenant's commission in Captain Baldwin's company, of Colonel, afterwards General, Ruggles' regiment, and served during two campaigns, being stationed at Fort Edward and Crown Point. He then returned to Leicester, where he married. In 1774 he was delegate from Leicester to the Provincial Congress. The colonel of the regiment of minute men, he mustered his men and marched for Cambridge immediately on receipt of the news of the affair at Lexington, and remained in service until the following June. On the 2d of June he was appointed Adjutant-General to the Provincial Army by Artemas Ward, the Commander-in-chief, but soon found himself superseded by General Gates, who was commissioned by Congress Adjutant-General of the American army. He remained, however, as an assistant, though apparently without regular commission. At the close of the campaign he returned to his farm. The next year, 1776, he accepted a lieutenant-colonel's commission in the regiment commanded by Colonel Little. He was with his regiment in the battle of Long Island, and later at Kingsbridge and the battle of White Plains. In the retreat to the Jerseys he commanded the regiment in the absence of its colonel, and was at Trenton, Princeton and Morristown, where, in February following, 1777, he resigned his commission and left the army. Later he was repeatedly chosen to represent the town of Leicester in the General Court. He died in February, 1820.

The reminiscences which close the volume are valuable from the pictures they present of life

in Massachusetts in the Colonial and Revolutionary period. The chief value of this monograph for the historical student consists in the Orderly Book which has been corrected by a manuscript copy of the orders issued from April 20 to September 26, 1775, inclusive. It does not appear, however, to have been an original Orderly Book. That kept by Henshaw was presented to him by Colonel Joseph Reed, July 5, 1775. It begins with a list of the regiments commanded by Ward, Thomas, Whitcomb, Read, Walker, Cotton, Mansfield, Danielson, Prescott, Frye, Gardner, Nixon, Bridge, Paterson, Scammons, Larnard, Fellows, Doolittle, Jonathan Brewer, David Brewer, Heath, Woodbridge; a list of the officers commissioned by the Massachusetts Congress, May 19, 1775. The first order is dated April 20, 1775, the last September 26, 1775.

The General Orders of the army have not yet been collected and printed together. Force's American Archives contain those from July 3, the day when Washington took command of the army for 1775 and 1776, and others have been gathered and printed in the Historical Magazines. It is time that the important gaps were filled. Without them the military history of the Revolution cannot be correctly written.

#### THE HISTORY OF THE MORISON OR

MORRISON FAMILY, ETC. A complete history of the Morison settlers of Londonderry, N. H., of 1719, and their descendants, with genealogical sketches. Also of the Brentwood, Nottingham and Sanbornton, N. H., Morisons, etc. By LEONARD A. MORRISON. 8vo, pp. 468. A. WILLIAMS & Co. Boston, Mass., 1880.

This elaborate account of the Morrisons, of America, is prefixed by a history of the family in Scotland and the adjacent island of Lewis. The name is Gaelic, and is by some supposed to mean Maryson (son or disciple of Mary), by others son of Maurice, by others Moor's son from the Gaelic Mhor. Until the beginning of the present century it was spelled in many ways, but now the form Morrison, in use in the American branch, is common in Scotland, England and Ireland. The Morison family of Lewis Island of Clan Mac Ghillemhuiire, claim descent from the son of the King of Lochlann, and were the hereditary Judges of Lewis. Their traditions were gathered by Capt. F. W. L. Thomas, of the Royal Navy, who published them in pamphlet form. He brings down the story to the last Brieve of Lewis in 1600, at which point it is taken up by the author of the present volume and brought down to 1880.

The American branch of the Morrison family is of what is now commonly termed Scotch-Irish descent. This name is given to the descendants of those Scotch families which emigrated to Ireland at the instigation of King James I. in 1612, and settled in the province of Ulster. Here in 1613 was founded at Ballycorry, in the County of Antrim, the first Presbyterian Church ever established in Ireland. Later in the reign of Charles II., the persecutions of James, his brother, Viceroy of Scotland, drove numbers from that kingdom to join their Protestant countrymen. Among them were the ancestors of the Scotch-Irish colony which crossed the sea and settled in Londonderry, New Hampshire, in 1719. The Morisons are found here and are supposed to be among the first settlers. Some of the name were at the siege of Londonderry, Ireland, in 1688-89.

The American genealogy begins with the history of John Morison, of Londonderry, N. H., who died in 1736, and is followed by a record of the descendants of his eight children, comprising altogether eight generations. They are numerous in New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Virginia and Pennsylvania. Among the illustrations, which are chiefly portraits of prominent men of the name, there is also a map of Londonderry with indications of the homesteads of the Morisons among the one hundred and nineteen men to whom the charter of the town was granted in 1719. The book is a creditable addition to American genealogies.

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**HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE NORTHWEST BY JOHN NICOLET, IN 1634,** with a sketch of his life by C. W. BUTTERFIELD. 16mo, pp. 113. ROBERT CLARKE & Co., Cincinnati, 1881.

John Nicolet was the first of civilized men to set foot upon any portion of what is now known as the Northwest, and the first to bring to the knowledge of the world the existence of a fresh water lake—Lake Michigan—westward of Lake Huron. The principal sources from which his interesting narrative of personal enterprise and daring has been drawn, are the Jesuit relations, without which the existing knowledge of the country as it appeared to the earlier visitors would be meagre, indeed.

Nicolet arrived from France in 1618, was immediately selected by Champlain as a suitable person to carry out his policy with the Indians, and dispatched to the Algonquins of Isle des Allumettes in the Ottawa River, where he soon acquired their language and was recognized as one of the nation. Later he returned to the post at Quebec and became Indian interpreter, and was in high favor with Champlain, who de-

veloped to him his schemes of exploration in the unknown Western country.

The date of the mission is not definitely settled, but in the opinion of Mr. Butterfield there can be no doubt that Nicolet visited the countries lying to the Northward and Northwestward of the Georgian Bay of Lake Huron, in the years 1634 and 1635. The probable line of travel is ingeniously traced through the Sault St. Marie to the waters of Lake Superior.

After his return to Quebec in 1637, Nicolet married Marguerite Couillard, a god-child of Champlain, and continued his residence at Three Rivers, being employed as commissary and interpreter until his death, which was occasioned by the loss of a vessel on board which he was embarked during a severe tempest on the St. Lawrence in October, 1642. The River St. John, near Montreal, took its name from the enterprising Jesuit, and a county in Canada bears the name and recalls the services of Nicolet to this day.

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#### THE YORKTOWN CAMPAIGN AND

THE SURRENDER OF CORNWALLIS, 1781. By HENRY P. JOHNSTON. Illustrated, 16mo, pp. 206. HARPER & BROTHERS, New York, 1881.

We heartily commend this excellent monograph of the Yorktown Campaign as a most instructive and readable narrative, which, while accurate in detail and well worth the careful attention of the precise historian, is, at the same time, in its graphic style, abundantly adapted to the popular taste. Mr. Johnson has made ample use, not only of the earlier known records, but also of the numerous documents, narratives, diaries, and letters in original or translated in the pages of the *Magazine of American History*, Vols. VII. and VIII.

The Harpers have illustrated the volume in their usual abundance and taste—with portraits, maps, plans, and views, the frontispiece being a plate of Trumbull's picture of the surrender of Cornwallis in the Yale Art Gallery, New Haven, the original sketch of the large picture in the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.

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#### COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK

HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR THE YEAR 1879.

Publication Fund Series, X. 8vo. pp. 531.

Printed for the Society, New York, 1877.

The Colden Letter Books. Vol. II., 1765—1775.

The last issue of the Society under its publication fund was in 1879 of the first volume of the Colden Letter Books, covering the period 1760—1765—a notice of which appeared in the *Magazine* [III. 642]. Among the valuable papers



preserved by the New York Society there are none of greater value to the student of Colonial History than this famous collection; and this volume contains those of the deepest interest. Governor Colden was the arbitrary Governor who held to his opinion with Scotch tenacity and only consented to surrender the odious stamps at the very last moment. His correspondence is thoroughly characteristic of the man; clear, argumentative, occasionally narrow-minded, and sometimes ill-tempered. Having power and authority, the sturdy loyalist opposed to the last the rising spirit of revolution and held fast to his loyal faith in the House of Hanover and British institutions. The index to these volumes covers forty-five pages and is a model for imitation in work of this character.

'S ALT MARIK-HAUS MITTES IN D'R  
SCHTADT UN DIE ALTE' ZEITE' E'N CENTEN-  
NIAL POEM IN PENNSYLVANISCH DEUTSCH,  
IN ZWE DHEL BEI H. L. FISCHER (mit Illus-  
trationen). 8vo, 273, printed at the office of  
the York Republican, York, Penn, 1879.

THE CENTRE SQUARE MARKET HOUSE IN THE  
OLDEN TIME. A Centennial Poem in Penn-  
sylvania Dutch.

In a little sheet which accompanies this peculiar volume, we find that the unfamiliar dialect is that of York County, and indeed that of the entire State. A good authority says of the poem that it reminds the reader of Tenier's old Flemish paintings. It will no doubt serve to preserve a language now fast passing away, and the memory of old manners and customs. A glossary will help the student ambitious to add this strange idiom to his polyglo: knowledge

REPORTS ON THE ESTATE OF SIR  
ANDREW CHADWICK, AND THE RECENT PRO-  
CEEDINGS OF THE CHADWICK ASSOCIATION  
IN REFERENCE THERETO. By EDMUND CHAD-  
WICK, Chairman, and James Boardman, Secre-  
tary and Treasurer of the Chadwick Associa-  
tion, with appendices, chiefly reprints of of-  
ficial documents, to which is prefixed the  
Life and History of Sir Andrew Chadwick,  
etc., by JOHN OLDFIELD CHADWICK. 4to, pp.  
302. SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & Co., London.  
CHAS. L. WOODWARD, New York, 1881.

The introduction to this elegant volume by  
Mr. J. O. Chadwick states the sketch of the  
life of Sir Andrew to be an amplification of a  
series of articles written at the close of the year

1879 for the information of the numerous mem-  
bers of the Chadwick tribe in the United States,  
which were published in the Ithaca Journal,  
New York. Sir Andrew seems to have lived  
and died in a mysterious manner, and to have  
left behind him not a letter or paper besides his  
will and codicils and one affidavit. Sir Andrew  
Chadwick was knighted by Queen Anne in June,  
1709-10, which seems to be about the first that  
is known of him. He was married in 1718.  
There was no issue by this marriage. He died  
in 1761, aged 92, leaving behind him a property  
in real and personal estate valued at a little over  
three thousand pounds. The property was car-  
ried into Chancery, yielded a rich harvest to law-  
yers, gave infinite trouble to the heirs and laid  
the foundation of a tradition which it is the pur-  
pose of this volume to dissipate. We commend  
it to those whom it may concern. Its arguments  
and conclusions may save much time, much labor  
and more disappointment.

REPORT UPON UNITED STATES GEO-  
GRAPHICAL SURVEYS WEST OF THE ONE-  
HUNDREDTH MERIDIAN, in charge of Lieu-  
tenant Geo. M. Wheeler, Corps of Engineers,  
U. S. Army, under the direction of Brigadier-  
General A. A. Humphreys, Chief of Engineers.  
U. S. Army. Vol. VII., Archaeology. 4to,  
pp. 497. Government Printing Office, Wash-  
ington, 1879.

Seven volumes, accompanied by one topo-  
graphical and one geological atlas, embrace re-  
ports upon geographical surveys of the territory  
of the United States west of the one-hundredth  
meridian of longitude from Greenwich, as fol-  
lows: I., Geographical Report; II., Astronomy  
and Barometric Hypsometry; III., Geology and  
Mineralogy; IV., Paleontology; V., Zoology;  
VI., Botany; VII., Archaeology.

The last of these embraces reports on the arch-  
æological and ethnological collections from the  
vicinity of Santa Barbara, California, and from  
ruined pueblos of Arizona and New Mexico, and  
certain interior tribes, by Frederick W. Putnam,  
with an appendix of Indian Vocabularies, re-  
vised and prepared by Albert S. Gatschet; the  
volume is illustrated by a colored frontispiece,  
showing the Cachina, a sacred dance, at the  
Zuni Pueblo, New Mexico; twenty plates illus-  
trative of weapons, domestic instruments and  
ornaments, and one hundred and thirty-five text  
cuts.

The Relation or Diary of the voyage of Cabrillo  
in 1542 to 1543, for the discovery of the passage  
of the South Sea at the North, is printed in a  
translation in full, and there is also a report on  
the operations of a special exploring party of the

survey, who endeavored to identify the places mentioned by him in the vicinity of Santa Barbara, California.

ship to the dead and the living of this ancient family.

**RESOURCES OF SOUTHWEST VIRGINIA**, showing the mineral deposits of Iron, Coal, Zinc, Copper and Lead; also the Staples of the various Counties, methods of Transportation, access, etc. Illustrated by numerous plates and a large colored map representing the geography, geology and topography of the country. By C. R. BOYD, E. M. 8vo, pp. 321. JOHN WILEY & SONS, New York, 1881.

As the writer of this well digested and most practical volume correctly says at the outset of his work, "The great and crying need of Virginia now is not so much the continuance of a suicidal strife over an issue already determined by the highest law and usage, but that her people should forget all animosities, and labor together to build up and largely enhance the financial power of such communities in the State as are capable of further development. This can be done," he adds, "by showing up its resources in a proper manner." This the author has done in an attractive way, and he has clearly shown the truth of the old assertion that Virginia is naturally one of the richest States in the Union. That she will ever attract capital from beyond her limits, without the reestablishment of the State debt on a firm basis, is not probable.

**MEMORIAL OF JOHN AUGUSTUS SMULL**. Edited by WILLIAM H. EGLE, M.D. Large paper, 8vo, pp. 50. LANE S. HART. Harrisburg, Pa., 1881.

The subject of this memoir, one of the representative men of the State of Pennsylvania, was the descendant of George Count Von Schmull, who left Yodesberg on the Rhine and fled from persecution in Europe to the Pennsylvania Colony. He settled near Germantown, Penn., and married there Susanna Le Van, a young Huguenot. John A. Smull, his descendant, was born at Harrisburg. At the age of seventeen he was appointed page to the Pennsylvania Assembly, and soon won the hearts and the esteem of the members by his skill and fidelity. In 1861 he was made Resident Clerk in the new office of that name. In 1867 he published a *Legislative Hand-Book of Rules and Practice*, which has been for the last ten years published annually as a State document. He died on the night of the 9th July, 1879, and his voluntary testimonials to his service abundantly justify the sympathetic memoir which Dr. Egle offers as a tribute of friend-

**THE HISTORY OF HERNANDO DE SOTO AND FLORIDA; OR, RECORD OF THE EVENTS OF FIFTY-SIX YEARS FROM 1512 TO 1568**. By BARNARD SHIPP. 8vo, pp. 689. COLLINS, Printer (and for sale by ROBERT A. TRIPPLE). Philadelphia, 1881.

This interesting volume, of which the edition is limited to five hundred copies, cost the author more than eight years in the preparation. The peninsula of Florida was discovered by Ponce de Leon on Pascua Florida (Palm Sunday), 1512, whence its name of Florida. The territory to which the name was originally given was, however, extended by grants of the Emperor subsequently made, until in 1527 its ocean boundary extended from the river of Palms (Santander) to Bacallaos, Newfoundland. In his preface the author informs us that "it is the accounts of the events which occurred in this vast country, from the year 1513 to the year 1568, which have been so arranged on the following pages as to form a continuous history of Florida during that period of sixty years." And in view of the close relation of the history of the discovery of the Atlantic coast, with that of Mexico or New Spain, a general view is also presented of the relation of affairs in the Indies or Spanish possessions in America. The interior of Florida was first explored by Narvaez in 1527, when Cabezo de Vaca crossed the continent to the Pacific, and finally reached the city of Mexico. This expedition was followed by that of Hernando De Soto, who landed at Tampa Bay, in Florida, in 1539, and marched inland to the Arkansas river, where he died in 1542. After his death his troops continued their march as far as to the Trinity river, of Texas, whence they returned to the mouth of the Arkansas. From these two expeditions Europe first gained knowledge of the interior of the great country which bore the name of Florida, of its topography and its inhabitants. It was more than a century later that La Salle and his successors explored the mouth of the Mississippi and the Delta region. To illustrate these several journeys, accurate copies of the earliest maps have been introduced, and the author has endeavored to identify all the various points marked upon it. The text itself is necessarily a compilation. In the well-told narrative the relations of the actors in the scenes described have been mainly relied upon. The book is divided into three volumes, without page distinction. The first is entitled *Hernando de Soto and Florida*; the second, *History of the Conquest of Florida*; the third, again *Hernando de Soto and Florida*. Such examination

as it has been possible to make of a subject so extensive, and treated in such minuteness of detail justifies the claim of the author that "in this book may be acquired a knowledge of nearly all the particulars of one of the most daring expeditions ever undertaken by the bravest of the early Spanish adventurers in America, and which has but a single parallel in the annals of the new world "

INDIAN NAMES OF PLACES, ETC., IN  
AND ON THE BORDERS OF CONNECTICUT; WITH  
INTERPRETATION OF SOME OF THEM by J.  
HAMMOND TRUMBULL. 8vo, pp. 93. Hart-  
ford, 1881.

Mr. Trumbull has been long recognized as the authoritative interpreter of the dialects of the Algonkin language. In 1870 he published in the second volume of the Connecticut Historical Society's collections a paper on "The Composition of Indian Geographical names." This, with sundry corrections and additions, forms the present work. The author frankly avows its incompleteness, but every addition to the limited store of knowledge on subjects of this nature, which can only be satisfactorily treated by those who make of them a special study, is eagerly welcomed, and should be placed in type to secure them against danger of possible loss.

#### KING'S MOUNTAIN AND ITS HEROES.

History of the battle of King's Mountain, October 7th, 1780, and the events which led to it. By LYMAN C. DRAPER, LL.D. With steel portraits, maps and plans. 8vo, pp. 612. PETER G. THOMSON. Cincinnati, 1881.

This elaborate and complete history of what has been termed the pivotal action of the Southern Campaign, has occupied the leisure of its accomplished author for more than forty years. The collection of materials was begun in 1839, when there were still survivors of the memorable struggle to relate its incidents. In 1815 there was a gathering at King's Mountain to re-inter the remains of those who fell on the field. In 1855 there was a memorable celebration, and General John S. Preston and the Hon. George Bancroft were the speakers. On the 7th October, 1880, the centennial anniversary was commemorated with military and civic pomp. On this occasion the Hon. John W. Daniel was the orator of the day, and poems were read by Paul H. Hayne and Clara Durgan McLean, and the new massive granite monument was unveiled.

In the twenty chapters of which the monograph is composed, the reader will find in addition to a minute relation of the campaign and

biographical sketches of the principal actors on both sides, a succinct narrative of the events of the Revolution in the Southern States. An appendix contains the Diary of Lieut. Allaire, of Ferguson's corps, several Whig narratives, and the official documents. Other information bearing upon the campaign may be found in the manuscript Letter Book of General Gates, belonging to Dr. Thomas Addis Emmett, of New York city, the first part of which, from June 21st to 31st August, was published in the Magazine of American History in October, 1880 [N. 281].

The volume is elegantly illustrated with numerous steel portraits by our best engravers, a number of appropriate sketches and excellent maps. The publisher deserves the highest praise for the thoroughness with which his part of the work has been executed.

Mr. Draper announces his purpose, from the materials he has gathered for the work, to publish a BORDER SERIES, embracing in its sweep the whole frontier, from New York and Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. There is no more competent hand than his.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE BOARD OF  
REGENTS OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE,  
showing the Operation, Expenditures, and  
Condition of the Institution for the year  
1879. 8vo. pp. 631. Government Printing  
Office, 1880.

The Report of Professor Baird, the distinguished Secretary of this Institution, points out a number of interesting and important incidents in its history, the most noteworthy being the memorial services held in the United States Capitol in honor of Professor Henry, and the commencement of work upon the new fire-proof building for the National Museum.

In December, 1879, a bill was introduced into Congress appropriating the sum of twenty thousand dollars for the erection of a statue of Joseph Henry on the grounds of the Institution. Since that time a modification of this bill has passed both houses of Congress, and received the approval of the President June 1st, 1880. Its provisions authorize the Regents to contract with W. W. Story for a statue in bronze, and appropriate for the expense of the same, including foundation and pedestal, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars. Announcement is made of the contents of the volumes in course of preparation.

The archæologist will be particularly interested by the study of Mr. Knight of the savage weapons at the Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, 1876. Dr. Havard's paper on the French Half Breeds of the Northwest is of peculiar value.

## REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED

PROCEEDINGS OF THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION held at Chicago, Ill., June, 1880, &c. 8vo. John B. Jeffery Printing House, Chicago, 1881.

WORKING DRAWINGS, AND HOW TO MAKE AND USE THEM, &c. By Lewis M. Haupt. 12mo. Joseph M. Stoddard & Co., Philadelphia, 1881.

SPECIAL ACTS AND RESOLUTIONS Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut at the January Session, 1881. 8vo. The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., Hartford, 1881.

LAWS AND RESOLVES (General and Special) Passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts during the Session of 1881. 8vo. Rand, Avery & Co., Boston.

A DISCOURSE COMMEMORATIVE OF THE LIFE AND SERVICES OF THE LATE WILLIAM BEACH LAWRENCE. Pronounced before the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia, May 5, 1881. By Charles Henry Hart. Pamphlet 8vo. Edward Stern & Co. (Reprinted from the Penn. Monthly for June, 1881). Philadelphia, 1881.

A CENTENNIAL ADDRESS, delivered in the Sanders Theatre at Cambridge, June 7, 1881, before the Massachusetts Medical Society. By Samuel Abbott Green, M. D. Pamphlet 8vo. John Wilson & Co., Cambridge. Groton, 1881.

EARLY NOTICES OF THE MISSOURI RIVER AND INDIANS. By John P. Jones. Pamphlet 8vo. (Reprinted from the Kansas City Review of Science and Industry, for June, 1881.)

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEDICATION OF HODGSON HALL by the Georgia Historical Society on the occasion of its Thirty-Seventh Anniversary, February 14, 1876. Pamphlet 8vo. J. H. Estill, Savannah.

PARIS MEMORIAL, 1790-1880. Re-interment of Col. Isaac Paris. Pamphlet 8vo. (No imprint).

JAMES SMITHSON AND HIS BEQUEST. By William J. Rhees. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 330. Pamphlet 8vo. Washington, 1880.

AMERICAN PORK. Results of an Investigation made under Authority of the Department of State of the U. S. Pamphlet 8vo. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. Reports from the Consuls of the U. S. on the Commerce, Manufactures, etc., of the Consular Districts; No. 7. May, 1881. Published by the Department of State. Pamphlet 8vo. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

FIFTY YEARS OF FREEDOM IN BELGIUM; Education in Malta; Third International Geographical Congress at Venice in 1881; Illiteracy and Crime in France; School Savings Banks and Education in Sheffield. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education. Pamphlet 8vo. Washington, 1881.

ANTHROPOLOGY. Edited by Prof. Otis T. Mason, Columbia College. Washington, D. C. (From the American Naturalist, June, 1881.) Pamphlet 8vo.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA. Second Annual Report of the Executive Committee, 1880-81. Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Institute, Boston May 21, 1881. Pamphlet 8vo. John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, 1881.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE. A Priced and Classified List of Books Recommended for General Reading, etc. Compiled by W. G. Sumner, David A. Wells, W. E. Foster, R. L. Dugdale and G. H. Putnam. Economic Tracts, No. 11, Series of 1880-81. Pamphlet 8vo. Society for Political Education, New York, 1881.

NOTES AND QUERIES, HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL. Edited by William H. Egle, M. D., M. A. Part I. 4to. Telegraph Printing and Binding House, Harrisburg, Pa., 1881.

MANUELA PARÉDES. No Name Series. 16mo. Roberts Brothers, Boston, 1881.

MILITARY HISTORY OF ULYSSES S. GRANT, from April, 1861 to April, 1865. By Adam Badeau, Brevet Brigadier-General United States Army, Late Military Secretary and Aide-Camp to the General-in-Chief. 3 vols., 8vo. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1881.

ENGLAND WITHOUT AND WITHIN. By Richard Grant White. 16mo. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1881.

COUNT AGÉNOR DE GASPARIN. By Thomas Borel. Translated from the French by O. O. Howard. 12mo. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1881.

- OSGOOD'S WHITE MOUNTAINS. A Hand-book for Travelers, with six Maps and six Panoramas. Fourth Edition. Revised and Enlarged. 16mo. James R. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1881.
- ANNALS OF BROOKDALE, a New England Village. 12mo. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1881.
- THE MOSAIC ERA; a Series of Lectures on Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy. By John Monro Gibson, M. A., D. D. 8vo. Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., New York.
- ZUNI AND THE ZUNIANS. By Tilly E. Stevenson. 8vo, pamphlet. Washington, [1881].
- YEAR BOOK CITY OF CHARLESTON, S. C., 1880. 8vo. The News and Courier Book Presses. Charleston, S. C., [1881].
- CONSTITUTION OF CANADA. The British North America Act, 1867; its interpretation, to which is added the Quebec Resolutions of 1864, and the Constitution of the United States. By John Doutre. 8vo. John Lovell & Son. Montreal, 1880.
- THE SCOTTISH COVENANTERS. By James Taylor. 16mo. Cassell, Petter, Galpin & Co. New York, [1881].
- NATHANAEL GREENE. An examination of some statements concerning Major-General Greene in the ninth volume of Bancroft's History of the United States. By George Washington Greene. 8vo.
- COMMERCIAL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES. Reports from the Consuls of the United States on the Commerce, Manufactures, etc., of the Consular Districts. No. 8. June, 1881. 8vo. Pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.
- THE "SPOILS" SYSTEM AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM IN THE CUSTOM HOUSE AND POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK. By Dorman B. Eaton. Civil Service Reform Association Publications, No. 3. 12mo. Pamphlet. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1881.
- PURPOSES OF THE CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ASSOCIATION. Publication No. 1. 12mo. Pamphlet. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1881.
- THE BEGINNING OF THE "SPOILS" SYSTEM IN THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, 1829-30. Reprinted from Parton's Life of Jackson. Civil Service Reform Association Publications, No. 2. 12mo. Pamphlet. G. P. Putnam's Sons. New York, 1881.
- LETTER FROM THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY. Transmitted in response to Senate Resolution Feb. 8, 1881, calling for certain information in relation to nominations and appointments in the New York Custom House, etc. Senate Doc. 46th Congress, 3d Session. 8vo. Pamphlet.
- THE REGULATION AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE. Senate Doc. 46th Congress, 3d Session. Report 872. 8vo. Pamphlet. Government Printing Office. Washington, 1881.
- ERRORS IN CANADIAN HISTORY, CULLED FROM "PRIZE ANSWERS." By Fred. A. McCord. 8vo. Dawson Brothers. Montreal, 1880.
- AMERICAN VERSION—THE NEW TESTAMENT. With the Readings and Renderings preferred by the American Committee of Revision incorporated into the Text, by Roswell D. Hitchcock, D. D. 12mo. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert. New York, 1881.
- NEW MANUAL OF GENERAL HISTORY. For the use of Colleges, High Schools, Academies, etc. Part I. Ancient History. By John J. Anderson. 12mo. Clark & Maynard. New York, 1881.
- HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. Vol. I. 1783-1801. By James Schouler. 12mo. W. H. & O. H. Morrison. Washington, 1880.
- SUGGESTIONS TO YOUNG LAWYERS. An address delivered at the Commencement of Columbia Law School, May 18, 1881. 8vo. Pamphlet. Trow's Printing and Bookbinding Co. New York, 1881.
- RAND, McNALLY & Co.'s NEW INDEXED BUSINESS ATLAS AND SHIPPER'S GUIDE. Ninth Edition. Folio. Rand, McNally & Co. Chicago. 1881.
- THE LIFE, TRAVELS AND LITERARY CAREER OF BAYARD TAYLOR. By Russell H. Conwell. 8vo. D. Lothrop & Co. Boston.

**PLAIN USES OF THE BLACKBOARD AND SLATE, ETC.** By Rev. W. F. Crafts. To which is added Illustrative Teaching in the Primary or Infant School, by Mrs. W. F. Crafts. 8vo. Ward & Drummond. New York.

**CAMP AND CABIN.** Sketches of Life and Travel in the West. By Rossiter W. Raymond. 12mo. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert. New York, 1880.

**PUNCTUATION AND OTHER TYPOGRAPHICAL MATTERS,** for the use of Printers, Authors, etc. By Marshall T. Bigelow. 12mo. Lee & Shepard. Boston, 1881.

**EARLY CHICAGO.** Fort Dearborn. An address at the unveiling of the Memorial Tablet to mark the site of the Block House, May 21, 1881, under the auspices of the Chicago Historical Society, with Notes and Appendix. By Hon. John Wentworth, LL.D. Fergus Historical Series No. 16. 8vo. Pamphlet. Fergus Printing Co. Chicago, 1881.

**ADDRESS AT THE UNVEILING OF THE STATUE OF COLONEL WILLIAM PRESCOTT,** on Bunker Hill, June 17, 1881. By Robert C. Winthrop. 8vo, pamphlet. John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, 1881.

**POINTS OF HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES.** By John Lord, LL.D. 8vo. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York, 1881.

**POEMS.** By C. D. Bradlee. Third Series. 1881. 8vo, pamphlet. David Clapp & Son, Boston, 1881.

**PINNOCK'S IMPROVED EDITION OF DR. GOLD-SMITH'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND,** from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the death of George II., with a continuation to the year 1872, etc. By William C. Taylor, LL.D. 106th American, from the 35th English edition. 12mo. Charles De Silver & Sons, Philadelphia, 1881.

**A HISTORY OF THE SURRENDER OF THE BRITISH FORCES TO THE AMERICANS AND FRENCH AT YORKTOWN, VA.** 8vo, pamphlet.

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.** Vol. XVIII. 1880-81. 8vo. John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, 1881.

**THE DACOTAH TRIBES.** Their beliefs, and our duty to them outlined. By Henry B. Carington. 8vo. Salem Press, Salem, Mass., 1881.

**GENERAL LAFAYETTE IN VIRGINIA IN 1824 AND 1825.** An account of his triumphant progress through the State. Compiled by Robert D. Ward. 8vo. Pamphlet. West, Johnston & Co., Richmond, 1881.

**THE REPORT OF THE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY,** made April 27th, 1881, with remarks upon the Revolutionary Order Books in possession of the Society. By Nathaniel Paine. 8vo. Privately printed, Worcester, 1881.

**THE FATE OF MADAME LA TOUR.** A tale of Great Salt Lake. By Mrs. A. G. Paddock. 12mo. Fords, Howard & Hurlbert, New York, 1881.

**YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL HANDBOOK.** Historical and topographical guide to the Yorktown Peninsula, etc. By John Austin Stevens. 16mo. Pamphlet. C. A. Coffin & Rogers, New York, 1881.

**GALILEE IN THE TIME OF CHRIST.** By Rev. Selah Merrill, D. D., with an introduction by Rev. A. P. Peabody. D. D. 12mo. Boston Congregational Publishing Society, Boston, 1881.

**THE TWO HUNDRED AND FORTY-THIRD ANNUAL RECORD OF THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY OF MASSACHUSETTS.** Sermon by Rev. Robert Collyer. 8vo, pamphlet. Alfred Mudge & Son, Boston, 1881.

**SPECIAL REPORT OF NEW YORK STATE SURVEY** on the Preservation of the Scenery of Niagara Falls, and Fourth Annual Report on the Triangulation of the State for the year 1879. James T. Gardner, Director. 8vo, pamphlet. Charles Van Benthuyzen & Sons, Albany, 1880.

**HISTORY OF THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE** (at Washington, D. C.), with a brief Record of the Public Printing for a Century, 1789-1881. By R. W. Kerr. Illustrated. 8vo. Inquirer Printing and Publishing Co., Lancaster, Pa.

**TWELFTH REUNION—SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND,** Toledo, Ohio, September, 1880. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1881.

**THE FOREIGNER IN CHINA.** By L. N. Wheeler, D.D. With an introduction by Prof. W. C. Sawyer, Ph. D. 12mo. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, 1881.

- 'S ALT MARIK—HAUS MITTFS IN DIE SCHATZTADT in Die Alte Zeite. Ein Centennial Poem in Pennsylvanisch Deutsch in Zwe Dhel Bei. H. L. Fischer. (Mit Illustrations). 8vo. York Republican, York, Pa., 1879.
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## ANNOUNCEMENT

Messrs. D. Appleton & Co. will shortly publish "In the Brush; or, an old time social, political and religious life in the Southwest," by the Rev. Hamilton W. Pierson, D.D., ex-President of Cumberland College, Kentucky, author of "Jefferson at Monticello." The reputation of this gentleman as a popular lecturer is well established. The volume will consist of about 300 pages, 12mo, and be fully illustrated.







# MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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DECEMBER 1887

## THE NEW YORK CONTINENTAL LINE OF THE ARMY OF THE REVOLUTION

IT HAS been sometimes a subject of reproach that in the belligerent movement of the war of the American Revolution troops from New York took part that "the drums and the flag were captured without her cooperation," that the "barracks besieged in Boston without her aid," and that even a year later the delegates in the Continental Congress were without her sanction to put their total vote upon the Declaration of Independence. If, however, the people of this State were slow to respond to arms, it was not from indifference, because no Colony had been more intensely engaged in the great questions of the day. The political situation of New York was, however, peculiar. This was due to the manner in which she came under English domination.

By the laws of England two classes of colonies were distinguished, the first, Settled or Discovered colonies, and the second, Plantation colonies. To the first class of Settled or Discovered colonies belonged six of the original thirteen United American Colonies, and to the second class, which belonged to the latter class, belonged seven. The first class of Settled or Discovered colonies were those colonies which had been taken possession of in the name of the Crown, and which had been colonized and settled upon by Englishmen, and the rights of the Colonies in England became their inheritance, and the Colonies were entitled to all the rights against the prerogative of the Crown, which were enjoyed by the Colonies in England; such as, no taxation without representation, the right of speech, and, later, of the press, the right of trial by jury, the right of their peers from the vicinage, and the right of habeas corpus, and other rights not necessary here to be enumerated. The second class of Plantation colonies were those colonies which had been taken possession of in the name of the Crown, and which had been colonized and settled upon by Englishmen, and the rights of the Colonies in England became their inheritance, and the Colonies were entitled to all the rights against the prerogative of the Crown, which were enjoyed by the Colonies in England; such as, no taxation without representation, the right of speech, and, later, of the press, the right of trial by jury, the right of their peers from the vicinage, and the right of habeas corpus, and other rights not necessary here to be enumerated. The United American Colonies possessed, and



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IT HAS been sometimes a subject of reproach that in the earlier belligerent movements of the war of the American Revolution, no troops from New York took part; that Ticonderoga and Crown Point were captured without her co-operation; that the British were besieged in Boston without her aid, and that even a year later her delegates in the Continental Congress were without instructions upon the final vote upon the Declaration of Independence. If, however, the people of this State were slow to resort to arms, it was not from any indifference, because no Colony had been more intensely agitated by the great questions of the day. The political situation of New York was, however, peculiar. This was due to the manner in which it had come under English domination.

By the laws of England two classes of colonies were recognized, viz.: 1st, Settled or Discovered colonies, and 2d, Conquered or Crown colonies. To the first class of Settled or Discovered colonies belonged all of the original thirteen United American Colonies except New York, which belonged to the latter class. The peculiar characteristic of these Settled or Discovered colonies was that when unoccupied land had been taken possession of in the name of the Crown of England, and afterwards colonized and settled upon by English subjects, the Common Law of England became their inheritance, and also all the rights and liberties as against the prerogative of the Crown, which they would have enjoyed in England; such as, no taxation without representation; freedom of speech, and, later, of the press; the right of trial by an impartial jury of their peers from the vicinage, after indictment by a local grand jury, and other rights not necessary here to be enumerated. In addition to the character of Settled or Discovered colonies which the other twelve United American Colonies possessed, many of them—particularly in



New England—had received special chartered rights and privileges, confirmed under the Great Seal of England with considerable formality.

On the other hand, in a Conquered or Crown Colony, except so far as rights were secured by any terms of capitulation, the power of the sovereign was absolute. The conquered were at the mercy of the conqueror, and although they might preserve their laws and their institutions for the time, the Sovereign in Council had absolute power to alter those laws in any way he might deem proper, and, in short, in the language of the late Lord Chief-Justice of England, they might "be dealt with legislatively and authoritatively as the Sovereign might please." Such was the condition of the Colony or Province of New York, and although the Charter of Liberties and Privileges, passed on the 30th October, 1683, secured to its people an appearance at least of a privilege to participate in the government, nevertheless, after James II. ascended the throne, Governor Dongan was instructed, on the 29th May, 1686, to declare the Bill of Privileges under which the Assembly existed "repealed, determined and made void," and the sole power of legislation transferred to the Governor and Council.

William and Mary and Queen Anne successively resisted the application and demands of the representatives of the people of the province of New York; and, until the final contest in the Revolution, a political struggle was maintained with greater or less intensity. The removal of Chief Justice Morris without cause in 1733, and the appointment of James De Lancey as Chief Justice; the trial and acquittal of John Peter Zenger in 1735, and assertion of the liberty of the press; the refusal of the New York Assembly in 1762 to grant any salary to Chief Justice Benjamin Prat, because he was commissioned "during His Majesty's pleasure;" the appointment by that body of a Committee of Correspondence with the other colonies in 1764; the subsequent organization of the "Sons of Liberty," and local resistance to the Stamp Act; the conflict between citizens and soldiers in John Street, New York, in January, 1770; and the resolves of the New York Assembly in 1768, 1774 and 1775, were all incidents of this struggle for exclusive internal parliamentary liberty.

In the New England Colonies the Whigs rested firmly on their rights as Englishmen in "Settled Colonies," and on their chartered privileges. Their political opponents, therefore, were comparatively few, and held opinions as to the rights of Crown and Parliament founded largely in sentiment and regard for the mother country.

In New York, the Whig party in demanding the same rights that were claimed by the Whigs of New England, were, to a considerable extent revolutionary, although they were prompted by the same spirit that gave Magna Charta and the Petition and Bill of Rights to England. On the other hand, the Royalists or Tory party in New York had good English precedents for their adhesion to the Crown.

Each party in New York, therefore, had legal grounds for the support of its political claims. The line of demarcation was less distinct, political feelings became more embittered, and, as a consequence, when overt acts of war took place, a large number of the able-bodied citizens of the province of New York engaged in the contest on one side or the other. Family influence also contributed to the intensity of party feeling, as was shown in the struggles of the De Lanceys and Livingstons and their respective family and political adherents for political supremacy. The events which finally brought into existence the New York Provincial Congress, which met on the 22d May, 1775, will not here be touched upon.

On the 28th June, 1775, the New York Continental Line of the American Revolution was organized under the resolves of the Provincial Congress. It consisted of four regiments of infantry and one company of artillery, viz.: The 1st (or New York) Regiment, of which Alexander McDougall became Colonel, Rudolphus Ritzema, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Herman Zedwitz, Major; the 2d (or Albany) Regiment, of which Goose Van Schaick became Colonel, Peter Yates, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Peter Gansevoort, Jr., Major; the 3d (or Ulster) Regiment, of which James Clinton became Colonel, Edward Fleming, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Cornelius D. Wynkoop, Major; the 4th (or Dutchess) Regiment, of which James Holmes became Colonel, Philip Van Cortlandt, Lieutenant-Colonel, and Barnabas Tuthill, Major; lastly, the Company of Artillery, of which John Lamb became Captain, which was raised in New York City.

Already the Continental Congress had appointed Philip Schuyler to be Major-General and Richard Montgomery to be Brigadier-General, and the New York Continentals stepped forward to take their places in the military history of their country. Unfortunately the period for which these regiments were enlisted was short, and, as a consequence, the services of the New York Continental line prior to 1777 can be discovered only by patient inquiry. All four regiments, and also Lamb's Artillery company, served in the Canada campaign of 1775-6 under Montgomery, and in the operations which resulted in the capture of

the forts at St. Johns and Chamblee. In the middle of November General Montgomery entered Montreal, and immediately began to reorganize his army for the winter campaign. The six months for which the New Yorkers had enlisted expired with that month, but, in the language recorded by one of their officers in his diary, "the Yorkers in general resolved to see an end to the campaign." Accordingly a large number of them re-enlisted to the 15th April, 1776, and accompanied General Montgomery to Quebec. In the siege and during the assault of that place, where their commanding general fell, the New Yorkers bore a conspicuous part, and a number were killed, wounded and taken prisoners. Lamb's artillery company was almost destroyed, and he himself dangerously wounded and captured.

On the 15th April, 1776, at headquarters before Quebec, Brigadier-General David Wooster, who had succeeded to the command of the besieging forces, arranged a number of the officers of the New York line into a regiment, of which John Nicholson, Major of the Third New York (James Clinton's), was made Colonel, and Frederick Von Weisenfels, of the same regiment, Lieut.-Colonel, and a sufficient number of the New York rank and file were re-enlisted to complete the regiment. The remainder, comprising the fragments of McDougall's, Van Schaick's, Clinton's and Holmes' regiments, returned home.

Congress had in the previous month provided for raising four New York regiments (8th and 24th March, 1776), viz.: 1st New York, Colonel Alexander McDougall and Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Zedwitz; 2d New York, Colonel James Clinton and Lieut.-Colonel H. B. Livingston; 3d New York, Colonel Rudolphus Ritzema and Lieut.-Colonel Frederick Von Weisenfels; 4th New York, Colonel Cornelius D. Wynkoop and Lieut.-Colonel P. Van Cortlandt.

The New York Convention also provided for raising a new Continental regiment for Colonel Van Schaick, making five New York Continental regiments for 1776, in addition to the regiment formed at Quebec under Colonel John Nicholson, which completed its service with the Northern Army. Colonel Van Schaick's regiment, on the 20th June, 1776, was stationed in detachments at various posts between Half-Moon and Crown Point, while Colonel Wynkoop's was at Ticonderoga. Their subsequent service was wholly under General Schuyler.

When it became apparent early in 1776 that New York City was to be the objective point of Sir William Howe's new operations, measures were taken to fortify and garrison it. Among the troops assigned to

this duty were the 1st, 2d and 3d New York Regiments of McDougall, Clinton and Ritzema. On the 9th August, 1776, McDougall and Clinton were promoted to be Brigadier-Generals.

In the battle of Long Island (August, 1776), the New York Continental line was not engaged, nor in the action at Harlem Heights, although present. The 2d New York (late Clinton's) was sent into Connecticut, to Saybrook, on special service. The 1st and 3d New York were in the battle of White Plains, and were conspicuous for their valor. Indeed, the principal part of that action was borne by McDougall's brigade, to which they belonged, and by the Delaware regiment. Chatterton's Hill, where the brunt of the action was fought, has become a historic locality.

Referring in his memoirs to the conduct of these troops, the accomplished Brigadier-General Rufus Putnam, then Chief Engineer on the ground, says: "The British in their advance were twice repulsed; at length, however, their numbers were increased, so that they were able to turn our right flank. We lost many men, but from information afterwards received there was reason to believe they lost many more than we. The rail and stone fence, behind which our troops were posted, proved as fatal to the British as the rail fence and grass hung on it did at Charlestown, the 17th of June, 1775."

In this battle the 3d New York (Ritzema's) suffered the most. Its Colonel, however, was not on the field, and Lieut.-Colonel Weisenfels led the regiment. In the retreat through the Jerseys the 1st and 3d New York formed part of General Lee's division, which subsequently joined Washington, and were in the surprise and capture of the Hessians at Trenton. They were in the brigade under Colonel Sargent, from the 11th December, 1776. Immediately after this brilliant action these New York regiments were ordered home to reorganize "for the war," their terms of enlistment having expired.

At last Congress awakened to the fact that the war must be carried on with *regular* troops, and not by an undisciplined, expensive and not always reliable militia levy. Accordingly, on the 16th September, 1776, that body declared that the quota of New York on the Continental establishment should consist of four regiments of infantry.

On the 15th October, 1776, the New York Convention appointed committees to visit respectively the army in the Northern Department under Major-General Schuyler, and the main Continental army under General Washington, in order to obtain from the General officers the characters of the New York officers then in Continental service. Lewis



Graham was the chairman of the Committee which at once visited the main army, and James Duane the chairman of the Committee which went northward. At this time New York had a number of volunteer and militia regiments in actual service; and the Committees extended their inquiries also to these in order to obtain recommendations. The principal among these volunteer and militia regiments were the 1st New York Volunteers, under Colonel John Lasher, of New York City, which was in the lines at the battle of Long Island. Also, Col. William Malcom's, Col. Samuel Drake's, and Col. Cornelius Humfrey's, all of Brig.-General John Morin Scott's Brigade; also, Col. Isaac Nicolls', Col. Thomas Thomas', Col. James Swartwout's, Col. Levi Paulding's, and Col. Morris Graham's, of Brig.-General George Clinton's Brigade. General Washington himself, and also Generals Schuyler, George and James Clinton, McDougall, and John Morin Scott, made carefully considered recommendations.

The full Committee of Arrangements of the New York Convention met in Fishkill on the 15th day of November, 1776, and after hearing the reports of the respective sub-committees on their return from the main and northern armies, began to consider the characters and merits of all the persons recommended for commissions in the reorganized New York Continental Line. There were many meritorious officers whose services were deemed necessary to the State. Some of these who remained in Canada when the terms of service of their old regiments had expired, had obtained exceptionally high rank, which caused much difficulty and considerable heart-burning in arranging them and their former superiors in the new Line. The papers of the Committee in the Secretary of State's office, in Albany, show the difficulties it had to contend with and the care taken in making selections. Thoroughly patriotic and earnest in the American cause, they came to the conclusion that New York could contribute one more regiment of infantry than called for by Congress, and they accordingly so recommended and proceeded to act on that basis, which was approved.

On the 21st November, 1776, the officers of the first four New York Continental regiments were announced, and soon afterwards, on the 14th December, those of the fifth regiment. Colonel Goose Van Schaick was assigned to the 1st regiment, Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, who had succeeded Ritzema as Colonel, was assigned to the 2d regiment, Colonel Peter Gansevoort, Jr., late Lieut.-Colonel of Van Schaick's regiment, was promoted to the 3d regiment, Colonel Henry Beekman Livingston, late Lieut.-Colonel of James Clinton's, was promoted to the 4th regi-

ment, Colonel Lewis Dubois, lately appointed a Colonel by Congress, was assigned to the 5th regiment.

Thus at last, after nearly two years of war, the New York Continental Line was permanently formed and engaged in the service of the United States until peace and independence should be secured. The military history of these regiments can now be briefly chronicled: Of the 1st, Colonel Goose Van Schaick personally deserves a passing notice, because, at the close of the Revolution, he was, by date of commission, the senior Colonel in the Continental service. A native of Albany, where he was born in 1737, he became a Lieutenant at the age of nineteen in the expedition against Crown Point, in which the French and Indians were defeated, at Sabbath Day Point; promoted to a captaincy in 1758, in the New York regiment under Lieut.-Col. Isaac Corse, he took part in the expeditions against Forts Frontenac and Niagara, and in 1759 was made Major in Colonel Johnson's New York regiment. In March, 1762, he became Lieut.-Colonel of the 1st New York Regiment, and in the battle of Ticonderoga was severely wounded in the face by a blow with the butt of a French musket. Shortly after his assignment to the 1st New York Continentals in November, 1776, he was successful in recruiting his regiment, which was first stationed at Fort George, and in the Spring of 1777 was ordered to Cherry Valley to protect the inhabitants against incursions by the Indians; and thence, in May, to Saratoga, companies being detached to Fort Edward and Fort Ann, and to Fort Dayton on the German Flats. Here the 1st New York remained during the stirring events of the Burgoyne Invasion, and then marched to join the main army under General Washington, and passed the memorable winter of 1777-8 at Valley Forge. In General Orders of General Washington, dated Army Headquarters, Valley Forge, 31st May, 1778, the regiment was temporarily assigned to the place of the 8th Pennsylvania Continentals, in the Second Pennsylvania Brigade, in the division under Major General Mifflin, and pursued Sir Henry Clinton across the Jerseys, participating in the battle of Monmouth. Thence the main army marched to the Hudson river, crossed at King's Ferry, near Stony Point, and moved down to White Plains. There, on the 22d July, 1778, in General Orders, his Excellency General Washington, as his soldiers and Congress always officially termed him, formed the New York Continental brigade under Brigadier-General James Clinton, composed of the 1st New York (Van Schaick's), 2d New York (Van Cortlandt's), 4th New York (Henry B. Livingston's), 5th New York (Lewis Dubois'). Thenceforward, to the end of the war

there was always a New York Continental Brigade, which, as we shall see, by its perfect discipline, good conduct and gallantry in action, attracted the favorable notice of the Continental officers from other States, and of the officers of the French army.

In the fall of 1778 the 1st New York was sent to the Northern Department, and on the 1st of December was stationed at Fort Schuyler, with detachments in Albany and at Saratoga (now Schuylerville). On the 18th April, 1779, one battalion of the regiment and one battalion of the 3d New York, were sent under Colonel Van Schaick against the Onondaga settlements near Salina, which were destroyed, and the expedition, after six days absence, returned to Fort Schuyler. Here the regimental headquarters remained, with detachments at Schenectady, Albany and Saratoga, until the 1st January, 1781, when the 3d Regiment (Gansevoort's) was incorporated with it, and the New York Continental line of infantry was reduced to two regiments, under Colonels Van Schaick and Van Cortlandt, for the remainder of the war, pursuant to the resolutions of Congress of the 3d and 21st October, 1780. The further history of the 1st New York is identical with that of the 2d New York, as they thenceforward served continuously together, and as the 1st January, 1781, was the time when all the Continental regiments of each State line were incorporated and consolidated, this date forms a good point at which to leave the 1st New York, in order to narrate the previous history of the remaining four regiments of Van Cortlandt, Gansevoort, Henry B. Livingston and Dubois.

The record of services of the 2d New York, under Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, is to be found in considerable detail in the autobiography of that distinguished officer, in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record for July, 1874 (Vol. V. p. 123), and in The Magazine of American History for May, 1878 (Vol. II. p. 278). It will not, therefore, be dwelt upon here. Briefly, the 2d, after being recruited and organized "for the war," took post in May, 1777, at Peekskill, in McDougall's Brigade in the command of Major-General Israel Putnam, and after outpost service in Westchester county, near the British lines, was withdrawn and marched to Fishkill, where it embarked in sloops for Albany in August, 1777, and soon joining Major-General Gates, was ordered to march to the relief of Fort Stanwix (or Schuyler), but had occasion to go no further than Schenectady. The 2d New York was in the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga, and at Lieut.-General John Burgoyne's surrender, and then marched southward and joined General Washington at White Marsh. It served at Valley Forge, was in the





battle of Monmouth, and in July marched to White Plains, and then went to the frontier in Ulster county until April, 1779, when it marched to Fort Penn, and thence through the wilderness to Wilkesbarre, where it joined Major-General John Sullivan's historic expedition against the Five Nations, and was in the action at Newtown. After the close of this expedition, the regiment marched via Easton in Pennsylvania, Sussex, Warwick and Pompton to Morristown, New Jersey, where it was quartered in tents during the remarkably severe winter of 1779-80, and did not get into log huts until the snow was deep on the ground. In the spring the regiment marched to Fort Edward, in the Northern Department, and thence in November, 1780, to Schenectady via Albany, where the rank and file were quartered in the barracks, and the officers billeted in private houses. This was the station of the regiment on the 1st January, 1781, when the 4th New York (late H. B. Livingston's, but then under Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Baron Frederick Von Weisenfels), and the 5th New York (late Lewis Dubois', under Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant Marinus Willett), were incorporated with it, and the junior supernumerary officers honorably retired with promise of seven years' half-pay.

The 3d New York (Colonel Peter Gansevoort, Jr.), after its organization and recruitment, was stationed at Fort Schuyler (old Fort Stanwix), in 1777, and defended that work during the memorable siege by Brigadier-General Barry St. Leger, in which the successful sortie was made for which the thanks of Congress was given (Res. 4, Oct., 1777). A detachment was on duty at Albany from December, 1778, to May, 1779, and in June the whole regiment assembled at Canajoharie and formed part of Brigadier-General James Clinton's brigade, which joined Major-General Sullivan in the expedition against the five hostile tribes of the Six Nations. Colonel Gansevoort's regiment afterwards joined the main army at Morristown, New Jersey, where it remained during the winter of 1779-80, and was, in the earlier operations of the year 1780, under General Washington, after which it took post in the Highlands of the Hudson in July, 1780, and subsequently proceeded to Fort Edward, where the regiment was incorporated with the 1st on the 1st January, 1781.

The 4th New York (Col. Henry B. Livingston) had the most eventful history of any of the New York regiments. Just after its organization, it was in the defence of Peekskill, 23d March, 1777; then in August, with the 2d New York, joined Major-General Gates, participated in the battles of Stillwater and Saratoga, and was at Burgoyne's surrender.

It then marched to the South, and was at White Marsh under General Washington on the 2d December, 1777, and during that terrible winter in huts at Valley Forge. On the 14th May, 1778, as the regiment was sickly, General Washington ordered its commanding officer to apply for tents and "remove the men from their huts." Taking part in the battle of Monmouth, it did good service. It was sent, after the army reached White Plains, under the Marquis de Lafayette to Rhode Island, where it was present at the siege of Newport and subsequent battle of Rhode Island, which Lafayette characterized as one of the best fought actions of the Revolution. Returning in the fall of 1778 to the Hudson, it marched to Albany and rejoined Brigadier-General James Clinton, and was in the movement via Otsego Lake, down the Susquehanna, to join Major-General Sullivan, and was in the expedition against the Five Nations and at the action at Newtown. Subsequently the regiment rejoined the main army in the winter camp at Morristown, 1779-80; was in the Highlands of the Hudson in the following summer, and then proceeded to Fort Schuyler, where it was incorporated with the 2d New York (Van Cortlandt's) on the 1st January, 1781.

The 5th New York Continental Infantry (Colonel Lewis Dubois') was an unfortunate though gallant regiment. After its organization and recruitment in the winter and spring of 1776-7, it was stationed at Forts Montgomery and Clinton on Poploopen's Kill, opposite Anthony's Nose, on the Hudson. Here it participated in the gallant defense of those forts under Governor George Clinton and his brother, Brigadier-General James Clinton, on the 6th October, 1777, and lost heavily. In the final successful assault of the British forces under Sir Henry Clinton at sundown, a considerable portion of the regiment became prisoners of war, including the Lieutenant-Colonel, Major, Quartermaster, one Captain, seven Lieutenants and three Ensigns. A battalion of the regiment managed to escape in the darkness of the night, and was on duty during the winter in the Highlands and at Newburgh and Peekskill, until the fall of 1778, when it proceeded to Albany and Schenectady, and formed part of Brigadier-General James Clinton's brigade, which joined General Sullivan in his Indian expedition. At its conclusion the regiment marched to Morristown, New Jersey, for the winter of 1779-80. Its subsequent history is identical with that of the 2d New York, until its incorporation with it on the 1st January, 1781, in the Mohawk valley. From this date the history of the 1st New York (Van Schaick) and 2d New York (Van Cortlandt), constituting the newly-arranged New York Line, is one and the same.

In June, 1781, while the allied French and American Armies were in Westchester county making threatening demonstrations against New York City, General Washington sent orders for these two regiments to join him. Accordingly the detachments at Fort Plain, Stone Arabia, Johnstown, Schoharie, Fort Herkimer, Fort Dayton, etc., were called in, and assembled at Schenectady and Albany, and the two regiments in a few days proceeded to Stony Point via the Hudson River, where they encamped during those movements of the allied armies before New York which deceived Sir Henry Clinton as to their real objective point. Each regiment had a Light Infantry company of selected men. These two companies were detached on the 31st July, and, with two companies of New York Levies, formed into a battalion under Lieutenant-Colonel Alexander Hamilton, late an Aid-de-camp to Washington.

On the morning of the 19th August, 1781, the American and French Armies paraded at Philipsbourg, and pioneers were sent forward to clear the road to Kingsbridge; but to the surprise of the troops, they themselves were faced about and marched rapidly to King's Ferry, and as soon as possible crossed to Haverstraw. Soon the truth broke upon the minds of the Allies. Their great commander had outwitted Sir Henry Clinton, and they were marching South to attack Earl Cornwallis.

In this historic march General Washington, in General Orders dated Springfield, New Jersey, 28th August, 1781, organized a light division under Major-General Benjamin Lincoln, which contained the choicest American regiments in the expedition. This division consisted of the light infantry on the right under the accomplished Colonel Alexander Scammel of the 1st New Hampshire Continentals, who lost his life before Yorktown; the two New York Regiments on the left under Brigadier-General James Clinton, and the two New Jersey regiments and the Rhode Island Continental Regiment in the centre. As to the siege of Yorktown and the gallant conduct of the New York Light Infantry under Alexander Hamilton, in the assault of the advanced redoubt in front of the American right, on the night of the 14th October, or of the conduct of Colonel Lamb's Artillery Regiment, it is not necessary here more than to refer. On returning North, the New York and New Jersey Regiments escorted 1,700 British troops as far as Fredericksburgh, Virginia.

Brevet Brigadier-General Van Cortlandt, in his autobiography, has given an interesting instance of the depreciation of the continental currency in which his regiment was paid, by noting that at Hanover



Court House he was given his choice of paying, for a bowl of apple toddy, five hundred dollars in continental money or one dollar in silver. Marching through Alexandria, Georgetown, Bladensburgh, Baltimore, Philadelphia and Trenton, the New York Infantry went into camp for the winter at Pompton, New Jersey, and built themselves huts. Here General Washington and his wife visited them and remained from Saturday evening until Monday morning. The condition of the New York Infantry at this time is well illustrated in the General Orders of General Washington from Army Headquarters, Newburgh, 20th May, 1782, in which, referring to the last inspection made of the army, he said: The Commander-in-Chief "cannot, however, conceal the pleasure he receives from finding the two regiments of New York in the best order possible, by the report of the Inspector-General, which also concurred with his own observations."

On the 4th June, 1782, the New York Regiments were again inspected by Inspector-General Baron de Steuben, and reported as being "in excellent order." This report General Washington announced in General Orders to the army from his Headquarters, Newburgh, on the following day. On the 28th August he placed these regiments as a brigade in the division of Major-General Arthur St. Clair, in the right wing commanded by Major-General Horatio Gates, of the main army.

But little more remains to be said of the New York Infantry. In the autumn manœuvres at Verplanck's Point, they attracted particular attention by their steadiness and discipline. Indeed, at this time the American Infantry, veterans in war, had acquired, under Baron de Steuben's remarkable training, a degree of military proficiency which made them the equal, if not the superior, of the best disciplined regiments of Europe. In the winter of 1783, under a previous resolution of Congress (7th August, 1782), a further reduction and incorporation of Continental regiments was decreed. From this the New York Line was spared, as the quota of New York was kept complete by the exertions of Governor George Clinton. In January the two regiments marched to their last post in the vicinity of New Windsor and built huts on the road leading to Little Britain. In May, 1783, the Society of the Cincinnati was formed at the cantonment, and on the 6th June the New York officers became members.

As the terms of re-enlistment of their rank and file were "for the war," the two regiments were furloughed on the 8th June, 1783; the men proceeded to their homes, and on the 3d November, 1783, were finally honorably discharged the service. Colonels Van Schaick and

Van Cortlandt were each brevetted Brigadier-Generals on the 30th September, 1783. The musical instruments of the Band of the 2d New York, and the colors of the two regiments, were taken to Poughkeepsie and there presented to Governor Clinton by Colonel Van Cortlandt, and it would be interesting to trace the history of these honored flags. In this connection it is deserving inquiry as to what has become of the flags captured during the Revolutionary War. None are known to exist, either of those taken at the Hessian surrender at Trenton, or at Burgoyne's surrender at Fort Hardy, while of the twenty-eight flags taken at Yorktown, but six are deposited in the chapel of the United States Military Academy at West Point.

I shall not enter into any statement as to the earlier uniforms of the New York Infantry, my paper on the Uniforms of the American Army, published in this Magazine [I, 461], fully covering this subject; it is enough to state that in October, 1779, General Washington, under the authority given him by Congress, prescribed for the New York Line the following uniform, viz.: Black cocked hats, edged with white binding, black cockade or rosette, and black plume; coats to be of dark blue faced with buff; but in August, 1782, the facing was changed to red, buttons and lining to white, white worsted shoulder knots, white cross belts, white under dress, and black half gaiters.

I have now chronicled the services of the New York Continental Line proper. It is not, however, to be understood that New York furnished no other forces to the American cause. On the contrary, for reasons already stated, political feelings were so intense that at one time or another very nearly every able-bodied man in this State took up arms on one side or the other.

On the 23d December, 1776, Congress, alarmed by the retreat through the Jerseys and dwindling away of the army, vested General Washington with quasi dictatorial powers, and authorized him to raise, on Continental establishment, sixteen "additional" regiments of infantry, three regiments of artillery, and four regiments of cavalry. These were separate and distinct from regiments called for from the States. General Washington appointed the officers, whereupon Congress commissioned them, and the men were recruited irrespective of State Lines. Accordingly a large number of men were enlisted in New York State, not only in these regiments, but in the two Canadian Regiments raised in like manner. Quite a number also enlisted in New England Regiments, in consequence of the large bounties offered. The following named regiments were largely recruited in New York, viz.: 1st Cana-

dian Continental Infantry, Colonel James Livingston; 2d Canadian Continental Infantry, Colonel Moses Hazen; additional Continental Infantry (Vermont), Colonel Seth Warner; additional Continental Infantry (Connecticut and Rhode Island), Colonel S. B. Webb; additional Continental Infantry (New York and New Jersey), Colonel Oliver Spencer; 2d Regiment Corps of Artillery (New York Artillery), Colonel John Lamb; 3d Regiment Corps of Artillery, Colonel John Crane; 2d Regiment Continental Cavalry, Colonel Elisha Sheldon; 4th Regiment Continental Cavalry, Colonel Stephen Moylan; 2d Battalion Continental Partizan Legion, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry Lee.

After a time the New Yorkers in these regiments were duly credited to the State, and acknowledged by it. The 2d Regiment of the Continental Corps of Artillery, under Colonel John Lamb, was particularly a New York regiment, nearly all of its companies having been raised in that State, and after 1781 was frequently called the "New York Artillery Regiment," because it was placed on New York's quota, although originally raised by General Washington himself. The history of this regiment is interesting, but can only be briefly alluded to here. We have seen that in June, 1775, New York raised an Artillery Company under Captain John Lamb, which went to Canada and did gallant service in the siege of and assault on Quebec under Montgomery. Leaving New York City in August, 1775, with 70 enlisted men, this company, by actual field casualties, was reduced by the return made in the lines before Quebec on the 30th March, 1776, to 31 rank and file, under Captain-Lieutenant Isaiah Wool. Upon the expiration of their enlistments, this company disappeared as a living unit of organization. Several of its officers, however, were promoted, and appointed subsequently in Colonel Lamb's Regiment, the 2d Artillery, and one, a Lieutenant, in the company now to be noticed. The senior company in this regiment was organized quite a year before the regiment itself was authorized, pursuant to a resolution passed by the New York Provincial Convention in New York City, on Sunday, the 6th January, 1776, for the defense of the Colony, and to guard its records. The subaltern officers were speedily appointed. Alexander McDougall, then Colonel of the 1st New York Infantry, recommended Alexander Hamilton, then a student in Kings College, for the Captaincy. After an examination by a board of officers, he was accordingly commissioned Captain of the "New York Provincial Company of Artillery" on the 14th March, 1776. Already a few men had been enlisted for one year, but Hamilton, with that political sagacity for which he became distinguished, saw that the

war then in progress was to be a long and arduous one, and he accordingly directed his subalterns to recruit for the war. These instructions were not fully complied with, although over a third of the 95 rank and file recruited under authority of the New York Convention were thus enlisted. This fact is the more remarkable as the continental forces for this year were raised on short enlistments, which generally expired in December, at the most critical period of the contest. During the retreat through the Jerseys General Washington was left with but the skeleton of an army, which remained in service at his urgent solicitation for a few additional days, until their places could be supplied by militia and troops newly raised. Hamilton's Company, after the arrival of the American army in New York City from the siege of Boston, was, while in the city, temporarily attached to Colonel Henry Knox's Regiment of Massachusetts Continental Artillery, which, however, had been raised for one year only. During the battle of Long Island the company was sent across the East river, and did good service. Present during the action at Harlem Heights, it subsequently specially distinguished itself in the battle of White Plains, where it was attached to General McDougall's Brigade. In the retreat through the Jerseys it marched with the rear guard, and at New Brunswick engaged in a sharp artillery duel across the Raritan river with a company of the royal artillery which was in the van of Cornwallis' pursuit. At Trenton, Assunpink Bridge and Princeton, the company did such good service, and displayed such discipline and steadiness under fire as to attract the particular attention of Washington to its youthful commander, who was then only in his 20th year. After the army went into winter quarters at Morristown, the great chief offered Captain Hamilton the commission of Lieutenant-Colonel and Aid-de-camp on his staff. This flattering offer was accepted on the 1st March, 1777. Meanwhile, after independence had been declared, the style of the company had been changed to that of "The New York State Company of Artillery." On the 6th March, 1777, Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton, from Morristown, wrote to the New York State Convention, informing it of the condition of his late company, and asking that it might be permanently transferred to the service of the United States. On the 17th March, 1777, the Committee of the New York Provincial Convention from Kingston replied, and authorized the transfer, *and it still remains in that service.*

General Washington immediately promoted Captain-Lieutenant John Doughty, of a New Jersey Artillery Company, who was a graduate of Kings (Columbia) College, to its command, to date 1st March, 1777, and

assigned it to the new 2d Regiment of Artillery (Colonel John Lamb). Captain Doughty distinguished himself in service, was brevetted Major the 30th September, 1783, and when all the rest of the Continental army of the Revolution was mustered out, was specially retained in service with his company. Later, when Congress, on the 20th October, 1786, found it necessary to raise enough artillery companies on the peace establishment to form a battalion, Captain and Brevet-Major Doughty was promoted to be Major of the battalion, and the old 1st Lieutenant of the company, James Bradford, was promoted to its Captaincy. In the disastrous defeat of St. Clair on the 4th November, 1791, the old Alexander Hamilton-Doughty Company suffered severely, and its Captain, Bradford, was killed. In the following spring, at Fort Washington, now Cincinnati, Ohio, this company and another company of the battalion, which had been raised in 1784 and was then on duty with it, were incorporated. Each had about 35 men, as each had suffered heavily in St. Clair's defeat. There were enough officers and non-commissioned officers left in each to raise the joint company to the full complement. Twice afterwards, before 1822, the company met with like recruitment by incorporation. The living unit of organization, however, remained. Its daily roll calls and drum-beats or bugle calls continued, and from the day when Captain Alexander Hamilton first paraded his company in the present City Hall Park in New York City to the present time, the United States has had the services of a continuous and organized body of artillery soldiers in the unit of artillery organization, now known as Battery F, 4th Regiment, United States Artillery, which has, under late orders for artillery changes, recently changed station from Washington Territory to Fort Warren, Boston Harbor, Mass. On its battery Guidon may properly be inscribed: New York, 12th July, 1776 (affair with the British ships of war); Long Island; Harlem Heights; Pelham Manor, 18th October, 1776; White Plains; New Brunswick; Trenton; Assunpink; Princeton; Brandywine; Germantown; Monmouth; Springfield; Yorktown; Wayne's victory over the Miami Indians in 1794; Battle of New Orleans, under Andrew Jackson, 1815; and all the principal actions under Major-General Winfield Scott in 1847, namely, the siege of Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Chapultepec and City of Mexico. In the late war of the rebellion it likewise served in many actions, namely: Winchester, Va., 25th May, 1862; Cedar Mountain, Va., 9th August, 1862; Antietam, Md., 17th September, 1862; Chancellorsville, Va., 2d to 4th May, 1863; Gettysburg, Pa., 1st to 3d July, 1863.

One other artillery company was raised by the New York Provincial Congress on the 16th March, 1776, in New York City under Captain Sebastian Bauman, for actual continental service. It also was assigned to Colonel Lamb's regiment of artillery, when that regiment was raised on the 1st January, 1777, and disappeared with the honorable discharge, on the 20th June, 1784, of all of that regiment, except the Alexander Hamilton company of artillery.

This is, in brief, the record of the New York line. The names of its general officers, Schuyler, McDougall, Montgomery, George Clinton and James Clinton, occupy a prominent place in the history of the war of the Revolution. Our country owes its independence principally to the military exertions of the New England States, and of New York, New Jersey and Maryland, with the assistance of foreign powers. The efforts of Pennsylvania, although respectable, were not as great, after the revolt of her Continental line, as her resources warranted. Delaware exerted herself to raise one regiment, but, after a portion of it was captured at the siege of Charleston, S. C., in 1780, she could not keep in the field more than about two companies. The amount of military service rendered to the cause after 1778, by the great States of Virginia, North and South Carolina and Georgia, was in no comparison whatever to their respective abilities.

By the resolution of Congress of 26th February, 1778, Virginia was required to have fifteen regiments and North Carolina nine, but in May, 1778 (29th), Congress provided for supernumerary officers of the North Carolina line to go home to recruit. Only three infantry regiments remained of this latter State's line under General Washington, and when they were sent southward, and captured at Charleston in May, 1780, her efforts, except with one small regiment and hastily levied militia, practically ceased.

In Virginia, the fifteen regiments called for by Congress in May, 1778, were consolidated into eleven in September of that year. In the following year the quota of this State was reduced by Congress to this number, and three small regiments were sent to Charleston and captured there. In the fall of 1779 the enlistments of most of the Virginia line expired, and the State never had more than enough men for two respectable regiments of Continental infantry in service, although its quota was eight. When, therefore, Major-General Gates needed the services of "regulars," Virginia and North Carolina could give him only militia, hastily levied, as supports to the two gallant Maryland Continental brigades. History tells us that in the battle of Camden,

which prostrated the power of the United States in the South, the Virginia and North Carolina militia, at the first advance of the British, threw down their loaded arms and fled in the utmost consternation from an advantageous position. They subsequently measurably redeemed their character for steadiness under fire at Guilford Court House and Eutaw Springs. New York, on the other hand, never failed to respond when called upon, and, in addition to her excellent and reliable Continental line, turned out, at one time or another, all her able-bodied militia.

In looking at the composition of the British forces in America in 1782, more than twenty-five American loyalist volunteer regiments or battalions are found enrolled. Of these, the 1st American Regiment or Queen's Rangers, under Lieut.-Colonel Simcoe; 2d American Regiment or Volunteers of Ireland, under Lord Rawdon; 3d American Regiment or New York Volunteers, under Lieut.-Colonel Turnbull; The Prince of Wales American Regiment, under Colonel Mountfort Brown; the Loyal American Regiment, under Colonel Beverly Robinson, and Brigadier-General Oliver De Lancey's brigade of three regiments, were all, presumably, largely recruited in New York City and its vicinity. This fact shows the intense earnestness with which the people of New York entered into the war, when once that course was decided upon.

In 1780 Congress reduced the quota of New York, as has already been said, to two regiments of infantry, as her fair proportion to the general defence, but directly afterwards Governor Clinton offered to raise two regiments of levies. Congress accepted, and on the 28th April, 1781, Lieut.-Colonel Commandant Marinus Willett, and Lieut.-Colonel Commandant Frederick Weisenfels, who had been previously honorably discharged as supernumeraries, were appointed to the command of these regiments. The two remained in service, in addition to the regular New York Continental line, until the 25th December, 1783, and did excellent service on the frontiers, and two companies as light infantry at Yorktown.

When peace came Virginia made haste to get rid of her Continental officers and soldiers by granting them their promised land bounties in Kentucky or in the territory northwest of the Ohio, and Virginia thenceforth gradually lost her position among the States of the Union in regard to population and growth. Governor Clinton and the authorities of New York, with a wisdom beyond praise, retained her honored soldiers within the State, by granting military lands in the territory wrested from the Six Nations, and in the tract ceded for a like purpose, within her limits, without loss of jurisdiction, to Massachusetts, many

Continental soldiers of that State received land bounties and settled. Possibly nothing aided so much to the development of New York as this action, and it was not long before the State indeed became fully entitled to the name, which Washington had bestowed on it, of *the Empire State*.

ASA BIRD GARDNER



## THE EMON DICKINSON

THE NEW JERSEY MUSEUM - REVOLUTIONARY SERIES

It is a world's work being assured every true love of his country to appreciate the memories of the men and events of "seventy six." We can learn very little, if anything, of the lives of the men who took no small part, and occupied no small time, in the life of the nation's soul. It is a brief memoir of these patriots that I now offer, although an article of this kind cannot fully portray his busy and eventful life, yet it will, I think, present, show the valuable services rendered to his country by this estimable citizen and daringless soldier.

Emon Dickinson was born on his father's plantation, near Dover, Kent county, Delaware, April 5th, 1753. His father, Samuel Dickinson, was President Judge, Court of Common Pleas, Kent County, from 1757 until his death, July 1, 1768.

Young Dickinson received his earlier education under the tutelage of William Dickinson, law student in his father's office, and subsequently, Chancellor of Delaware. In 1754 he entered the "College of Philadelphia" (University of Pennsylvania), graduating with the first class that ever left that institution, in June, 1757. From this time until his father's death, in 1760, he remained at home, superintending the large estates of his father who owned 2,480 acres in Kent county, Delaware, 4,080 acres in Talbot county, 1,400 acres in Dorchester county and 800 acres in Queen Anne county, Maryland. In 1760 he removed to Philadelphia, and read law with his brother John; there is no record, however, of having ever practiced the profession. His first public act was in signing of the famous Non-Importation Resolutions, November 7, 1765. His first expression of his sentiments in favor of liberty, he was advised by his brother, John Dickinson; his uncle, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader, his cousins John and Lambert Cadwalader, and Samuel Cadwalader Morde, and also Samuel Meredith, who subsequently became his brother-in-law. July 14, 1767, he was united in marriage, at the Arch Street Meeting House (Friends), to Mary, daughter of his uncle, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader. Mr. Dickinson, this same year, became the possessor of an estate in Ewing Township, Hunterdon county, New Jersey, situated on the bank of the Delaware, one-half mile from the capital at Trenton. His great grandson Col. S. Meredith Dickinson, now resid.

$$T^{\alpha\beta} = \frac{1}{2} g^{\mu\nu} T_{\mu\nu}^{\alpha\beta}, \quad A[\tau] = \int_0^\tau d\tau' U(\tau, \tau')$$

70. The following are the first four terms of a sequence:

## PHILEMON DICKINSON

MAJOR-GENERAL, NEW JERSEY MILITIA—REVOLUTIONARY SERVICE

It is a duty and should be a pleasure to every true lover of his country, to perpetuate the memories of the men and events of "seventy-six." It is, however, a noteworthy fact that very little, if anything, is known of many of the men who took no small part, and occupied no small position during the days that tried men's souls. It is a brief memoir of one of these patriots that I now offer; and, although an article of this kind can but feebly portray his busy and eventful life, yet it will, to a certain extent, show the valuable services rendered to his country by this estimable citizen and dauntless soldier.

Philemon Dickinson was born on his father's plantation, near Dover, Kent county, Delaware, April 5th, 1739. His father, Samuel Dickinson, was President Judge, Court of Common Pleas, Kent County, from 1740 until his death, July 6, 1760.

Young Dickinson received his earlier education under the tutorship of William Killen, a law student in his father's office, and subsequently Chancellor of Delaware. In 1754 he entered the "College of Philadelphia" (now University of Pennsylvania), graduating with the first class that ever left that institution, in June, 1757. From this time until his father's death in 1760, he remained at home, superintending the large estates of his father who owned 3,480 acres in Kent county, Delaware, 4,080 acres in Talbot county, 1,400 acres in Dorchester county and 800 acres in Queen Anne county, Maryland. In 1760 he removed to Philadelphia, and read law with his brother John; there is no record, however, of his having ever practiced the profession. His first public act was the signing of the famous Non-Importation Resolutions, November 7, 1765. In this first expression of his sentiments in favor of liberty, he was joined by his brother, John Dickinson; his uncle, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader; his cousins John and Lambert Cadwalader, and Samuel Cadwalader Morris, and also Samuel Meredith, who subsequently became his brother-in-law. July 14, 1767, he was united in marriage, at the Arch Street Meeting House (Friends), to Mary, daughter of his uncle, Dr. Thomas Cadwalader. Mr. Dickinson, this same year, became the possessor of an estate in Ewing Township, Hunterdon county, New Jersey, situated on the banks of the Delaware, one-half mile from the capitol at Trenton. His great grandson Col. S. Meredith Dickinson, now resides

$$\begin{aligned}
& \text{For } 0 \leq i \leq n-2, \text{ let } \mathbf{v}_i = \mathbf{v}_i + \mathbf{v}_{i+1} \\
& \text{For } i = n-1, \text{ let } \mathbf{v}_i = \mathbf{v}_i + \mathbf{v}_{i+1}
\end{aligned}$$



on a portion of this estate. In 1781, Mr. Dickinson exchanged his property for the one adjoining, known as the Hermitage, owned by Col. Rutherford.

We lose sight of Mr. Dickinson from this time until July, 1775, at which time, the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, resolved to raise ten battalions of infantry for the defense of the State. They commissioned Philemon Dickinson, Colonel of the Hunterdon County Battalion. In September they resolved to form these battalions into two brigades, and October 19, 1775, they commissioned Col. Philemon Dickinson, Brigadier General in command of the first, and October 26, 1775, Col. William Livingston, Brigadier General in command of the second.

May 10th, 1776, the Provincial Congress of New Jersey commenced its second session at Burlington. Richard Stockton, a member from Hunterdon county, was sent to the Continental Congress, and General Philemon Dickinson appeared and took his seat as a member, to fill the vacancy caused by this transfer. Early in June, a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution for the infant Commonwealth, and General Dickinson was appointed a member of that committee; after several weeks of hard labor, they reported a draft of a constitution, which, after much discussion, and various amendments, was adopted July 2, 1776, *two days previous to the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, by Congress!* This constitution contained a clause affirming the Independence of New Jersey, but with a qualification to the effect, that if Great Britain acceded to our demands, this clause should be null and void. The action of Congress, however, two days later, rendered that clause abortive, and the unconditional Independence of New Jersey was declared July 18th.

In the latter part of July, General Dickinson took up his headquarters at Elizabeth. He was present at a council of war held by Washington on Bergen Heights, October 1st, and after the successive defeats on Long Island and Manhattan Island, joined the Commander-in-Chief in his disastrous retreat through the Jerseys. After they crossed the Delaware, General Dickinson, in compliance with orders from Washington, took up his head-quarters at Yardleyville four miles above Trenton.

When Washington planned the battle of Trenton, it was arranged that Dickinson should cross at Yardleyville, Ewing at Trenton Falls, and Cadwalader and Mifflin at Bristol, while the main body crossed at McConkey's Ferry, nine miles above the town. As is well known, this plan failed, the main body alone succeeding in crossing. On the night of the 25th, Dickinson joined Washington at McConkey's with

800 men, but as it was impossible to obtain sufficient transportation, he was compelled to resume his former post at Yardleyville. At the second crossing on the 30th, he was successful, and participated in the skirmish on the banks of the Assanpink, and covered the masterly flank movement of Washington, on Princeton, by keeping the camp fires burning brightly. Gen. Dickinson took no part in the battle of Princeton. He established his winter quarters at Somerset Court House. One of the neatest and coolest actions of the war was performed by him, on the banks of the Millstone River, Somerset county, New Jersey, on the 20th of January, 1777. The following letter from Washington to the President of Congress, tells the story in the plainest possible manner :

HEAD-QUARTERS, MORRISTOWN, January 22d, 1777

SIR :—My last to you was on the 20th. Since then I have the pleasure to inform you that General Dickinson, with 400 men, has defeated a foraging party of the enemy of an equal number, and has taken forty waggons and over one hundred horses, mostly of the English draught breed, and a number of sheep and cattle which they had collected.

The enemy retreated with so much precipitation that General Dickinson had only an opportunity of making nine of them prisoners. They were observed to carry off a good many dead and wounded, in light waggons. This action happened near Somerset Court House, on the Millstone river. General Dickinson's behavior reflects the highest credit on him, for, though his troops were all raw, he led them through the river middle deep, under a severe fire, and gave the enemy so severe a charge, that, although they were supported by three field pieces, they gave way—left their convoy—and fled.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

General Dickinson was absent on leave from March 1st to June 1st, 1777. On the sixth of June, 1777, Governor Livingston nominated him to the Joint Convention of the Legislature, for the office of Major General and Commander-in-chief of the Provincial forces of New Jersey, in the Field, in recognition of the important services already rendered to the State, and as a mark of their confidence and approbation of him as a soldier and a patriot.

During the occupation of Trenton by the Hessians, General Dickinson's place was badly devastated by the enemy. John Adams, in his diary for 1777, speaks of the place as follows: "Took tea with Mrs. Thompson, and then walked out to General Dickinson's with Messrs. Penn, Stone and Paca." The British have made sad havoc with the place, destroying the greenhouse, and covering the lawn with broken decanters. The house contains a ball-room and a whispering-room." In October, 1777, Governor Livingston refusing to order out the militia to repel the attack of the enemy on Red Bank, General Dickinson did so on his own responsibility.

On the 27th November, 1777, General Dickinson made a descent on Staten Island, then occupied by Generals Campbell and Courtland Skinner (the latter a Tory). The main body of the enemy escaped, but General Dickinson engaged in a desultory fight with Monckton's Grenadiers, repulsing them; the enemy lost, 6 killed, 20 wounded, and 24 prisoners; Dickinson's loss was 3 killed, 2 wounded. For this enterprise General Dickinson received the thanks of Washington.

On the 1st January, 1778, General Putnam joined forces with General Dickinson, and they went into winter quarters together at Elizabeth. In April, General Dickinson removed his head-quarters to Trenton. On the 18th of May, 800 British regulars were sent from Philadelphia to capture a number of vessels lying at anchor at White Hill, just below Bordentown. They were met and repulsed by Colonel Baylor with his light-horse troop; they slept on their boats that night, and early the next morning they proceeded to make an attack on Trenton, but the vigilant Dickinson met them half way and compelled them to beat a hasty retreat. The services rendered by General Dickinson at the battle of Monmouth are well described by Lossing in his *Field Book of the Revolution*. Under orders from Washington he acted in unison with Lafayette, who commanded the van guard of the patriot army on that eventful day, and in conjunction with Wayne, nobly covered the retreating Americans until the latter were reorganized by the Commander-in-chief. On the day following the battle, he pursued the retreating foe as far as Amboy. Washington, in his report to Congress, makes special mention of his services, and those of the New Jersey troops under him.

On the 1st December, 1778, General Dickinson received the appointment of Chief Signal Officer, Middle Department, Continental Army. This position he held until May, 1779. The line extended from Newburgh-on-the-Hudson, through Orange and Rockland counties, New York, then followed the ridge of the Ramapo Mountains, between Bergen and Passaic counties, passing through Pompton, on through Morris county to Boonton, where it diverged to the west, striking Dover, then returned to the main line at Morristown, whence it passed on through Plackemin (formerly Pluckenheim), Somerville, Millstone, Princeton and Trenton. This line was about one hundred and fifty miles long, and all communications between the Eastern, Middle and Southern departments passed over it.

In October, 1779, there was an election for Governor of New Jersey by the Legislature, in joint assembly. William Livingstone received 21



votes, Philemon Dickinson 9. Governor Livingstone should have been unanimously reelected, considering the great and important services rendered to his State, but he had incurred the enmity of some, hence the votes recorded for General Dickinson. It is but just to the latter, to say that the warmest friendship always existed between the Governor and himself, and that the use of his name in the joint assembly was entirely unwarranted by him. The selection of his name however, over such names as Stockton, Dayton, Witherspoon, Clark, Breasley and Sergeant, was proof of the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens. This was shown later by his election to the National Senate. General Dickinson's next military service was at Springfield, Essex county, N. J., on the 23d of June, 1780, where he ably seconded General Greene in his repulse of Sir Henry Clinton in the battle fought at that place. July 4, 1780, occurred the famous Cadwalader-Conway duel. General Dickinson acted as second to General Cadwalader, and Col. George Morgan of Pennsylvania to General Conway.\* General Dickinson was acting Quartermaster-General of the Middle Department, from August 10th to October 1st, 1780, as appears by a letter written by him to the Board of War of Pennsylvania. In January, 1781, a mutiny occurred among the New Jersey troops stationed at Pompton, under General Heard. It was quietly suppressed, however, and by General Dickinson's orders, six of the mutineers were hung. General Dickinson resigned his commission as Major-General in October, 1781.

In November, 1781, the Legislature created a Loan Office, and Governor Livingston nominated as the first commissioners, Philemon Dickinson and David Breasley. Each were empowered to sign Bills of Credit to the amount of £15,000 (\$75,000). General Dickinson held this office until November, 1782, when he was sent to the Continental Congress as a delegate from Delaware (he was a property owner in that State, and hence, although not a resident, was eligible to represent it.) The first session of the Ninth Continental Congress was held in Philadelphia, June 30, 1783; the second session was opened at Princeton, in the Classic Halls of old Nassau. Congress attended the commencement exercises of that year, in a body. On the 26th of August, George Washington appeared before Congress to receive, through them, the thanks of his countrymen for his great and manifold services.

General Dickinson, while in Congress, was chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs. Upon the expiration of his term in Congress, Hunterdon county sent him to the New Jersey State Council, of which

body he was elected Vice President, in October, 1783, and reelected to that office in October, 1784. He was chairman of the Joint Committees on Printing, Education and the Militia. He introduced a bill for, and was largely instrumental in procuring the passage of the same, chartering the Trenton Academy. It was approved November 10, 1785. October 30, 1784, Philemon Dickinson, Robert Morris and Philip Schuyler, were appointed by Congress, Commissioners to select a site for a National Capital. They reported in favor of Trenton as their first choice, and Philadelphia as their second, but nothing was done until after the adoption of the Constitution, when Philadelphia was selected as the Capital for ten years, and Washington as the permanent Capital.

Upon the formation of the new National Government, General Dickinson became a candidate for the Senate, but was defeated by Attorney-General Paterson. Senator Paterson, however, was elected Governor in October, 1790, vice Livingston deceased, and on the 10th of November, his successor was elected in Joint Assembly at Burlington; the first ballot was as follows: Philemon Dickinson, 19, Abraham Clark, 16, Jonathan Dayton, 14; second ballot, Dickinson, 28, Clark, 19, Dayton, withdrawn and two not voting. Clark was one of the signers and Dayton was subsequently United States Senator. Both were of the ablest and most popular men in the State. General Dickinson remained in the Senate until March 4, 1793, when his term expired, and declining a re-nomination, he retired to private life. He was succeeded in the Senate by Frederick Frelinghuysen.

General Dickinson spent the remaining years of his life in the care of his estates. He owned property in Burlington and Hunterdon counties, New Jersey; Philadelphia city and county; and New Castle and Kent counties, Delaware. He was largely interested in various banks and insurance companies. Upon the organization of the Trenton Banking Company, December 4, 1804, he was elected one of its first directors, in which office he was succeeded by his son Samuel, in February, 1809, and ~~he~~ by his son Philemon, who has been President of the bank from February, 1832, to date, nearly fifty years.

General Dickinson lost his first wife in 1781. He subsequently married her sister Rebecca. The second Mrs. Dickinson was one of the matrons who received Washington on his triumphal march through Trenton, April 13, 1789. Her younger sister, Elizabeth Cadwalader, and her step-daughter Mary Dickinson, were two of the young ladies who strewed flowers in his path.

The Hermitage, General Dickinson's country seat, was a rendezvous for all the leading men of the country who had occasion to pass through Trenton. It has received within its venerable walls as guests of his master, Washington, Adams (John), Jefferson, Livingston, Franklin, Morris (Robert and Gouverneur), Clymer, Witherspoon, Routledge, Pinckney, Middleton, Carroll, Lafayette, Steuben, Rochambeau, Greene, Putnam, Stirling, Wayne, Knox, Lincoln, and two kings, viz. Louis Phillips and Joseph Bonaparte, besides hosts of other celebrities, both civil and military. Its owner's great wealth made the entertainment of his guests a matter of ease and pleasure. General Dickinson, having filled the measure of a useful and honorable life, beloved and esteemed by all, fell asleep on Friday, February 4th, 1809, in the seventieth year of his age, and on Tuesday, February the 8th, all that remained of the patriot, soldier and statesman was laid to rest in the quiet burying ground of the Friends, corner of Hanover and Montgomery streets, Trenton. Here sleeps George Clymer, the signer, Colonel Lambert Cadwalader, member of the Continental and Federal Congresses, and other distinguished members of the Cadwalader, Clymer, Dickinson and Meredith families.

General Dickinson was, in many respects, the equal of his brother, the celebrated John Dickinson, Governor of Delaware and Pennsylvania, member of the Continental Congress, and founder of Dickinson College, Carlisle, Pennsylvania. He was not as great a writer, or debater, but he was of sounder judgment, and more prompt and decided in action; his stand in 1776, on the side of independence, in the Provincial Congress of New Jersey, was far more to his credit, than the position of the Governor, in the Halls of Congress. We do not, for an instant, believe that the latter was actuated by any but the purest and most patriotic motives, but his judgment was certainly at fault, and his position decidedly at variance with his earlier speeches and writings. General Dickinson, on the contrary, displayed the most uniform and consistent conduct throughout the contest, and his faith in the ultimate success of the colonies never, for an instant, wavered. He was a thorough gentleman, and an upright and honorable man. No portrait of General Dickinson exists. He left two children. I. Mary, wife of George Fox, Esq., of Champlost, Philadelphia county; II. Samuel, whose wife was a daughter of Samuel Meredith, 1st Treasurer United States, a memoir of whom appeared in this Magazine, in September, 1879. Samuel Dickinson left, with others, I. Philemon Dickinson, the present venerable President of the Trenton Banking Company and Chairman Board

of Commissioners State Sinking Fund; II. Samuel Dickinson, late Colonel 1st Regiment, Mercer Brigade, New Jersey Militia, and Captain Company E, 10th U. S. Infantry.

## WHARTON DICKINSON

<sup>1</sup>Judge Dickinson's great-grandfather, Walter Dickinson, was a native of Bradley County, of Stafford, England, and came to Virginia and settled at Williamsburgh, about 1651. His son Walter settled near Trappee, Talbot county, Maryland, in 1660. This latter gentleman's son, Walter the third, was father of the Judge. The line of Bradley Dickinsons date from 1525 and were as follows: 1. William; 2. Richard; 3. Symon; 4. Edward; 5. Walter; who, as above stated, came to Virginia about 1651. A pedigree of the Dickinsons of Bradley, will be found in Harleian Manuscript, No. 1,439, folio 26, British Museum, London.

<sup>2</sup>Penn was member of Congress from North Carolina, Stone and Paca from Maryland.

<sup>3</sup>Headley says, General Daniel Morgan, of Princeton, was Conway's second, but this is denied by the latter's family.

## ST. M' MIN POR FAITS

### THOMAS BOLLING ROBERTSON - GOVERNOR OF LOUISIANA

Thomas Bolling Robertson, the second son of William Robertson and Elizabeth Bolling, was born in Virginia during the last quarter of the last century, and received the educational advantage afforded by William and Mary College.

In 1807 he was appointed by President Jefferson Secretary of the new Territory of Louisiana, and when he resided in and became identified with the interests and history of that State. After the admission of Louisiana as a State in 1812, he was elected a representative of the State to the Congress of the United States, and served during two successive terms at a time of extraordinary importance in our political and national history—the year 1812—with considerable distinction and popularity to his constituents, who desired to return him. He felt, however, that his taste for Congressional life, and retired voluntarily at the close of his second term.

While a Member of Congress he visited Europe, and was present at the sitting at which Napoleon took leave of the Department of War for the fatal field of Waterloo. He was in Paris during the Hundred Days, and saw rolled into the city the captured cannon of our victory, followed in triumph by Napoleon, flying from his great defeat, but as calm and self-collected when he appeared before the Convention to abdicate empire, as when he went out flushed with his recent success. Mr. Robertson gave a graphic account of the events related in his letters to his family, written while the events were transpiring, which were published by Carey of Philadelphia, and went through several editions.

Soon after the close of his Congressional term he was elected Governor of Louisiana, and served the constitutional term. He then resumed the practice of law in New Orleans, was appointed Attorney General of the State, and shortly afterwards U. S. District Judge for the District of Louisiana. His health becoming impaired, he sought relief in the scenes of his youth, but died at White Sulphur Springs, where his remains are still lying.

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## ST. MÉMIN PORTRAITS

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In 1807 he was appointed by President Jefferson, Secretary of the new Territory of Louisiana, after which he resided in and became fully identified with the interests and history of that State. After the admission of Louisiana as a State in 1812, he was elected as the first representative of the State in the Congress of the United States, and served during two successive terms, at a time of considerable importance in our political and military history—the period of the war of 1812—with considerable distinction and acceptably to his constituents, who desired to return him. He had, however, imbibed a distaste for Congressional life, and retired voluntarily at the end of his second term.

While a Member of Congress he visited Europe, and was present at the sitting at which Napoleon took leave of the Deputies on his departure for the fatal field of Waterloo. He was in Paris during the Hundred Days, and saw rolled into the city the captured cannon, announcing victory, followed instantly by Napoleon, flying from his great disaster, but as calm and self-collected when he appeared before the same body to abdicate empire, as when he went out flushed with hopes of victory. Mr. Robertson gave a graphic account of the events in Paris, in letters to his family, written while the events were transpiring, which were published by Carey of Philadelphia, and went through several editions.

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3 .





mind, of elevated aims, of simple tastes, a lover of nature, of flowers and plants and versed in their lore, of spotless integrity, of warm affections, combined with great firmness; a nature in which gentleness was so blended with decision of character, that he was as generally beloved as he was universally respected. Among the personal friends who remained steadfast to him through life were Mr. Lowndes, Mr. Clay, Gen. Zachary Taylor and Gen. Scott. His portrait was taken by the famous St. Mémin, and the copper-plate reproduction of it, here given from the original plate, shows his features in the zenith of his fame, in 1809.

A younger brother, John, became Attorney-General of Virginia, represented that State in Congress from 1834 to 1839, was Lieut. Governor of Virginia, and was long a Judge of the Circuit at Richmond. During the peace conferences preceding our late civil war, he was sent by the Governor of Virginia as a commissioner to Governor Pickens of South Carolina, to stay, if possible, the aggressive measures being inaugurated, until after the sitting of the Peace Convention at Washington, to which he was a delegate. He died July 5, 1873, at his residence at Mount Athos, Campbell County, Virginia.

Another brother, Wyndham Robertson, has been a considerable factor in the history and politics of Virginia. In 1830 he was selected as the orator upon the occasion of the great civic display in Richmond in honor of the French Revolution. In 1833 the Legislature elected him to the Council of State. In 1836, having become Lieut. Governor as senior member of the Council, he succeeded Governor Tazewell on his resignation, as Governor for the remainder of the term. He then represented the city of Richmond in the Legislature until 1841, when he removed to the country on account of his health.

Returning to Richmond in 1858, when the troubles which finally resulted in war were at their height, his old constituents again demanded his services, and he was again returned to the Legislature, where he was one of the active opponents of disunion and secession, contributing largely to the defeat of the overtures of South Carolina to Virginia in 1859 to go into a Congress of the Southern States. After the secession of South Carolina, he brought into the Legislature the Anti-coercion resolution, which denied any present cause for secession, but resolved, in case of coercion by the Federal Government, to stand with the seceding States. When this occurred, and Virginia seceded, he followed the course of his State, and voted for all its war measures during the war. He was a member of the Peace Convention held at Phila-

delphia in 1866, but has since the war led a retired life at the Meadows, near Abingdon, Virginia, where he enjoys the hearty respect of all who know him, at the ripe age of eighty.

They are descended from Archibald Robertson, who, with his brother Patrick, came to America soon after, and probably on account of, the Scottish Rebellion of 1715. Patrick settled at New London, Connecticut, and has descendants living in New York, some of whom are prominent in the learned professions.

R. S. ROBERTSON

ARMS OF ROBERTSON

SOUTHERN CAMPAIGN OF  
GENERAL GREENE

1781-2

LETTERS OF MAJOR WILLIAM PIERCE TO  
ST. GEORGE TUCKER

Communicated by Charles Washington  
Coleman, Jr.

I

Head Quarters on the High Hills of  
Santee, July 20th, 1781

My dear Sir

So very uncertain is the passage of letters through North Carolina that I am fearful my last has met with the fate of the first entrusted to the care of the *planet-struck hero*. It was a plain narrative of facts without the tinsel of language or the puff of observation, and calculated entirely for your perusal and the information of a few friends. Both your letters I have been honored with, and feel an obligation for your attention. The last particularly gave me sensible pleasure, not only because it furnished me with a succinct account of matters in Virginia, but because it demonstrates a remembrance of one who feels himself singularly happy in your friendship. If a great sincerity of affection in return can make compensation for your extreme goodness we shall have our accounts settled without the trouble of a law-suit. I thank you for your satire on Lovelace, and when the amorous move shall seize me I will pluck a laurel from the branch of Daphne to ornament the temples of your muse for the performance. But pray tell me, do you bathe in Hippocrene or Helicon?

I must now invite you to our climate, and conduct you through all the hardships, dangers and mutable fortunes of the campaign, from your leaving us at Ramsay's Mill to the settlement of our army on the High Hills of Santee. To begin with our peregrination,—give a free exercise to your imagination, and keep close to our heels. A few days after the discharge of the Virginia militia, the whole army was put in motion for Camden, with views either to draw Lord Cornwallis after us, or dispossess the British of all their interior posts in South Carolina. The principle which governed this manœuvre was the same that actuated Scipio when he led the Carthaginian hero out of Rome to the plains of Zama. The manœuvre was not so successful, as you will presently find; but the advantages were very great and very important. On the 20th of April we arrived before the town of Camden, and on the 25th had an action, which was lost by an unfortunate order from a gentleman in the Maryland line, but the consequences being trifling, we soon collected and again moved towards them. On the 28th we crossed the Wateree, and soon after Lord Rawdon evacuated Camden and retired towards Charles Town. Previous to this move General Marion and Lieut. Colo. Lee had reduced Fort Watson with 70 or 80 prisoners and a quantity of military stores. The enemy at this time held a number of little posts which it was necessary for us to strike at. Sumpter was employed before Orangeburg; Marion and Lee against fort Motte; and the main army directed its course so as to cover our detachments, and to strike as

circumstances might make necessary at fort Granby—the two last standing on the beautiful river called the Congaree. Orangeburg and Motte soon fell and gave us possession of 300 or 400 prisoners. Colo. Lee was then sent on as the advance of the army to demand a surrender of fort Granby. His gallantry and elegant military address frightened the garrison into an immediate surrender. During these operations Lord Rawdon blew up the fortress at Nelson's ferry, and destroyed a great number of military stores. Two posts only were now left to strike at—one in the district of 96, the other at Augusta in the state of Georgia. The former was made the object of the main army, the latter was committed to the management of General Pickens and Colo. Lee, who obliged the garrison to surrender after a siege of twelve or fourteen days. On the 22d of May we paraded before the walls of 96, and on the 23d opened our trenches, continuing with little intermission to carry on our approaches until the 18th of June, when, receiving certain intelligence of Lord Rawdon's approach—who had been reenforced with a large detachment of 2000 men from Ireland—we were induced to make a push, and by a *coup de main* to carry one redoubt on the west side of the town, and endeavor by a partial effort on the east to fix a lodgement on their principal work as a prelude to a general storm. Lee, who had joined us about 6 or 8 days before, commanded the attack on the right and succeeded. The British fled at his approach, and gave him possession of the work. Campbell commanded the covering parties on the

left, and was to strike the decisive blow in case the lodgement should be made. Two forlorn hopes were chosen to effect it—one headed by Lieut. Duval of Maryland, the other by Lieut. Seldon of Virginia, two elegant and gallant young gentlemen, who waded through a shower of musket balls and took possession of the enemy's ditch, but before they could pull down any of the parapet to make a secure lodgement they both got wounded and were forced to abandon the attempt. The wound of the former was slight, but that of the latter occasioned the amputation of his right arm. He bore the operation with great firmness, and though mutilated feels himself happy that he did his duty. There is a secret and sensible pleasure communicated to the feelings of a soldier when rewarded with the approbation of his general, that lifts him above his misfortunes and never fails to make him happy even in moments of the greatest difficulty. In this unsuccessful attempt we lost 40 men killed and wounded; no more, upon my honor, notwithstanding the pompous and ridiculous puff the enemy made in the Charles Town paper. There is a certain triflingness in the composition of a British officer that only can be accounted for by their extreme ignorance and uncommon share of foppery, and which discovers itself through the medium of all their publications and through the channel of every private letter to their friends. I must beg pardon for this digression, for I was insensibly led into it from reading some of their late publications, and which, by the bye, are as eminently false as any paragraph ever read in the Brus-

sels Gazette or London Evening Post. The General finding that if he attempted to push his operations farther against 96, that altho' success would be certain, yet the expence of blood would have been so great as to have prevented his operating to more advantage in the field during the course of the campaign, he, therefore, declined the attempt for the solid purposes of rescuing the states of South Carolina and Georgia from the fetters of tyranny, and retired with the army over the Saluda River and took up his camp about 10 miles from 96. But we never raised siege until his lordship got within fifteen miles of us. We were pursued to the Enoree River. The British never could get the better of us in a single instance. Finding they were baffled, and that all hopes of bringing us to action were over, they returned to 96, divided their force, and moved to different points at the same time. Lord Rawdon marched for the Congaree and Colo. Cruger for Long Cane settlement. The object of the former was to establish a post on the Congaree, and that of the latter to destroy by plunder and fire all the means of subsistence left for the virtuous inhabitants of that settlement. In consequence of this manœuvre General Greene moved with the army towards the Congaree and obliged his lordship to retire to Orangeburg without effecting his purpose. At the same time our light dragoons and a party of mounted infantry moved down the country to intercept Colo. Stewart, who was on his march with 400 British troops from Dorchester to join the army at Orangeburg, but in this we failed and a junction was formed without the loss of a man. The next step necessary to be taken was to form a junction of all our forces and attack his Lordship at Orangeburg. General Sumpter and Marion were ordered with the two regiments of cavalry to join us without loss of time; which being effected, we moved down and took a position within three miles of the town. Every preparation was made for the attack, but on reconnoitering the place we found the British so advantageously posted that it was impossible to get at them with any hopes of success. The town stands on the north branch of the Edisto upon a lofty eminence, with a bridge across the river, over which they could pass and possess a narrow neck of country in safety in case of a disaster, and at any time defend the bridge from any attack from us by a large brick prison strongly fortified within the town of Orangeburg, and placed within four hundred yards of the head of the bridge. His lordship had taken a position here to wait the arrival of Colo. Cruger, who had by this time returned from his plundering expedition, evacuated 96, and was on his march to join him. From the peculiar situation of the country through which Cruger passed, it was impossible to get at him, so that we were obliged to challenge Mr. Rawdon and endeavor to make him move out and fight us. But he refused it, and we were under the necessity of changing our plan of operation, and prepared to strike at the posts the enemy occupied below. Sumpter was ordered down to Monk's Corner, and Marion sent to Dorchester — one within 30 miles of Charles Town and the other little up-

wards of twenty—whilst Lieut. Colo. Lee, with his Legion, was to parade at the very gates of Charles Town, and cut off their supplies and convoys. The main army at the same time filed off, crossed the two rivers, Congaree and Wateree, and encamped on the High Hills of Santee on the 16th instant to refresh and get ready for future operations. The great object of the move into the lower country is to draw the enemy down to the seaboard and prevent their establishing posts in the upper country. The manœuvre will most undoubtedly produce this consequence, or else they will lose all their troops at Monk's Corner and Dorchester, and hazard even the loss of Charles Town itself.

If we take a retrospective view of things, look at the variety of circumstances and consult the consequences of our operations during the campaign, it must be acknowledged that this army has done as much as ever was done by any body of men in any country or in any age. We began in January with the destruction of Tarleton, and continued fighting them in general action and skirmishes until the present moment, harrassing the enemy upon every occasion, and never letting an opportunity slip where we could possibly strike them to advantage. Their loss is generally acknowledged to be (including Tarleton's defeat, the battle of Guilford, and the battle before Camden) at least 4000 men. Ours has been considerable, but it fell chiefly on the militia. The difficulties we have gone through are almost incredible, for—except the time we lay before 96—we have been

constantly marching; and, upon the most moderate calculation, have travelled over 1500 or 2000 miles of this southern country.

Such scenes of desolation, bloodshed and deliberate murder I never was a witness to before! Wherever you turn the weeping widow and fatherless child pour out their melancholy tales to wound the feelings of humanity. The two opposite principles of whiggism and toryism have set the people of this country to cutting each other's throats, and scarce a day passes but some poor deluded tory is put to death at his door. For the want of civil government the bands of society are totally disunited, and the people, by copying the manners of the British, have become perfectly savage. This I hope will prove a lesson to Virginia, and teach her to guard against the consequences of British influence.

I should be ungenerous to pass over in silence the obligations we are under to the ladies of South Carolina, and particularly those of Charles Town, who have upon so many occasions given such distinguishing marks of patriotism and firmness. They take every occasion to testify their attachment to our cause, and express their good wishes for our success. When the union rose was established in honor of our alliance with France, the ladies' shoes were ornamented with them as a compliment to the American officers; and they wore them publicly through the streets of Charlestown, until an impertinent puppy of a British officer ordered a negro fellow to kiss one of them as she was innocently walking out one morning. When

General Greene arrived, they substituted green ribbons, which still continues to be the fashion. They have uniformly discovered their disgust to the British, and would never visit an assembly or concert given by them during the course of the last winter. When Mr. Balfour—the commandant of Charles Town—sent upwards of one hundred of the virtuous inhabitants on board the prison ship as victims of retaliation for the enormities (as he is pleased to express it) committed on the tories by our militia, the ladies accompanied them in a grand procession down to the wharf, took an affectionate leave of them, and bid them make the generous sacrifice with all that becoming dignity which is peculiar to the sentiments of the Whigs.

Having now written you a longer letter by a sheet and a half than ever I did to any body before, I think I may venture to conclude without incurring your displeasure. I must beg you to make my compliments acceptable to your lady, and assure General Lawson and Colo. Randolph of my esteem. The General [Greene] often mentions you in terms of warm friendship, and desires you to accept his compliments in a very particular manner. All the [military] family with Carrington and Williams join and send you a present of their good wishes. Fight on, my dear Colonel; keep up the *gaieté de cœur*, pluck laurels, and deserve the favors of your wife.

I am, my dear sir,  
your most obt. and very  
humble servant,

WM. PRICE, Jr.

P. S.—Captain Eggleston of the Legion a few days ago charged a body of

British cavalry and took 1 Captain, 1 Lieut., 1 Cornet, and 45 privates with their horses and accoutrements complete.

Colonel Dart begs you to accept his respects and pay his compliments to your lady and Mrs. Harleston. As the widow is a South Carolinian, I love her altho' I never saw her.

It is reported here that Colonel Innis was seized with an *apoplectic fit* just as he was answering one of my letters, and that he died a few days after the stroke in a state of *repentance*. Let his departed soul be kept in *spirits* by the sound of his monumental inscription—"Alas, poor *Bacchus*!"

## II

Headquarters High Hills of Santee

July 23d, 1781

My dear Sir

I wrote you a long letter a few days ago, and—unless it has met with some misfortune—must be in your possession before you can possibly get this. Since the date of that letter, fresh matter has turned up to make this necessary. I mentioned to you that Sumpter, Marion, and Lee had gone below to strike at Dorchester, Monk's Corner, &c. &c. &c. The garrison at Monk's Corner fled but were pursued and left a number of men with all their baggage, about 200 horses, and four or five wagons. Several prisoners were taken at the Quarter House, near Charles Town; and a stroke would have been made at Dorchester, but Lord Rawdon moved down from Orangeburg with 1,000 men, and prevented the blow. The number of prisoners taken in the expedition amounts to about 150, including



seven commissioned officers. The Legion upon this occasion, as upon every other, behaved with great gallantry. The militia also did their duty with honor.

We are gathering a respectable force together, and perhaps before many weeks shall pass away, we shall again be struggling in some bloody conflict. Mischief is a-brewing by the General, who keeps us in constant hot water, and never fails to make us fight.

[NOTE.—The remainder of this letter has been lost]

### III

Camden, South Carolina,

August 26th, 1781

Dear Sir

On the receipt of this letter you must do me the justice to say that I am a faithful correspondent. Ere this, *all* my letters must have reached you; and if so you stand indebted to me for two very long ones.

Our army—after having taken a resting spell on the High Hills of Santee and in some measure recruited of its fatigues—marched up to this place yesterday, and is now crossing the ferry here in order to approach the enemy on the Congaree River. Mischief is again on foot. Something must happen ere long, but I dare not hope for complete success yet awhile. If we recover South Carolina and Georgia, we shall be satisfied. Everything goes on well, and I hope will not be interrupted by any ill-timed accident.

Skirmishes happen frequently, but no stroke of any consequence has been made since Sumpter's affair at Shoebricks.

The enemy have, in open violation of all the laws of humanity and justice, hanged a Colonel Haynes of our militia at Charles Town, a gentleman of a polite and finished character, with a large and extensive fortune. For this very extraordinary piece of conduct General Greene is determined to enforce the *lex talionis* upon some British officer.

I beg you make my respects to your lady, to Colo. Randolph, and to all the gentlemen who may do me the honor to enquire after me.

I am, Sir, &c., &c.

### IV

Philadelphia, Oct. 20, 1781

Sir

Permit me to introduce to your acquaintance and civilities, Mr. Crouch, a gentleman who is on his way to South Carolina. He merits all that can be said of a good character.

I have delivered my dispatches [concerning the battle of Eutaw Springs] to Congress, and am happy to find that our bloody efforts meet with their approbation. The British fleet has sailed from New York, and ere this letter can reach you will, no doubt, be on the borders of Virginia.

My respects attend your lady, and believe me to be most sincerely your friend, &c., &c.

### V

December 28th, 1781

Hon'ble Sir

I consider it as a capital misfortune that I could not have had the honor of seeing you before I left Virginia; but as disappointments are incident to man, I must bear it as one.

I congratulate you on your late advancement, and should be happy to know by the first opportunity how many grades there are between a Lieutenant Colonel and a Privy Councillor.

I have the honor to be with the most h'ble submission, and with all due deference and respect.

Your most obedient and most humble servant, &c., &c.

(*Superscription*)

The Hon'ble St. George Tucker, Esqr.  
Lieut. Colonel, and Member  
of the Privy Council,  
&c. &c. &c.  
Virginia

#### VI

[*Colonel Tucker's Reply*].

Respected friend

Thy letter entrusted to the care of thine and my friend Beverley Randolph was delivered unto me this day. The vain superscription thereon did but too well correspond with the writing which became visible when the folds of the paper were opened. Verily, my friend, I fear that thou hast conceived that I have drank of the fountain of vanity, and that my inward man is puffed up with the waters thereof, as the inconsiderate children of the world are puffed up with drinking of the juice of the grape or of that reed which produces the sugar.

Frances, the wife of my bosom, had told me that thou hadst visited our dwelling whilst I was journeying towards the east. Verily I was sore troubled that I was not at home when thou didst call; for I desired exceedingly to have communed with thee concerning many

things. Much did I wish to see how that sword became thy thigh wherewith thou wert succinct by the rulers of the people. If thy future deeds shall merit equally of thy country thou mayst hope in due time to arrive at a seat in her private councils, seeing that thou art at this time in a probationary state by being admitted to participate of the private consultations of the rulers of the armies.

That thou mayst fulfill this partial hope untainted with the vanities which contaminate the minds of youth is the sincere wish of thy friend in all good works.

(*Superscription*)

to

william price, the younger,  
in the family of the ruler of  
the southern army of america.

#### VII

Head Quarters, Ponpon, South  
Carolina, Feby. 6th, 1782

Dear Sir

Your Quaker epistle of the 30th of December was delivered to me a few days ago by your brother, Dr. [Thomas Tudor] Tucker. It groaned exceedingly under the weight of the spirit, and had you not dated it at your ordinary dwelling place I should have sworn that you had written it in a religious fit at some Quaker meeting house, or at the council board upon Shockho Hill, at Richmond. But, be that as it may, I sincerely congratulate you on the discovery of your admirable talents for the character of Simon Pure. God grant that you may be happy under the influence of the spirit, and that all your days

may roll away in pleasantness and peace.

Yes, sir, I was at Bizarre, and had the happiness to see Mrs. Tucker. It would have been an additional pleasure to me to have seen her much respected lord at home, and to have chatted with him about the roaring of cannon and bursting of shells at York. What a scene for a poet! I can easily conceive the delight of your spirits upon that occasion, and the infinite deal of pleasure which your poetic genius must have enjoyed. Every cannon ball no doubt was accompanied with a flight of figurative ideas, and the bursting of every shell served but to expand and scatter the sparks of an elevated fancy. I could wish to see some of your pieces since the siege. I am told that you have undertaken to equip and ornament the Goddess of Liberty in an American dress, disdaining with a becoming pride the fashions of Versailles, Madrid, and London. I doubt not your success, for it is universally acknowledged that you are a man of taste. But, by the way of digression, for I hate to dwell long on trifles, have you finished your chapter on noses, and calculated with a mathematical exactness the weight and velocity of that piece of shell which so wounded and hurt the extremity of yours on the 15th of October, 1781? Will you have occasion to repair to the promontory shortly? As these two interrogatories are interesting to me, I beg you will answer them categorically. Think not that it is idle curiosity in me; be assured I esteem my friend too much not to wish his welfare.

And now, sir, to be serious, I will talk to you about the state of things in this

country. I arrived at Headquarters on the 17th ultimo, and found our army situated in a fine, rich country, on the banks of Ponpon. Our advanced posts and patrolling parties covered the whole country between this and the Quarter House. The enemy were locked up in Charles Town. Except the capture of some few dragoons on both sides, nothing of any consequence has turned up since the opening of the New Year. Wayne has gone into Georgia, and by late information from that quarter he has confined the enemy to Savannah; so that unless they get strongly reinforced (which, by the bye, I expect will happen in a very little time), they will only have an opportunity of peeping at us through the key holes. The people of both these Southern States have passed through a variety of changes and a choice of difficulties and misfortunes. The human mind, perhaps, owing to the fluctuating state of politics for the last two years, has undergone the most strange and surprising revolutions that ever were known in any age or country. Interest, which is the prevailing passion with all mankind, has, by the nature of the war, appeared in so many different shapes, and such has been the various modes of pursuit, that the principles of men get warped in searching after a circumspect mode of conduct to avoid the censure of the contending parties. Some characters, indeed, withstood the storms unshaken, and sacrificed to the shrines of liberty and public honor their domestic ease and fortunes in the most magnanimous manner. Others, on the other hand, have been uniform in their opposition, and have favored the British

measures through all the mutations of fortune. Such men appear to have a fixed principle for the governing rule of their conduct, and, although they stand confessed my enemies, yet I cannot help admiring and esteeming them. But I have the pleasure now to inform you that the people throughout the whole country appear to be our friends. They seem disposed to adopt any measures that may be thought well calculated for the public good. The Assembly of the State is now sitting at Jacksonborough, a little town within 30 miles of Charles Town. They are determined to exert every nerve to bring a regular force into the field, and search out all the means in their power to put their Continental line once more upon a respectable footing. An attempt was made by Colo. Laurens to pass a law for the raising of a negro corps, but it would not go down. The fears of the people started an alarm, and the force of interest annihilated the scheme.

But during the exertions of all the States both to the southward and the northward of you, pray what is Virginia about? My dear friend, she is so reproached by everybody that it is almost dishonorable to be a Virginian. Scarce a day passes but I have my feelings hurt, yet dare not say a word because I can find no excuse for her neglect. And yet she will tell you that she has done more than any other State; that she has exhausted her treasury, and spilt more lavishly the blood of her countrymen. Yes, Virginia has bled, it is true; her troops have fought with honor, and she had once a reputation that was envied and admired by all the continent, but

time or something else has extinguished the fire of her military ardor, and all her former greatness has sunk into disgrace. Nothing can recover her from contempt but some bold and determined plan to establish her Continental line once more, for since the fall of Charles Town she has never had anything but detachments of eighteen months men in the field to keep the name of Virginia alive. Her officers have been loitering at home distressed in their circumstances, and quite ashamed of their situation for want of command. At this moment the Virginia troops in camp do not amount to more than sixty; and what has become of the party that was to march from Cumberland Court House heaven knows, for we do not. This is, in fact, the true picture of her situation without the aid of coloring or the force of exaggeration. Weep over it if you love your country, and use all your influence to mend and reform her manners.

Never was I more agreeably disappointed in any country as I have been in South Carolina. Indeed, I never saw anything to equal the fertility of it. Everything grows in the most luxuriant manner, and the rice swamps afford the finest soil in the world for the culture of *laurels*. And what adds to the beauty of the country, everybody lives well, the ladies are gay, and the gentlemen merry. Hospitality stands porter at every door and conducts you with an officious welcome to the board of plenty. I love the people most heartily. They possess a liberality of thinking that pleases me much; no religious prejudices, nor ill-grounded pride, disturb the repose of

society. They possess a dignity in their manner that is striking; but it is so softened with affability and freedom that you feel no restraint from their consequence or great riches. To their other good qualities they add the great virtue of gratitude. The Legislature of South Carolina have with an unanimous voice voted General Greene 10,000 guineas to be laid out as he may please in land and negroes. Is not that a very dignified present? A people so disposed will always meet with faithful services. Here will I hold.

For this long letter you must repay me with the news of Virginia and furnish me with Hayes' newspaper. I must entreat you, too, to send me a copy of your poem on liberty; and when you have time, that you will wait on Mrs. Tucker with my most respectful compliments, and tell Miss Hall and Miss Rind that I am their most obedient servant. The General, who really loves you, wishes you health and happiness.

I am, dear sir, &c.

### VIII

Head Quarters, So. Carolina, near  
Dorchester, April 6th, 1782

My dear sir

I mean this as an apology for the absurd, disconnected scrawl by Col. Williams. It was written after dinner when the Madeira began to operate, and when I was scarcely able to think methodically. Added to this, Williams and others were dealing out such a torrent of wit that I was nearly overwhelmed. This is my excuse, and if you will forgive me I will promise never to write to you such another letter.

I am indebted to you many thanks for your last letter by Major Burnett; but I wish you had given me more news and less of politics. I will not join you in the abuse of our public measures. I find the more the military complain, the more opposed are the civil to their interest. I will suppose that they will do the best they can for the general good. The Assembly are to meet immediately, and I dare say they will be impressed with the necessity of doing something for the recovery of their reputation. I wish they would take it into their heads to give each of General Greene's aids a good riding horse, at the same time that they present the General with a couple.

Virginia, I hear, is full of reports. One day we are beaten, the next, we are conquerors, and sometimes Charles Town is in our possession. Believe none of them, my dear sir, for they are all false. We have just taken a position at Bacon's Bridge, upon Ashley River, within two miles of Dorchester and a little upwards of twenty from Charles Town. This is meant as a challenge, and if I am not mistaken will shortly produce a fight. We have it reported with marks of authenticity that the enemy are making preparations for the field. But I think their efforts will be too feeble to ensure them any advantage from a general action; therefore, such an event is much to be wished for on our part. We have the best troops in the world to fight them with, and the whole army put such implicit confidence in General Greene that we shall struggle with great obstinacy to obtain a victory should they see fit to hazard a battle.

In the time between the date and the reception of this letter the die will probably be cast, and the fate of many a poor soldier be determined. Pray for us.

The loyalists in Charles Town and upon the islands within its vicinity are very much dissatisfied with their situation. They complain bitterly of their ill-usage, and desert every day to the American standard. The confiscation law and the act of amercement passed by the Assembly of this State have put the tories into a state of insanity, and all they want is the gibbet and halter to put an end to their existence. General Leslie has turned advocate for them, and reasons, in a letter to General Greene, on the injustice and impolicy of the law, with all the pomp and *ingenuity of a county court lawyer*. Indeed, the composition savors a good deal of the style of an academical exercise. The answer which the General returned to it was, in my opinion, proper. He informed His Excellency that he had no control over the civil power, and, therefore, could give no serious answer to it, but referred him to the executive of the State to have the matter properly inquired into and adjusted.

On Sunday last a large fleet with some broken corps, a number of women, and about 150 officers, sailed for New York. At the same time a fleet of empty transports sailed for Europe.

In a little excursion which the enemy made a few days ago over Cooper River, they captured Judge Pendleton and Mayor Hym. The former was going the circuit and the latter to George Town on public business.

Every part of Georgia is still in our possession except Savannah. The Indians who favored the British interest are very much dissatisfied with their friends, the Tories. Some have been put to death by them. Upwards of 300 of the Creeks who were on their way to Savannah—finding themselves deceived have returned home disgusted and exasperated to the last degree.

Mrs. Greene arrived at camp about a week ago, after having experienced nearly as many difficulties as the famous Lady Ackland, who accompanied her husband in Burgoyne's northern expedition in the campaign of '77. She is, however, recovered of her fatigue, and assumes an uncommon air of cheerfulness. Your civilities and Mrs. Tucker's extreme politeness are spoken of with great gratitude.

Morris and Pendleton join me in their most respectful compliments to your lady, Miss Hall, and Miss Rind. Tell Colo. Randolph that I have the greatest friendship for him and shall write to him in two or three days.

I am, dear sir, &c.

## IX

Head Quarters, South Carolina

May 19th, 1782

My dear Friend

I wrote to you not long since, and as I do not mean to be ceremonious, I shall embrace this opportunity of writing to you again.

We have lately offered the enemy action, but they would not fight us. General Greene, at the head of the light infantry and all the cavalry of the army, went down to their lines, paraded in

front of their works, and dined at Acabau without an insult.

The 19th and 30th regiments, consisting of about 1,000 men, were lately detached for Jamaica under the command of Brigadier General O'Hara.

By a hand bill just sent out of Charles Town, we are informed of the defeat of Count de Grasse in the West Indies. The action happened on the 12th ultimo, between the islands of Dominica and Guadaloupe. It was a bloody and obstinate conflict, and terminated with the loss of the Ville de Paris—in which Count de Grasse—and five other ships of the line, one of which was sunk. Admiral Rodney had 39 sail and Count de Grasse only 33. He had not formed a junction with the Spanish fleet. Both fleets are much damaged, and from the nature of the battle, it is one of the greatest that perhaps ever was fought. The celebrated action between Hawke and Conflans off Ushant in '59, seems to be nothing to it. By Rodney's letter we learn that it lasted from seven o'clock in the morning to half-past six in the afternoon without a moment's intermission. I hope the victory will rather prove splendid than advantageous.

Adieu! make my respects to your lady and family, and believe me to be sincerely  
Your friend, &c. &c.

P. S. Will you send me the paper with my letter respecting Colos. L. & W. [Lee & Washington].

# X

Headquarters, Ashley Hill

So. Carolina, July 10th, 1782

My dear sir

Every proof that I have of your

friendship is like so many draughts of pleasure to my feelings. I thank you for your letter by General Moultrie. It gives me not a little satisfaction to find that your volatile powers are still awake. It is well for you that the scorching days of Phoebus are not as severe in Virginia as they are in South Carolina, or you would, as I do, feel too languid and indifferent to be gay. For my part I am burning at this moment. The mercury is up at 102, and I am sure more Promethean heat can be extracted from my body than would warm the constitution of an hundred Laplanders.

I join you most heartily in your address to heaven, and as I cannot help figuring to myself the appearance of your *sacerdotal fix*, I feel even at this moment the enthusiasm of religion. The office of chaplain is at your service; the General desires me to inform you so. The birth of the Dauphin is to be celebrated, and you are to have the management of the *Te Deum*. By way of farce to the entertainment Shakespear's celebrated comedy of "*Much ado about Nothing*" is to be performed by the officers of the army.

We have been amused with a variety of reports lately respecting the evacuation of Savannah; but, depend upon it, as yet no such event has happened. Preparations are now making which indicate something of the sort; but there is so much finesse and cunning practiced in a military life that it is difficult to determine conclusively upon any circumstance.

General Wayne has lately had a successful skirmish with a party of Creek Indians near Savannah. Some few were

killed and wounded on both sides. General Wayne has conducted himself since he has had the command in Georgia with great propriety; the people of that country seem very much pleased with him.

The sanguine part of our army think Charles Town will be evacuated very shortly; but I confess I can see no reason to indulge the opinion. The British seem well satisfied with their situation, but they do not appear as if they wished to risque anything. Our army has taken a position within 15 miles of the town and as yet continue very healthy.

For a detail of *minutia*, I take leave to refer you to Captain Carnes, who will do me the honor of delivering this letter. He is a gentleman well informed, an agreeable companion and an elegant soldier. Take him by the hand, embrace him as a friend, and cherish him as a valuable acquaintance.

The General, Mrs. Greene, and the family join me in compliments to Mrs. Tucker, yourself and family. I am, sir, with great esteem, &c.

## XI

Head Quarters, South Carolina

July 14th, 1782

My dear sir

An official dispatch has just arrived, announcing General Wayne to be in the town of Savannah. The enemy evacuated it on the 11th, and are now on their way to Charles Town.

This is a fortunate event for the distressed State of Georgia, and of great political consequence to the United States.

Colo. Balfour, commandant of Charles

Town, has been tried by a Court Martial for supplying the American army with clothing and military accoutrements; but he was acquitted with honor. Poor fellow; I expect fate has fixed him the object of retaliation for the unfortunate Colo. Haynes.

Yours in haste, in business and confusion.

July 16th, 1782

## XII

Dear sir

I have enclosed for your amusement a poem written by Captain Barry of the British army. I have not a comment to make. Read it and present it to Mrs. Tucker. Yours sincerely, &c.

## XIII

Head Quarters, South Carolina

Nov. 14th, 1782

My dear sir

Between two inclinations I am most delicately embarrassed. On one hand a very sincere friendship urges me to write; on the other, a pride—which, I believe, belongs to me as a Virginian—persuades me to be silent. Like Garrick between Thalia and Melpomene, I am at a loss to which I should yield. Nothing could place me in this situation, sir, but the neglect which you have shown to my three last letters. They must either have miscarried, or you are so immersed in business that you cannot take time to answer them. I will suppose the former, and once more endeavor to draw your attention to the burning regions of So. Carolina.

Our camp is still on Ashley Hill, on the south side of the river, and within fifteen miles of Charles Town. The



enemy still keeps possession of the town, but are now making every preparation to abandon this country altogether, and I believe will evacuate the town by the first of next month. Our hopes and expectations are raised to the highest pitch. Bacchus will be highly honored, and every man seems already as nimble-footed as if he intended to dance off the campaign at his heels. The *surge* has no longer any influence over his animal powers, but all is life, gaiety and spirits. Suicide is advocated with great warmth; but every man seems too happy with his existence to sanctify the principle with the sacrifice of his life.

Just this moment I am honored with your letter by Mr. Osborne. I thank you very sincerely, as I feel a new flow of spirits in consequence of it. Your criticism on Barry's poem, I dare say, is just; but as I know very little of metrical composition, I shall not tell you what my private observations were. Barry is one of those kind of characters who acts contrary in every instance to common sense, and would fain make the world believe by attempting *great things* he is a *great man*. But nature, who denies him the bounty of genius, is seen slumbering through all his performances; and the goddess, as if she were ashamed of herself, often seeks retirement behind the curtain of obscurity.

The General and Mrs. Greene desire their respects to Mrs. Tucker and yourself. Pendleton, Carrington, and Burnet join me in compliments to yourself and family.

I am, dear sir, &c.

P. S. I will write to you more fully when we get to Charles Town

## XIV

Head Quarters, South Carolina

December 15th, 1782

My dear sir

The enemy have at length evacuated Charles Town, and our army is now in possession of it. The event, so long expected has completed the honors of the southern army.

If we look back to that period when General Greene first took the command in this department, and compare the low condition of the American army with the powerful superiority of the British, we shall be surprised at the rapidity of our success.

In December, '80, when the General joined the army at Pedee, he had only 12,000 men, including hospital patients, convalescents, and detachments. The enemy, according to the Parliamentary Register, had (including their several garrisons) upwards of 15,000 disciplined troops, with an able and active general at their head.

The operations commenced in January with great and unexpected success on our side. Morgan, with an handful of men, defeated Tarleton near the Pa-colet. This gave spirits to our army and a spring to the hopes of the people in North Carolina, which Lord Cornwallis observing, wisely pushed forward with great fury, obliged us to retire, and by throwing the whole country into one general alarm totally effaced the consequences of the victory. General Greene collected a body of militia on his retreat, and with a force that was constantly fluctuating between the numbers of two and four thousand gave his lordship battle at Guilford Court house. We

lost the field, but we gained the advantages of a victory. In a few days the enemy retreated and we pursued them to Deep river, from whence they filed off towards Wilmington, and we pushed forward into South Carolina. On the 12th of April, we arrived before Camden; on the 15th the enemy sallied and gave us battle at Hobkirk Hill, defeated us, and obliged us to retreat. But we soon recovered, pressed down again, and compelled them to evacuate their works. Fort Watson, Fort Motte, Fort Granby, Orangeburg and Augusta, with all their garrisons, fell one after the other. They blew up their works at Nelson's Ferry, abandoned Dorchester, left Ninety-six after a severe siege of twenty-one days, in which a most enormous quantity of blood was spilt; and on the 8th of September we fought them at the Eutaw Springs in a general action, and gained a glorious victory. We next compelled them to quit Stono, to evacuate Savannah, and yesterday to give up Charles Town, by which General Greene has ended a glorious and honorable command in the southern world.

The Carolinians, so long oppressed, are now likely to enjoy the blessings of peace and tranquility. One universal joy seems to reign through the whole country. The fetters of tyranny are taken off, and the goddess of liberty seems to be the companion of every one. I feel myself exceedingly interested in the happiness of these people. They are hospitable, generous and polite.

I beg you, sir, to make my respects to your lady and family, and believe me to be with sincere esteem, your most obedient.

WM. PIERCE, Jr.

## THE ALLIES BEFORE YORKTOWN NEWS FROM THE FRONT

From the Journals of the Time

(Continued from Appendix to the Allies at Yorktown, January (Yorktown) Number, 1881, VI. 44)

### XXXII

*New York, Sept. 5th*—By accounts from the Chesapeake, dated the 31st ult., the arrival of a French fleet of squadrons consisting of 23 sail, including frigates and inferior vessels, were arrived at Lyn-Haven bay, in Virginia, from whence a 64 and two frigates were despatched up York river and had taken a station off Yorktown. Every preparation was making by our noble general to defend the important posts his lordship there possesses, and as a very formidable and truly well appointed squadron of the British line, commanded by Admiral Graves, is, through much exertion, supposed to be now in the vicinity of our combined enemies, we may conclude the present to be the most interesting and critical era since the commencement of the American rebellion; for an expected action at sea is likely to become decisive of the inadmissible idol, independence. We have, at present, the satisfaction to perceive a great part of the French navy in a more peculiar, and perhaps a more dangerous position than they were ever yet reduced to. Granting that the French West India and Rhode Island fleets should have both reached the Chesapeake before Admiral Graves, we trust the following state, as accurate as we can present it, of the British navy when arrived in the bay, may inspire every true Briton with a firm confidence in its fair pretensions to brilliant success:

#### LIST OF THE BRITISH FLEET, COMMANDED BY THOMAS GRAVES, ESQ., REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE RED

|                |    |                                     |
|----------------|----|-------------------------------------|
| London.....    | 98 | ....R. Ad. Graves; Capt. D. Graves. |
| Barfleur.....  | 90 | ....R. Ad. Hood; Capt. Hood.        |
| Princessa..... | 70 | ....R. Ad. Drake; Capt. Knatchbull. |
| Bedford.....   | 74 | ....Capt. Thomas Graves.            |
| Royal Oak..... | 74 | ....Ardesoif.                       |
| Invincible.... | 74 | ....Saxton.                         |
| Alcide.....    | 74 | ....Thomson.                        |
| Alfred.....    | 74 | ....Bayne.                          |
| Ajax.....      | 74 | ....Charrington                     |

|   |             |                      |
|---|-------------|----------------------|
| Resolution....                                | 74 ...      | Lord Robert Manners. |
| Centaur.....                                  | 74 ....     | Inglesfield.         |
| Montague.....                                 | 74 ....     | Bowen.               |
| Terrible.....                                 | 74 ....Hon. | Capt. Finch.         |
| Shrewsbury....                                | 74 ....     | M. Robinson.         |
| Monarch.....                                  | 74 ....     | Reynolds.            |
| Europe.....                                   | 64 ...      | Child.               |
| America.....                                  | 64 ....     | Thomson              |
| Belliqueux....                                | 64 ....     | Briac.               |
| Intrepid.....                                 | 64 ...      | Molloy.              |
| Adamant.....                                  | 50 ....     | Johnston.            |
| Chatham.....                                  | 50 ....     | Douglass.            |
| Assurance.....                                | 44 ...      | Swinney.             |
| La Nymphe, }<br>18 pound on<br>one deck... }  | 44 ....     | Ford.                |
| La Fortunee }<br>12 pound on<br>one deck... } | 44 ...      | Christian.           |
| Richmond....                                  | 32 ....     | Hudson.              |
| Orpheus.....                                  | 32 ...      | Colpoys.             |
| Iris.....                                     | 32 ....     | Dawson.              |
| Sybil.....                                    | 28 ...      | Rodney.              |
| Pegasus.....                                  | 28 ....     | Stanhope.            |
| Carysfoot....                                 | 28 ....     | Peacock.             |
| Solebay.....                                  | 28 ...      | Everett.             |
| Medea.....                                    | 28 ....     | Duncan.              |
| Amphitrite...                                 | 28 ....     | Biggs.               |
| Salamander, }<br>fire-ship... }               | 8 ...       | Rowater              |
| Jane, sloop....                               | ....        | Knight.              |

All the above line-of-battle ships, except the Europe, are coppered.—*The Maryland Gazette*, Thursday, Sept. 20th, 1781.

## XXXIII

*Annapolis, Thursday, Sept. 20, 1781—Extract of a Letter from Virginia, dated York, August 31st.* "I now inform you that we are blocked up by a French fleet of 23 sail; one 64 and 3 frigates lay in sight of us. We are making all the preparations we can to give them a warm reception."

Yesterday came up two victuallers, part of the fleet committed to the protection of his majesty's frigate Pegasus, and dispatched by Rear-Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, to New York. The Pegasus and her convoy, on the passage, fell in with a French squadron of 8 line-of-battle ships, supposed to be M. Barras. It was apprehended the whole, consisting of 6 victuallers and a vessel with the 40th regiment's cloathing, had fallen into the hands of the enemy, until happily these two effected a safe arrival in our harbour.—*Maryland Gazette, Annapolis, Thursday, Sept. 20, 1781.*

## XXXIV

*Fishkill, October 25, 1785.*—Advices from Virginia, as late as the 5th inst., inform us that Col. Tarleton, at the head of a body of horse and infantry, on the 3d inst. made a sally from Gloucester upon a party of our forces near that town, but the Duke de Lauzun, who commanded our troops, gave them a very warm reception, as appears by the General Orders of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, inserted above, to which our readers are referred.—*The New York Packet and American Advertiser, Fishkill, October 25, 1781.*

## XXXV

*Extract of a letter from Baltimore, dated October 13, 1781.* We have a boat this morning, in three days from York. The business there has at length become serious. The people in this boat all say that Lord Cornwallis had, on Tuesday last, sent some propositions to General Washington, which were immediately rejected, and the firing renewed. That one of the enemy's magazines had certainly blown up.—*The New York Packet and American Advertiser, Fishkill, October 25, 1781.*

## XXXVI

*Annapolis, October 25.*—On Saturday evening last an express boat arrived in this port with a letter from the Count de Grasse to his Excellency the Governor of this State, of which the following is a translation:

La Ville de Paris, Oct. 19th, 1781

Sir,

I have the honour to thank your Excellency for the intelligence which you have been pleased to communicate. I have just desired General Washington to send me back my troops, of which probably he will no longer stand in need, as Lord Cornwallis has surrendered, which perhaps you will not have heard before this reaches you. As soon as they are embarked I shall quit the bay of Chesapeake, and I will endeavour still to contribute to the welfare of the United States in stopping, if I can, Sir Henry Clinton. I have the honour to be, with the most respectful attachment, your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

DE GRASSE

His Excellency Governor Lee.

This great and important intelligence was immediately announced by the joyful acclamations of the people, and soon after by the firing of the artillery, &c.

On Monday afternoon a feu de joye was fired by the artillery and select militia, and in the evening the town was beautifully illuminated.

By an officer, who left the allied army on the 20th instant, we are favoured with the following narrative of their operations against, and the reduction of the British posts at York and Gloucester :

On the 6th instant, in the evening, the allied army began to break ground within about 700 yards of the enemy's lines, and by their uncommon exertions [had completed] a parallel by daylight, as to afford a sufficient cover for the men. The darkness of the night, or some other cause, prevented the enemy from discovering our fatigue parties, and therefore the work was effected without loss. On the evening of the 9th a battery was opened on our extreme left, and before the evening of the 10th we began to cannonade and bombard the enemy from upwards of 60 pieces of heavy ordnance and mortars. Our fire was now so superior to that of the besieged, that they were obliged to mask their artillery during the day ; in the night they annoyed us in some measure with their howitzers, but their cannonade was then very feeble and harmless. On the night of the 12th our second parallel was commenced, but was not completed till the morning of the 15th, the reduction of two redoubts on the enemy's left being essential to this work. On the evening of the 14th the French grenadiers, commanded by the baron Viomenil, and the American light troops, under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette, at a signal given, attacked and took by storm the above mentioned redoubts, which were defended by upwards of 150 men, all of whom were either killed or wounded. The wise disposition of the commanding officers, the gallantry and address of the other officers and soldiers, was so conspicuous on this occasion as to obtain the warmest acknowledgments from the commander-in-chief. On the 16th, at the dawn of day, Colonel Abercrombie, with 8 companies of light troops, attempted our lines in two places, and succeeded so far as to get into two of our unfinished batteries and spike a few pieces of cannon, but was soon repulsed with a loss, more than equal either to the brilliancy or usefulness of the sortie. On the morning of the

17th our batteries on our 2nd parallel being complete, we commenced a furious cannonade and bombardment on the enemy's works, from 70 pieces of cannon and mortars, and at not more than 250 yards distance. Our operations had now become so serious to the besieged that Lord Cornwallis was induced to beat a parley, and to request a cessation of hostilities for 2 hours ; that commissioners might be appointed by both parties to treat on the surrender of the posts of York and Gloucester. The commander-in-chief would not grant the prayer of the flag in its full extent ; he would only consent to a cessation of hostilities for two hours, and then only on the express condition that his lordship should digest his proposition on paper. This was assented to on the part of the enemy, and proposals came from his lordship, that he would agree to a surrender, in case the British troops were permitted to go to Great Britain, and the Germans to Germany, there to remain until exchanged, and not to act against America or her allies ; he expected the honours of war, and wished the refugees might be sheltered from punishment. General Washington rejected his proposal in every part, and sent him the terms which could only be admitted, and which, after some hesitation, were received by his lordship. In answer to the article in favour of the refugees, his Excellency informed his lordship that it was a subject only proper for civil discussion, and he readily waived it, leaving his good friends to the justice of their country. On the 18th commissioners were appointed to adjust the etiquette of the capitulation. The Viscount de Noailles and Lieutenant-Colonel Laurens, aide-de-camp to the Commander-in-Chief, on the part of the allied army, and Colonel Dundass and Major Ross, aid-de camp to Lord Cornwallis, on that of the enemy. On the 19th, about one o'clock, the articles of capitulation were signed and interchanged, and about two o'clock p. m. the British garrison of York, led on by General O'Hara (Lord Cornwallis being indisposed), were conducted by General Lincoln through the combined army, drawn up in two lines, to a field, where, having grounded their arms and stripped off their accoutrements, they were reconducted through the line, and committed to the care of a

guard. At the same time and in the same manner the garrison of Gloucester was surrendered to the command of the Duke de Lauzun. Previous to this a detachment of French and one of American troops took possession of the enemy's horn-works, and planted on the epaulements the standards of the two nations. The brilliant appearance of the allied army, the joy which diffused itself from rank to rank, contrasted with the mortification, the despondence, and unsoldierly behavior of the British troops, formed one of the most pleasing prospects a patriot can behold, or even his fancy depict.

In justice to the brave, the unfortunate garrison of Charles-town, the terms imposed on them were made the basis of the present capitulation, and on their worthy general was conferred the supreme delight of giving laws to those men, who had treated him with the insolence of conquerors. As the officer who gave us this narrative does it from memory, he cannot pretend to be perfectly accurate as to the particulars of the capitulation, but can vouch for its being right in the whole.—The garrisons are prisoners of war, to be disposed of in America at our option; to march out with cased colors, and to play no French or American tune. All plundered property to be restored to its owners; private baggage secured to the officers, and private property to British merchants and traders, the continent having the right of pre-emption.

No returns had been handed in, but from the accounts of the British officers, we have between 5 and 6000 prisoners, including sick and wounded. Their military stores were trifling; their commissary stores does not exceed 600 barrels of pork and about 1000 barrels of bread and flour. Near 100 vessels, with their sailors and mariners, have fallen into the hands of the French fleet under the capitulation. The enemy's loss during the siege they allow to be very considerable; the loss of the allied army does not exceed 300 killed and wounded, a small proportion of whom are officers. Never was a plan more wisely concerted, or more happily and vigorously executed, than the present.

The wisdom, perseverance, and military talents of our illustrious commander, shone with superior lustre on this occasion, and if pos-

sible must increase the love and veneration of his countrymen. The well concerted and animated support of the Count de Grasse was essentially conducive to the completion of this glorious event, and deserves the warmest thanks of his own country, and the grateful plaudit of every American. The exertions of the Count de Rochambeau, and all the officers and soldiers of the French army, can never be excelled, and only equalled by their American friends, who glowed with the laudable ambition of imitating the achievements of the finest body of men in the world. The only contention which subsisted during the siege between the troops of the two nations, was the glorious one of excelling each other in operations against the common enemy, and in doing justice to each other's merit. An army thus cemented by affection, created by a union of interest and the intercourse of good offices, and animated by an attachment to the rights of mankind, could not fail of triumphing over a body of troops, enlisted under the banners of despotism, and led on by the hopes of plunder; who, made insolent by partial victories, gave a loose to the greatest licentiousness and brutality that ever disgraced a disciplined corps. The expiring groans of thousands of slaves who fled to Lord Cornwallis for protection, and whom he inhumanly starved, have ascended to the throne of Almighty Justice, and must bring down vengeance on his guilty head. It is sincerely to be wished, for the sake of humanity, that his lordship had made a more obstinate defence, that the allied army, obliged to storm his works, might have offered up him and his troops a sacrifice to the violated rites of humanity.—*The Maryland Gazette, October 25, 1781.*

#### XXXVII

*Newtown on Chester River, October 23, 1781*  
—Last Evening the Hon. Col. Tilghman, Aid de Camp to his Excellency General Washington, arrived here, on his Way to Philadelphia, with Despatches for Congress, containing an Account of the happy Reduction of the British Army in Virginia, under command of Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis. — This Great Event was no sooner announced to the Public, than a large number of worthy Citizens assembled, to celebrate

this signal victory, (in a high Degree auspicious to the Cause of Freedom and Virtue), which was done with a Decency and Dignity becoming firm Patriots, liberal Citizens and prudent Members of the community.—Amidst the Roaring of Cannon, and the Exhibition of Bonfires, Illuminations, &c. the Gentlemen (having repaired to a Hall suitable for the Purpose) drank the following Toasts, viz.:

1. General Washington and the Allied Army. 2. Count de Grasse and the Navy of France. 3. Congress. 4. Louis the 16th, a Friend to the Rights of Mankind. 5. The United States. 6. General Greene and the Southern Army. 7. Count de Rochambeau. 8. The Memory of the illustrious Heroes who have fallen in the Defence of American Liberty. 9. King of Spain. 10. The United Provinces. 11. The Marquis de la Fayette. 12. The Northern Army. 13. The State of Maryland—the last in Order, but not the last in Love.

The next Evening an elegant Ball was given by the Gentlemen of the Town, that the Ladies might participate in the general joy of their Country.

A Brilliant Company of Freedom's Fairest Offspring assembled on this happy Occasion, and while they manifested the sincerest Attachment to the American Cause, they likewise showed that "Grace was in all their steps," &c.—*The Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertiser, Baltimore, Tuesday, November 13, 1781.*

## LETTERS FROM THE FIELD

Continued from Appendix to the Allies at Yorktown, January (Yorktown) Number, 1881 [Mag., VI., 53].

### X

#### DE GRASSE TO LUZERNE

*Extract of a letter from count de Grasse to the honourable the chevalier de la Luzerne, minister plenipotentiary of France, dated Cape Henry, Sept. 13, 1781.*—"Nothing gave me greater pleasure than the approach of the armies under General Washington and count de Rochambeau. In order to hasten their arrival I had selected out seven vessels that drew the least water to transport them from the mouth of Elk down Chesapeake bay. But the moment they were ready to

sail to execute this service, I was myself obliged to make preparation for repelling the enemy's fleet, which appeared off the entrance of the bay. I have fought them, and their van has been roughly handled. I returned to the bay on the 10th. In the mean time count de Barras had arrived, and sent up the transports he had with him to bring down the troops, which induced me not to send up the seven vessels above mentioned; and I had only to add to those sent by count de Barras as many frigates as I could. My putting to sea facilitated the entrance of M. de Barras, and our junction has added much to our strength. I fell in with two of the enemy's frigates the Iris and the Richmond, of 32 guns each. They had been sent by the English admiral to cut away the buoys of our anchors. They have paid dear for them. Admiral Digby is most assuredly arrived off the Hook, with one ship of 90 guns, and two of 74. The reports (from them) say he left England with six ships of the line, six frigates and 100 transports for America; but some advices the admiral received at sea, made it necessary for him to come on with three ships, leaving the transports under cover of three ships of the line and six frigates. Advices are received from New-York, which say, that the enemy have dismantled three forts on the East river, and sent the heavy cannon on board their shipping. Near 4000 troops (with a large number of waggons, flat-bottomed boats, &c &c) are encamped on Staten-Island; but it is difficult for us to ascertain what their designs are.—*The Maryland Gazette, Thursday, October 11, 1781.*

### XI

#### REPORT OF ROCHAMBEAU—STORM OF THE REDOUBTS

On the night between the 14th and 15th inst., the trench was mounted by the regiments of Gatinois and Royal Deux Ponts, commanded by baron de Viomenil; to which were added four companies of French auxiliary grenadiers. We had resolved to attack, as soon as dark, the two redoubts on the left of the enemy, that were detached from their other works. The marquis de la Fayette undertook that on our right with the American troops. The baron de Viomenil that

on our left with the French. Four hundred grenadiers commanded by the count William Deux Ponts and Mons. de l'Estrade, lieutenant-colonel of Gatinois, opened the attack; they were supported by the regiment of Gatinois.

The marquis de la Fayette and the baron Viomenil made so vigorous and strong a disposition of their troops, that they carried the two redoubts sword in hand, and killed, wounded, and took the greater part of those who defended them. The number of prisoners amounts to 73, one major and 5 other officers included. The troops, both American and French, have shown the most distinguished courage. The count William Deux Ponts was slightly wounded by a cannon ball; he is not in the least danger. The chevalier de la Meth, adjutant quarter master-general, has been severely wounded in both knees by two different musket balls. Mons. de Sereuil, captain of the chasseurs of the regiment of Agenois and two other officers of the same regiment have been wounded. 'Tis the third time that Mons de Sireuil, though very young, has been wounded, unluckily this time, the wound is very dangerous. We have had 100 men killed or wounded. The troops are full of the highest praises of the baron de Viomenil, who likewise is exceedingly pleased with their courage and firmness.

I have ordered two days pay to be distributed to the four companies of grenadiers and chasseurs of the regiment of Gatinois and Royal Deux Ponts, besides a more considerable reward to the axe-bearers and carpenters, who opened the way for the troops through the abattis and pallisades.—*The Maryland Gazette, November 8, 1781.*

NOTE.—Washington, in his letter to Congress of October 6th (see Sparks, VII., 178), enclosed copies of the reports of Rochambeau, Lafayette and Hamilton. The two last were printed in the Magazine, VI. 46-47.—EDITOR.

## XII

### ADJUTANT-GENERAL HAND'S RETURN OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

*Camp before Yorktown, Oct. 15th, 1781*—Return of the killed and wounded of the French troops since the beginning of the siege of York.

From the 6th to the 7th of October, In

making the first parallel. Main attack, 1 wounded. Attack up the river at the left, 7 wounded. One officer of the artillery wounded.

From the 7th to the 8th. In making the batteries upon the 1st parallel. Main attack, 6 wounded.

From the 8th to the 9th. Continuation of the batteries. Main attack, 1 killed, 1 wounded.

From the 9th to the 10th. Continuation of the batteries, 2 wounded. Attack up the river, 3 wounded.

From the 10th to the 11th. The batteries firing. Main attack, 1 killed, 1 wounded.

From the 11th to the 12th. Opening the 2nd parallel. Main attack, 4 wounded. Attack up the river, 3 wounded.

From the 12th to the 13th. Commencing of the batteries on the 2nd parallel. 6 killed, 11 wounded. Two officers wounded.

From the 13th to the 14th. Continuation of the batteries. 1 killed, 28 wounded. Attack up the river, 3 wounded.

From the 14th to the 15th. Attack of the two redoubts of the enemy down the river. 41 killed, 57 wounded, six officers wounded.

Total 50 killed, 127 wounded. Nine officers wounded, 2 of them since dead.

Return of the killed and wounded of the American army, from the 28th of September, 1781, the day of the investiture of York, to the storm of the enemy's redoubts, on the night of the 14 of October following, inclusive.

From the investiture of York to the opening of the 1st parallel on the evening of the 6th of October, exclusive. Continentals, killed, 1 sergeant, 3 rank and file; wounded, 1 colonel, 2 rank and file. Militia, killed, 1 rank and file; wounded, 6 rank and file.

From the opening of the 1st parallel, to that of the 2nd on the evening of the 11th of October, exclusive. Continentals, killed, 2 rank and file; wounded, 3 rank and file. Militia, wounded 3 rank and file.

From the opening of the 2nd parallel to the 14th of October inclusive.

Continentals, killed, 1 captain, 3 rank and file; wounded, 1 captain, 7 rank and file. Militia, killed, 3 rank and file; wounded, 7 rank and file.

At the storm on the evening of the 14th of October. Continentals, killed, 8 rank and file; wounded, 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 3 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 1 lieutenant, 1 sergeant, 28 rank and file.

Total. Continentals, killed, 1 captain, 1 sergeant, 16 rank and file; wounded, 1 colonel, 2 lieutenant-colonels, 1 major, 3 captains, 1 captain-lieutenant, 1 lieutenant, 1 sergeant, 40 rank and file. Militia, killed, 4 rank and file; wounded, 16 rank and file.

Killed at the opening of the 2nd parallel, Captain White, of Colonel Vose's battalion of infantry. Wounded at ditto, Captain Goffelen, of General Hazen's regiment.

Officers wounded at the storm, Lieutenant-Colonels Barber and Gimat; Major Barber, inspector to the light infantry division; Captains Olney and Hunt, of Colonel Gimat's battalion of infantry; Captain-Lieutenant Kirkpatrick, corps of sappers and miners; Lieutenant Mansfield, of Colonel Gimat's battalion of infantry.

EDWARD HAND, A. G.

—*The Maryland Gazette, Thursday, November 8, 1781.*

NOTE. This is the Return, copies of which were enclosed to Congress by Washington in his letter of October 16, 1781. See Sparks, VIII., 181.—EDDROS.

### XIII

*Philadelphia, November 6th.—Extract of a letter from General Washington, dated Headquarters, near York, October 27, 1781.* "Sir, I do myself the honour to enclose to your Excellency copies of returns of prisoners, artillery, arms, ordnance, and other stores, surrendered by the enemy in their posts of York and Gloucester on the 19th instant, which were not completed at the time of my last dispatches, and but this moment handed to me. A draught of these posts, with the plan of attack and defence, is also transmitted; and twenty-four standards, taken at the same time, are to be laid before congress. My present dispatches, being important, I have committed to the care of Colonel Humphrey, one of my aids-de-camp, whom, for his attention, fidelity and good services, I beg leave to recommend to Congress and your Excellency."

*General Return of Officers and Privates surrendered Prisoners of War the 19th of October, 1781, to the Allied Army under the command of his Excellency General Washington, taken from the original muster rolls.*

General and staff, 1 lieutenant-general, 1 brigadier-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 5 captains, 2 lieutenants, 2 chaplains, 1 town-major, 1 commissary, prisoners, 1 assistant quartermaster, 1 surgeon and field inspector, 3 surgeons, 10 mates, 2 purveyors, 4 stewards, 2 ward-masters, 19 assistants, 2 carpenters, 5 deputy commissaries, 2 clerks, 3 issuers, 2 coopers, 1 labourer. Total, 79.

Artillery, 2 captains, 9 lieutenants, 1 surgeon, 1 mate, 1 sergeant, 4 drums, 193 rank and file, 1 commissary of military stores, 9 conductors, 5 conductors of horse, 16 artificers. Total, 248.

Guards, 3 lieutenant-colonels, 12 captains, 1 ensign, 2 adjutants, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 3 mates, 25 sergeants, 12 drums, 467 rank and file. Total, 527.

Light infantry, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains, 16 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 2 surgeons, 33 sergeants, 13 drums, 594 rank and file. Total, 671.

17th regiment, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 3 captains, 8 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 surgeon, 9 sergeants, 13 drums, 205 rank and file. Total, 245.

23d regiment, 2 captains, 6 lieutenants, 1 adjutant, 1 surgeon, 1 mate, 16 sergeants, 205 rank and file. Total, 233.

33d regiment, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 3 captains, 5 lieutenants, 1 ensign, 1 surgeon, 15 sergeants, 9 drums, 225 rank and file. Total, 260.

43d regiment, 1 major, 3 captains, 5 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 22 sergeants, 16 drums, 307 rank and file. Total, 359.

71st regiment, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 1 captain, 11 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 1 mate, 28 sergeants, 9 drums, 242 rank and file. Total, 300.

76th regiment, 1 major, 6 captains, 16 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 1 mate, 38 sergeants, 18 drums, 628 rank and file. Total, 715.

Both regiment, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 5 captains, 17 lieutenants, 3 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 1 mate, 49 sergeants, 20 drums, 588 rank and file. Total, 689.

Two battalions Anspach, 2 colonels, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 8 captains, 32 lieutenants, 1 chaplain, 2 quarter-masters, 2 surgeons, 10 mates, 32 sergeants, 25 drums, 948 rank and file, 1 waggon-master, 8 waggons, 2 provost marshals, 1 assistant. Total, 1077.

Prince hereditary, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 5 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 1 chaplain, 1 quarter-master, 4 surgeon's mates, 19 sergeants, 11 drums, 425 rank and file, 6 waggons, 1 provost marshal. Total, 484.

Regiment de Bose, 2 majors, 5 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 1 adjutant, 1 quarter-master, 1 surgeon, 3 mates, 46 sergeants, 16 drums, 271 rank and file, 1 provost marshal, Total, 349.

Yagers, 1 captain, 3 lieutenants, 1 surgeon, 1 trumpet, 68 rank and file. Total, 74.



British legion, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 6 captains, 8 lieutenants, 3 cornets, 6 quarter-masters, 1 surgeon, 17 sergeants, 7 trumpeters, 198 rank and file. Total, 241.

Queen's rangers, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 10 captains, 15 lieutenants, 11 cornets, 3 quarter-masters, 2 surgeons, 24 sergeants, 5 trumpeters, 248 rank and file. Total, 320.

North Carolina volunteers, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 5 captains, 7 lieutenants, 8 ensigns, 7 sergeants, 114 rank and file. Total, 148.

Pioneers, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 4 sergeants, 33 rank and file. Total, 44.

Engineers, 2 lieutenants.

Loyal foresters, 2 captains, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 8 rank and file; 3rd New Jersey volunteers, 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 rank and file; New York volunteers, 1 captain, 1 rank and file, 1 ensign; Virginia volunteers, 1 captain, 1 rank and file; King's American regiment, 1 lieutenant, 1 rank and file; General Delancy's battalion, 2 ensigns, 2 rank and file; North Carolina Ind. comp., 1 ensign, 1 rank and file. Total, 23.

Taken on the 14th and 16th of October, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 2 majors, 2 captains, 1 ensign, 8 sergeants, 76 rank and file. Total, 84.

TOTAL—1 lieutenant-general, 1 brigadier-general, 2 colonels, 14 lieutenant-colonels, 16 majors, 97 captains, 180 lieutenants, 55 ensigns, 4 chaplains, 6 adjutants, 18 quarter-masters, 18 surgeons, 25 mates, 385 sergeants, 179 drums and trumpeters, 6039 rank and file, 1 town major, 1 commissary of prisoners, 1 assistant quarter master.—Hospital department, 1 surgeon and field inspector, 3 surgeons, 10 mates, 2 purveyors, 4 stewards, 2 ward-masters, 19 assistants, 2 carpenters.—Commissary department, 5 deputy commissaries, 1 deputy commissary of forage, 5 assistant commissaries, 2 clerks, 3 issuers, 2 coopers, 1 labourer.—1 commissary military stores, 9 conductors 5 conductors of horse, 16 artificers, 1 waggon-master, 25 waggons, 5 provost marshals and assistants, 80 followers of the army.—Amounting in the whole to 7247.

N. B. By an estimate collected by the adjutant-general, the killed, during the siege, including officers, amount at least to 309, and the deserters 44.

(Signed) THOMAS DUNN, Dep. Com. Pris.

MILITARY CHEST, two thousand one hundred and thirteen pounds, six shillings sterling; dollars at 48. 3d.

*Return of Ordnance and Military Stores taken at York and Gloucester in Virginia, by the surrender of the British Army, on the 19th of October, 1781.*

BRASS ORDNANCE. Cannon,—Travelling carriages, 1 ammuette, 12 three pounders, 1 four, 12 six, 1 nine, 4 twelve.—Garrison carriages, 3 four, 3 nine.—Howitzers, Travelling carriages, 6 5½ inch, 3 8 inch; not mounted, 6 8 inch.—Mortars, mounted 11 4½ inch, 7 5½ inch, 1 16 inch; not mounted, 1 4½ inch, 3 13 inch.—Total 75.

IRON ORDNANCE. Cannon.—Garrison or ship carriages, 2 one pounders, 3 three, 8 four, 30 six, 42 nine, 12 twelve, 27 eighteen, Travelling carriages, 1 eighteen,

1 twenty-four.—Caronades, Ships carriages, 4 seven, 27 eighteen.—swivels 6. Total 169.

CARTRIDGES. Flannel filled, Cannon, 20 four pounders, 278 six, 18 nine, 40 twelve, 226 twenty-four. Mortars, 341 4 2-5 inch, 386 5½ do. 33 8 do. Howitzers, 87 5½ inch.—Paper filled. Cannon, 417 three pounders, 236 four, 836 six, 636 nine, 870 twelve, 900 eighteen, 28 twenty-four. Swivels, 185.—Flannel empty. Cannon, 196 six pounders, 260 nine 10 twelve, 502 eighteen, 7 twenty-four. Howitzers, 93 5½ inch, 175 8 ditto.—Paper empty, Cannon, 425 four pounders, 702 six, 136 nine, 902 twelve, 53 eighteen, 250 twenty-four. Swivels, 2880.—Cilinders, 380 nine pounders.

SHOT, Round.—Loose, 50 three pounders, 250 four, 3965 six, 1671 nine, 1635 twelve, 2927 eighteen, 750 twenty-four. Fixed with flannel cartridges, 516 three pounders, 530 six. Strapped without cartridges, 636 three pounders, 520 six, 782 twelve, 226 twenty-four.—Case, Fixed with flannel cartridges, 287 three pounders, 83 six pounders. Without cartridges, 177 three pounders, 255 six, 54 nine, 817 twelve, 48 eighteen, 106 twenty-four, 315 4 2-5 inch, 90 5½ do., 97 8 do.—Bat, 17 three pounders, 33 four, 24 six, 100 nine, 130 twelve, 277 eighteen.

GRAPE. Round, 51 three pounders, 52 four, 220 six, 212 nine, 80 eighteen, 86 twenty-four. Boxes of loose grape, 26, barrels, ditto, 1, rounds of langrel, 24.—Wads, Cannon, 230 four pounders, 670 six, 734 nine, 635 eighteen.

SHELLS. Fixed, 213 4 2-5 inch. Unfixed, 77 5½ do., 150 8 do., 25 13 do.—Carcase, fixed, 6, 8 inch. Hand-granades, fixed, 602. Fuzes, fixed, 514 5½ inch, 20 8 do.—Sponges, ladles, and wad hooks, 8 one pounder, 35 three, 8 four, 69 six, 25 nine, 33 twelve, 23 eighteen. 2 twenty-four. Different sizes, without staves, 58.

FIRE-ARMS. Muskets, 5743 with bayonets, 913 without bayonets, 1136 damaged, carbines 37, fuzes 32, pistols 137, blunder buccas brass 11, ditto iron 9, bayonets 688, bayonet scabbards 1140, Bayonet belts 1777. Cartridge boxes 6444, tin cannisters 800, pouches for yagers 350, grenadiers match-pipes 86, musket cartridges 266274 fixed with ball, powder 83 barrels, 89 half ditto, Sabres, 1925, damaged 100. Total 2025.—Horsemen's swords 237, Halberds good 32, damaged 14. Total 46.—Pikes 210, Regimental standards, German 18, British, 43rd 2, 76th 2, 80th 2, 6. Total 24.—British union flags 4.—Camp colours, German 32, British 41. Total 73. Drums good 62, damaged 19. Total 81. Drum flings 18, fife cases 12, fife flings 7, trumpet 1, Bugle horns 18, French horns 5.

Musket ball 29 boxes 100 lb. each, lead in pieces 130 lb., musket flints 3200, slow match 4245 lb., fire-balls 28, fire-rings 12, sulphur 50 lb., salt petre 50 lb, flax 7 lb., spelter 2 lb., emory 4 lb., kitt 32 lb., meal powder 3 lb., junk 600 lb.

One coil 1 inch rope, two 2, three 2½, two 3, one 4 one 8.

Eight lanterns. viz. 3 tin, 1 horn, and 4 dark.

Signal rockets 36, tubes of sizes 6705, tube boxes 62, port fires 787, port fire stock 28, lint stock 16, lead aprons 90, steel spikes 80, powder horns 260, shell scrapers 8, kit brushes 5, hand bellows 2, sets for fuzes 7, kit ladles 6,

fuse engines 2, cannon haversacks 30, powder bags 23, oil-clothes 17, hair cloth 1, budge barrels 4, punches for cannon 12, large brass callipers 2, shot-gauges 2 sets, elevating screws 2, pinning wires 26.

Apparatus for hot shot 1, set brass scales and weights 3, copper funnels 4, powder flasks 4, copper powder measures 29 sets, 21 reams musket cartridge paper, 11 hanks martine, catgut and twine, 21 hammers, 1 pincers, 33 tennant, hand, whip and crosscut saws, 4 mallets, 5 rasps, 3 paring and drawing knives, 1 cooper's adz, 2 drifts, 15 axes, 14 pickaxes, 25 hatchets, 26 tomahawks, 12 spades, 63 crowbars, 143 handspikes, 2 shears for iron, 2 gins with falls and blocks complete, 6 brass sheaves for tackle blocks, 44 tackle falls and blocks 4 cannon flings, 8 padlocks, 11 stock-locks, 2 casks nails, 36 bars of steel, 7 sheets of iron, 921 brass hoops, 22 sets of drag ropes, 50 sets men's harness, 60 dressed calf-skins, 22 hides tanned leather, 2 boxes combustibles for fire-ships, 2 kegs tallow, 9 ammunition waggons, 4 powder carts, 39 cart saddles, 205 collars, 234 hames, 215 bridles, 123 pair trace chains, 33 breech bands, 73 cruppers, 10 laboratory chests, 4 chests with tools for saddlers, carpenters, coopers and blacksmiths.

(Signed) H. KNOX,

Commanding the Artillery of the United States.

*Return of Waggons, Horses and Stores delivered by the Quartermaster, and found in York and Gloucester.*

40 waggons with horses and harness, 40 ditto without horses, broken, 260 horses, 339 saddles, 88 blind bridles, 15 collars, 30 breech bands, 18 back bands, 18 belly bands, 18 sides harness leather, 4 calfskins, 2 doz. bridle bits, 3 sets of collar and harness maker's tools, 3 pair smith's bellows, 4 anvils and tools for 3 blacksmiths, 4 sets of carpenter's tools, old and rusty, 57 French saddles, 40 French bridles, 105 lb. tent cord, 14 balls spun yarn, 3 pieces girt web, 1 hemp hackle, 1 cask tent pins and hatchets, 60 cross cut saws, and some carpenters' and coopers' adzes, 20 files, 30 chisels, 20 small hammers, 5 lb. lampblack, 100 wagon boxes, 100 lb. twine, 1 ton oakum, 3 tons hemp, 9 bolts sail duck, 29 casks nails, assorted, 3 tons iron, a quantity of sails and rigging, 1 barrel turpentine, 2½ barrels tar, 4 grind-stones, 9 kegs paint, 3 jars oil, 2 boxes window glass, about 1000 sand bags, 3 or 4 tons coal, and a few plank.

500 bushels corn, 62 ditto meal, delivered to the commissary of forage.

23 boxes of candles, delivered to the commissary of issues.

400 sheets, 68 pillow cases, 300 bed-cases, 70 old blankets, 2 old rugs, delivered for the hospitals.

3 stoves, 128 narrow axes, 4 iron pots, 100 knapsacks and haversacks, 150 soldiers' coats, 100 pair breeches, damaged, 70 pair trousers, 70 sailors' jackets with sleeves, 6½ groce buttons, 5 lb. thread, 15 pair shoes, 1 marquee, 450 soldiers' tents, 200 shovels, spades and picks.

(Signed) TIMOTHY PICKERING, Q. M. G.

*A Return of Cloathing taken in the towns of York and Gloucester the 10th day of October, 1781.*

187 coats, 226 woollen breeches, 16 pair of shoes, 126 hats, 70 blankets, 170 linen overalls, 153 Scotch bonnets,

—68 leather stocks, 3 pair mills, 270 bed cases, 154 pillow cases, 436 sheets, 150 sailors' jackets.

Cloathing received from Captain Girlock, October 26, 1781, and acknowledged to be British cloathing, subject to the articles of capitulation:

283 coats, 24 breeches, 25 hats, 19 caps, 12 yards buff cloth, 20 yards red cloth, 71 and a half yards osenabrigs, damaged, 24 packing sheets.

Clothing received from Captain Girlock, deputy quartermaster, October 26, 1781, who was in a cartel vessel in York river, and whose effects, in consequence of his violation of the right of flags, were adjudged to be forfeited, and were consequently seized for public use.

77 uniforms for non-commissioned officers, 17 ditto drummers', 420 ditto privates', 12 ditto servants', 537 pieces linen, 27 ditto riband, 899½ ells blue cloth, 436 ditto white cloth, 763 ditto red flannel, 1860 ditto riband, 170 hats, 7 caps, 35 woollen breeches, 1100 pair hose, 1348 pair shoes, 68 shirts, 1030 black stocks, 55 pair leather gloves, 171¼ dozen buttons, 49 lbs. thread, 10½ hides tanned leather, 3 chests, contents unknown, 2 bales seal leather, 1 barrel red flannel, 1 chest medicines.

(Signed)

D. AMERMAN, Assiat. to the C. G.

*Return of Provisions and Stores in the Ports of York and Gloucester.*

276 barrels of flour, 73,280 lbs.; 530 bags bread, 59,600 lbs.; 96 barrels beef, 20,190 lbs.; 365 barrels pork, 75,790 lbs.; 361 firkins butter, 29,870 lbs.; 58 casks oatmeal, 11,900 lbs.; 597 barrels peas, quantity, 2,985 bush.; 13 casks liquors, 1,250 gals.; 16 bags of coffee, 2,500 lbs.; 20 bags cocoa, 3,000 lbs.; 60 bags salt, 50 bush.; 3 hogheads sugar, 3,000 lbs.; 5 casks vinegar, 300 gals.; 3 jars oil, 300 gals.; 29 barrels rice, 1,500 lbs.; 1 cask raisins.

THOMAS JONES, D. C. Issues.

(Signed)

JACOB WEED, A. C. Issues.

ADAM DOLMAGE, D. C. Brit. Arms.

*A List of the Vessels taken or destroyed at York in Virginia.*

Vessels of war—The Charon, 44 guns; Guadaloup, 28; Fowey, 24; Bonetta, 24. Vulcan, fire ship.

Transports—Mackrel, Success, Providence, Capt. Hunter; Providence, Capt. Berriman; Favourite, Harmony, Concord, Alfborough, Selnica, Ocean, Elizabeth, Diana, Emerald, Fidelity, Lord Mul-Brothers, Present Succession, Shipwright, Horsington, Neptune, Lord Howe, Bellona, Andrews, General Reinsel, Tarter.

Vessels belonging to the army—Defiance, Formidable, Rambler, Spitfire, a considerable number of small sloops and schooners, and 12 or 13 galleys.

Private vessels—The Cochran, North-Britain, Sufanna, Arno, Ennedert and Mathews, two Dutch prizes.

A privateer of 20 guns quite new, besides many other vessels sunk, and a very great number of shallops and schooners.

The naval prisoners, exclusive of those belonging to the private transports and other vessels, are 240.

Published by order of Congress.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secr.

—The Maryland Gazette, Nov. 15, 1781.

## NOTES

GOVERNOR BELCHER'S TOUR IN NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1730 — (Two sides of a story). *Province of New Hampshire, September 14, 1730.* This Day came hither his Excellency, our Governor, whose Arrival amongst us had been for some Weeks very much wish'd for: His Entrance was attended with all possible Demonstrations of Joy and Satisfaction, being met on the Borders, and usher'd into the Province by 70 Horse, besides the Blue Troop, (and exclusive of the Gentlemen who waited on him from his other Government) which was a handsome Appearance for so poor and little a Province, the like whereof has hardly ever been seen here, which loudly speaks the Affection of the People, and the Heartiness of his Excellency's Welcome to his Government. The Evening preceding his Excellency's Arrival, his Honour our Lieutenant Governor departed the Province. His Motion was sudden; he embark'd on board a Fishing Schooner, and 'tis generally believed he is gone to Pemaquid.

*An Extract of a letter from New Hampshire, in New England.* You will doubtless see the long Harangue in our News Papers, of Governor Belcher coming into this Province, and his passing down the River; not three of the Members attended, but officers under Command, no Volunteers; and when he went out, Horses were hired to send about to produce Riders to attend; and then it was clapt in the News, that seventy Persons, besides the blue Troop and the Gentlemen from other Governments, &c. attended. Not one Gentleman

came from the other Governments. In the next Gazette Mr. Wal——n enters again, and says the Huzza's were very great, &c. The Devil a Word was said; but he went off without one Blessing. And as to the Garrison's Rejoicing, meaning the Fort at the Island, it has but two Men belonging to it: you have often seen them at my House; they are call'd Joe and Harry, and put into the Fort, to keep them from the Alms House.  
W. K.

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CAPTAIN MICHAEL CRESAP NOT THE SLAYER OF LOGAN, THE MINGO CHIEF— I had supposed that the character of Captain Michael Cresap, the much slandered patriot, had been fully vindicated by John J. Jacob, Neville B. Craig and Brantz Mayer; but in July, 1881, whilst the nation is preparing to celebrate the centennial of the victory at Yorktown, a new slander is put in circulation against him within rifle-shot of the spot where his ashes repose. In an article in the New York Herald on "Mason and Dixon's Line," by J. Barnitz Bacon, the following paragraph appears:

"The famous Captain Thomas Cresap was a noted champion of Maryland in those days, and was a squatter at Wright's Ferry, on the west bank of the Susquehanna. The details of the celebrated fight at that place of himself and son (afterwards *Captain Michael Cresap, the slayer of Logan, the Mingo Chief*), with the Pennsylvanians in 1739, in which Thomas Cresap was captured, and led a fettered and defiant captive in triumphal procession into Lancaster, possess a romantic interest."

It will require but few words to refute

the charge that Cresap was the slayer of Logan. The mortal remains of Captain Cresap are interred in Trinity churchyard in New York, in full view from Broadway. Some kind friend replaced the quaint, old and broken gravestone with a new one, which bears exactly the same inscription the original did. It reads as follows :

In Memory of  
Michael Cresap First Capt  
Of the Rifle Batalions  
And Son of Col. Thomas  
Cresap Who Departed this  
Life October the 18th, 1775.

Drake, in his Dictionary of American Biography, p. 557, says :

"LOGAN (Tah-gah-jute), an eloquent Indian chief; d. 1780. \* \* \* In the fall of 1779 he [Logan] again resumed his onslaughts on the banks of the Holston. In June, 1780, he joined Capt. Bird of Detroit in a bloody raid into Kentucky. Not long after, at an Indian counsel held at Detroit, while frenzied by liquor, he felled his wife by a sudden blow. He fled, supposing he had killed her. Over-taken between Sandusky and Detroit by a troop of Indians whom he supposed her avengers, he frantically exclaimed that the whole party should fall by his weapon. While leaping from his horse to execute his threat, an Indian shot him dead."

It is therefore plain that Captain Michael Cresap, who died in 1775, did not kill Logan, the Mingo Chief, who was alive in 1780. ISAAC CRAIG

*Alleghany, Pa., July 18, 1881.*

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PORTRAIT OF CHATHAM, BY CHARLES WILSON PEALE—The following extract

from the New York Mercury of May 8, 1769, will be a valuable addition to Dunlap's History of the Arts of Design :

"*Williamsburg, April 20*—A fine painting of the Right Hon. the Earl of Chatham, subscribed for by the Gentlemen of Westmoreland, is just arrived, to be put up in the court house of that county. It is the performance of one Mr. Peele, a young Marylander (to whom his lordship sat for his picture), who some years ago was bound apprentice to a saddler in Annapolis ; but discovering a very great genius for painting, he was sent to England, by the contribution of some gentlemen, to be instructed in that art. The piece is drawn at full length, and is said to be a striking likeness of the original, though little resembling the prints we have seen of that Nobleman. His countenance appears full of fire and expression, and he looks as if he was waiting for an answer to some forcible argument he had just used, being represented in the habit of a Roman orator speaking in the forum. His right hand is extended naked to the elbow, his left hanging down and holding Magna Charta. Close by him stands an altar, supported by the busts of Sidney and Hampden, with the flame sacred to liberty burning brightly on it, and on one side a garland, wreathed over the head of Hampden. On the background the palace of Whitehall and the window where Charles I. was brought out to be beheaded, are discovered ; and somewhat nearer the statue of Britannia, with the cap of Liberty, treading upon the Congress at New York, the American Addresses, &c." W. K.

THE OLD MILL STREET SYNAGOGUE AND ITS RABBI—Scoville, in his "Old Merchants," erroneously states that this ancient house of worship was removed to Crosby Street in 1818, whereas the writer is confident of seeing it in Mill Street at least eight or ten years later; and in this impression he is confirmed by the testimony of an aged lady of this city, Mrs. L. H. Peixotto, whose husband's father, Mr. Moses Levi Peixotto, a native of Curacao, and subsequently a merchant in New York, was the Rabbi of that synagogue as early as about 1816. He served one year gratuitously for the benefit of the widow of the Rev. Gershom Seixas, his predecessor in office. His wife was a Selgado, from Holland. He was on his way thither, when an accident brought him to New York. They had one daughter and three sons, one of whom, Raphael, was with Peter Harmony. The Mill Street synagogue was called the "*Portuguese*." In Crosby Street its name was "Shearith-Israel." It is now in 19th Street. Rabbi Peixotto lived in Mill Street, and Rabbi Gershom Seixas removed in 1800 from 11 Mill Street to 321 Greenwich Street. W. H.

CURIOUS GRAVE-STONES AT GROTON, CONN.—The New York Mirror for Jan. 19, 1833, quoting from the "Pensacola Gazette," gives the following as an inscription on a grave-stone at Groton, Connecticut:

"On the 20th of October, 1781, four thousand English fell upon this town with fire and sword—seven hundred Americans defended the fort for a whole day, but in the evening about four o'clock, it was taken. The commander declined delivering up his sword to an Englishman, who

immediately stabbed him! All his comrades were put to the sword. A line of powder was laid from the magazine of the fort to be lighted to blow the fort up into the air. William Hotman, who lay not far distant, wounded by three stabs of a bayonet in his body, beheld it, and said to one of his wounded friends, who was still alive, "We will endeavor to crawl to this line; we will completely wet the powder with our blood; thus will we, with the life that remains in us, save the fort and the magazine, and perhaps a few of our comrades who are only wounded!" He alone had strength to accomplish this noble design. In his thirtieth year he died on the powder which he overflowed with his blood. His friend, and seven of his wounded companions, by that means had their lives preserved. *Here rests William Hotman.*

C. A. C.

WILLIAM GILLILAND'S SETTLEMENT—*Extract of a letter from a gentleman at Lake Champlain, to his friend in New York, dated Willsborough [Essex Co., N. Y.], January 20, 1773.*

Settlement goes on apace in these parts now, and from the many inducements that both sexes have to marry young here, it is to be hoped this fine country will, in a short time, become populous even by the natural increase of the people here, not to speak of the emigrants from other parts. Within these few days past there has been several merry weddings on this settlement, the last there of which were somewhat remarkable, on account of the similarity of their names, three Williams having been married to three Elizabeths, by a parson named William, and his wife Elizabeth, viz.: Mr. William Wallace to Miss Elizabeth Day, Mr. William England to Mrs. Elizabeth Spry, and Mr. William Hay to Miss Elizabeth Williams. The men in good circum-

stances, and remarkable for industry and activity,—their wives for beauty and goodness; they have therefore the greatest prospect of conjugal felicity. Two of the fair ones (as you may observe by their names) were married out of my own family, one on the 15th and the other on the 16th inst. In short, they are taken away from me so fast, that I am often at a loss before I can be supplied with others, and this is my present situation; therefore, as soon as a good opportunity offers, I request you will send me (if not half a dozen) at least one clever woman, that you know to be capable of managing the affairs of my family; and if she is tolerably handsome, and not too old, she may be sure of getting a good husband, perhaps sooner than I may conveniently spare her.—*New York Gazette, March 29, 1773.*

W. K.

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QUERIES

CALEDONIAN SOCIETY OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK—Can any of the readers of the Magazine inform me of the origin and object of the society of this name, and when it went out of existence? Also, where an impression of its seal can be obtained? I am in possession of a certificate of membership, dated Nov. 30, 1802, signed by Robert Thompson, President, and Hugh Robert McMurray, Sec'y, from which the seal has been lost.

*Fort Wayne*

R. S. R.

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READY-MONEY PROVOST—The Provost tomb (which figures so much in Irving's story of Wolfert Webber, in the *Tales of a Traveler*) was, when I last

saw it in the autumn of 1877, still standing on the edge of a high bank, on the north side of Seventy-first street, near the East river. From the entrance of arched brick-work the door was gone, and the vault itself was empty. The slab, which once lay on the top of the tomb, had also disappeared.

What has become of this slab, and when were the remains which were in this vault removed?

The following anecdote relates to this old burial place: "On the summit of a hill, near Baron Steuben's abode, was a monument, erected to the memory of a certain Mr. Provost, who had been styled when living *Ready Money Provost*. A gentleman observing that in the event of his death, the Baron would be at no loss for a snug place of interment, Major North said, 'Then, sir, the Baron's disposition must alter with his state, for in life he will never tolerate the idea of *laying by ready money*.'" C.

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BURGOYNE PAPERS—In an article on Burgoyne's Campaign, published in *Graham's Magazine* for April, 1847, the author, Dr. N. C. Brooks, President of the Baltimore Female College, states, that he had in his possession "valuable original documents, throwing strong light on the history and men of that period."

Have these documents been published, or is it known what they consist of? C.

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GENERAL GEORGE WEEDON—When did this officer die? A. M.

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MR. BRONSON—This gentleman is spoken of in Spark's *Arnold* in connec-

tion with André's confinement at South Salem. He is stated by Sparks to have been "of Sheldon's Dragoons." What rank did he hold, when did he die, and where are there any biographical particulars concerning him? A. M.

"J. H. McH." in the July number? Can any one inform me who his father was, and when he died? R. F.  
*New York*

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### REPLIES

**SIMCOE AT STATEN ISLAND**—At Simcoe's headquarters, we are told, that "the landlord's pretty daughter bloomed in rustic seclusion, and tempted many a gallant across the waters and the hills."

Where was Simcoe's headquarters on Staten Island? C.

**CHARLOTTE TEMPLE'S COTTAGE AT MORRISANIA** — Bolton's *Westchester County* (2d ed. II. 490) says: "Near the Mill Brook, in the vicinity of Tremont, about two miles from Harlem Bridge," are the remains of the houses in which Charlotte Temple and her friend lived.

What is the exact locality? A.

**THE COLORED RACE IN AMERICA**—I am writing the *History of the Colored People in America*, from 1620 to 1880; Negroes as Slaves, as Soldiers and as Citizens—and desire to secure information, documentary, in reference to the Nat Turner insurrection in Virginia in 1831. Also any information or data in reference to negro risings in the South from colonial times down to 1860.

All such material may be addressed to Colonel Geo. W. Williams, P. O. Box 14, Columbus, Ohio. G. W. W.

**JOHN PIERCE, JR., PAYMASTER-GENERAL**—Who was the John Pierce, Jr., "Paymaster General," mentioned by

**MAJOR JOSEPH STRANG**—[VII. 64] M. A. is correct in supposing that the name Strong, in article on French Hill in the December number of the Magazine, is a misprint for Strang. Major Joseph Strang is buried in the cemetery attached to the Yorktown Presbyterian church, just east of the church edifice. The grave is marked by a slab of brown stone, which bears the following inscription:

In  
Memory of  
JOSEPH STRANG,  
Who was born  
Febry 25th, 1725,  
And departed this life  
Aug. 2d, 1795,  
Etatis 69 years 5 months  
& 8 Days

On either side of his grave are those of his second wife Anne, and his daughter Deborah, each marked by stones of the same material.

The residence of Major Joseph Strang was situated on the farm occupied at present by Albert Strang, M. D., immediately east and across the road from the present dwelling. On the map of the Route of André [III. 756] it is designated as Mead's Tavern. We believe that Major Strang kept a public house.

Daniel Strang, who was hung as a spy, lies buried in the cemetery attached to the Yorktown Baptist church. His grave is marked by a rough stone bearing the initials D. S. His father is said

to have been the oldest brother of Major Joseph and Captain Henry Strang, and he was therefore own cousin of the late J. Hazard Strang. It has been handed down by tradition that two of the brothers of Major Joseph Strang were Tories, viz.: Daniel and Gabriel. When New York was evacuated by the British, they went to Nova Scotia, where their descendants are now found. Daniel Strang, the father, occupied the farm now owned by William Wright, and known as the Sawmill Farm.

W. J. CUMMING

*Yorktown, N. Y.*

NINETIETHS OF THE DOLLAR—[VII., 63] This mode of expressing small money values was used very early by the Continental Congress. Holding their sessions in Philadelphia, they employed the currency of Pennsylvania to express small fractional parts of the dollar. In that State, as in some others, the dollar was equal to seven shillings and six pence, or ninety pence. The ninetieth of a dollar was thus a Pennsylvania penny.

Is there any evidence of this use of ninetieths prior to 1775?

*Marietta College.* I. W. ANDREWS

THE CAMPAIGN OF THE ALLIES—[VII., 241] There is an old road connecting the Grove and York roads called the "French Ordinary," or, in the negro parlance, "Or'nary." This road is now little used and was never a highway. At the Grove were banded numbers of the Revolutionary troops, and it is supposed that it was by this road that they connected with the main army. The Grove mansion, a lordly old pile, still stands

overlooking the James river, and on the balustrade around the stairway may be seen gashes made by the sabres of Tarleton's men when on one of their raids through the country.

C. N. C., Jr.

IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AMERICA—[VII. 229] The inquiry concerning *An Impartial History, etc.*, can be answered by my Handbook of the American Revolution, p. 286, 288.

JUSTIN WINSOR

COLONEL WILLIAM LEDYARD—[VII., 184] This gallant officer is incorrectly stated to have been the fourth son of John Ledyard. This is erroneous, as may be seen by referring to the appendix to the article in question (Descendants of John Ledyard in two generations), III., 191, where it is shown that he was the fourth son of Youngs Ledyard, of Groton.

EDITOR

JAMES WEEMES—[VII. 228] Captain James Weemes attended a council with the Indians, held by Governor Fletcher at Albany, the 7th of August, 1696, and on the 28th of the next month was sent to examine the garrison at Schenectady. On the 16th of October, 1696, three French prisoners were examined before him at Albany. October 15th and 17th, 1698, he assisted at a conference with the Indians held at Albany. He was commandant at Albany from December 26, 1698, till 1700. September 24, 1702, his company is reported as consisting of 92 privates, besides officers. Philip Schuyler, in a letter to the Lords of Trade, dated New York, 31st October,



1719, mentions a memorial from Captain Weemes and Lieutenant Symes, concerning the present state of the two independent companies posted in the garrisons at New York. Colonel James Weemes, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was present at a conference with the Indians, at Albany, on the 7th and 9th of September, 1721.

The name is sometimes spelled Weems and Wymes. ISAAC CRAIG  
*Alleghany, Pa.*

ST. MEMIN'S PORTRAITS — *Thomas Bolling Robertson*—[VII. 297] An error appears in the note on the St. Mémin portrait of Thomas Bolling Robertson. I am made to say that Wyndham Robertson was the Territorial Attorney General and Governor of Louisiana, whereas it was Thomas Bolling Robertson who held these offices. R. S. R.

*Fort Wayne*

BADGES OF MERIT—[VII. 298] B. F. will find a full account of the Revolutionary "Badge of Merit" in an article, by Peter Force, Esq., in the *Historical Magazine* for 1859, Vol. III., p. 1.

The badge is stated in general orders to be "a narrow piece of white cloth, of an angular form, to be fixed to the left arm in the uniform coat. Non-commissioned officers and soldiers, who have served in the army six years, are to be distinguished by two pieces of cloth, set in parallel to each other, in a similar form."

Mr. Force mentions the names of two non-commissioned officers who were thus honored in general orders, viz., *Sergeant Elijah Churchill*, 2d Light Dragoons, for

gallantry on Long Island, and *Sergeant Brown*, 5th Connecticut Regiment, for bravery at Yorktown, but states that he knew of no others.

A third name should be added, that of *Sergeant Daniel Bissell*, of the 2d Connecticut, of Windsor, Conn., one of General Washington's spies, who received the badge of merit from the General May 9, 1783. (See Stiles' Windsor, p. 413). *Sergeant Allyn Fox* is the fourth name that has come under the notice of the writer.

In the words of Mr. Force, "a full collection of such names would form an interesting record, and preserve for history the names and deeds of many gallant soldiers, whose names are now buried in oblivion."

HORACE EDWIN HAYDEN

*Wilkesbarre, Pa.*

THE LEDYARD FAMILY—*John Ledyard* [VII. 184] The recent publication of the Records of the Colony of Connecticut, Vol. XII., 1762 to 1767, supplies a continuation of the record of services of this eminent magistrate. In 1763 he is summoned to appear with the pay-rolls of the troops raised for Amherst's expedition in 1760. In 1764 he, with others, memorializes the Assembly to remove the spits and bars of sand in the Connecticut river, between Weathersfield, Rocky Hill and Hartford. In 1767 he is named first of the Auditors of Accounts of the Colony. He appears as Deputy for Hartford, from 1766 to 1767, on numerous important committees, and as Justice of the Peace for Hartford County from 1762 to 1767.

EDITOR

## OREGON

NOTE—The territory admitted as "Oregon" in 1819, comprised the present State of *Oregon*, territory of *Washington*, and territory of *Idaho*.

### A. THE CLAIM BASED ON ACTUAL OCCUPATION :

Captain Robert Gray's voyage up the Columbia, in 1792, is described in Bulfinch's "Oregon and Eldorado," pp. 1-13. Extracts from his log-book are printed in Greenhow's "History of Oregon and California," pp. 434-36.

The overland expedition made in 1804-6, by Captain Lewis, U. S. A., and Captain Clarke, U. S. A., to the mouth of the Columbia, has been separately narrated. The varying fortunes of the trading settlement, Astoria, established 1811-12, by J. J. Astor, of New York, are related in Irving's "Astoria." Also, by one of Mr. Astor's Canadian associates, in Franchère's "Narrative of a Voyage to the Northwest Coast of America." The "Adventures of Captain Bonneville," U. S. A., describe the expedition of 1832. Wyeth's commercial enterprise of 1834 is related in the U. S. report on the "Oregon territory," 1839 [25th Cong., 3d Sess., ex. doc. 101]. See also Townsend's "Narrative of a Journey Across the Rocky Mountains," pp. 1-170.

The efforts of the Hudson's Bay Company to supplant these settlers may be traced in T. J. Farnham's "Travels in the Great Western Prairies." See also the statements of Sir George Simpson (Governor of that company), in his "Overland Journey," pp. 149-52. The "impracticability of crossing the Rocky Mountains with wagons was insisted on, at about the time it actually was accomplished by Dr. Whitman, in the Edinburgh Review, July, 1843 (Am. ed., p. 101). See also Swan's "Northwest Coast," pp. 236-37. The circumstances of these efforts at settlement, together with their connection with religious movements, may be traced in the U. S. publications, Ex. doc. 38, H. R., 35th Cong., 1st Sess., 1858; and Ex. doc. 37, Sen., 41st Cong., 3d Sess., 1871. Also in the 4th, 5th and 6th annual reports of the "Pioneer and Historical Society of Oregon," 1875-77. Also in the "History of Oregon," by W. H. Gray.

For subsequent attempts at settlement down to the organization of the territorial government in 1849, see Thornton's "Oregon and California," vol. 2, pp. 13-47. Also, P. H. Burnett's "Recollections and Opinions of an Old Pioneer."

### B. THE CLAIM BASED ON OFFICIAL TREATIES AND CESSIONS :

a. *The eastern boundary.* In 1682, La Salle took possession of the valley of the Mississippi in the name of King Louis XIV., of France, naming it "Louisiana." See Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West," pp. 281-83. On Franquelin's map (1684) its boundary runs "north along the range of the Rocky Mountains." (Reproduced in Parkman's "Discovery of the Great West," p. 284). After a series of changes in its ownership, the "colony or province of Louisiana" was ceded to the United States by the French Republic in 1803. See "Treaties and Conventions

of the United States," pp. 275-82. In some atlases (among others the "Statistical Atlas of the United States," 1874), this French cession of 1803 is represented as including the original region. Yet in the volume published by the government, and already cited "The Federal and State Constitutions," no such inclusion of Oregon in Louisiana is indicated.

The reasons for making the Rocky Mountains the limit, are set forth in Greenhow's "History of Oregon and California." Also, more recently, in J. J. Anderson's Pamphlet, "Did the Louisiana purchase extend to the Pacific Ocean?" It has also been discussed (on both sides) in the New England Journal of Education, 1880, by J. J. Anderson, W. A. Mowry, A. Salisbury, J. C. Redpath, and others.

*b. The Southern boundary.* The Pacific coast of North America was claimed by Spain in virtue of a long succession of Spanish explorations, 1592-1779. See Greenhow's "History of Oregon and California," pp. 86-126.

In 1819, the third article of the treaty between Spain and this country (known as the "Florida Treaty") definitely ceded to the United States that portion of the Pacific coast falling within the Oregon district, making its southern limit the parallel of latitude 42. ("Treaties and Conventions of the United States," p. 788).

*c. The Northern boundary.* In 1784, the "Northwest Company of Montreal" was formed, with the purpose of extending the trading settlements of Great Britain westward, towards the Pacific. See Greenhow's "Oregon," pp. 260-65.

A "convention" between Great Britain and Spain (the "Nootka Treaty"), in 1790, and one between Great Britain and the United States in 1818, treated of joint trading, but did not establish boundaries. [These "conventions" are printed in the Appendix to Greenhow's "Oregon," pp. 476-77.]

A "convention" between Russia and the United States, in 1824, decreed "fifty-four degrees and forty minutes of north latitude," as a boundary. (Printed in the "Federal and State Constitutions," vol. 2, pp. 1482-83.)

But in 1825 this same line was named as a boundary in a "convention" between Russia and Great Britain. (Greenhow's "Oregon," p. 480).

The debatable land, lying between the Columbia and 54 degrees 40 minutes, was claimed by Great Britain, 1824-46. See Greenhow's "Oregon," pp. 337-404. See also "Benton's "Thirty Years' View," vol. 2, pp. 426-30, 441-44, 468-78.

The treaty of 1846 between the United States and Great Britain finally established the parallel, 49 degrees, as the boundary. (Printed in the "Federal and State Constitutions," vol. 2, p. 1484.)

In 1849 the territory was formally organized as the "Territory of Oregon." "Federal and State Constitutions," vol. 2, pp. 1485-91.

## THE GUESTS OF THE NATION

## THE FRENCH DELEGATION

The arrival in the waters of New York Bay of the French steam frigate *Magicienne*, bearing the broad pennant of Rear Admiral Halligon, Commander-in-Chief of the West India Naval Station, gave notice of the approach of the delegation sent by the French Government, at the invitation of Congress, to participate in the Yorktown celebration, and to witness the laying of the corner-stone of the monument to the alliance. The *Magicienne* anchored in the North River, off the foot of Twenty-third street, where the Admiral was immediately waited upon by the Commission, the Hon. John A. King, chairman, appointed by his Excellency Governor Cornell, to extend the courtesies of the State of New York to the Guests of the Nation. Meanwhile the French steam ram *avis*o Dumont d'Urville, Captain de la Barrière, took station near the Hook, to await the arrival of the French Trans-Atlantic steamer, by which the guests were expected. By order of the Secretary of the Navy, Admiral Wyman, in command of the station, took position in the bay with his flag ship, the *Tennessee*, accompanied by the *Vandalia* and *Kearsarge*.

On the 30th Sept. M. Max Outrey, the French Minister to the United States, who had been appointed by his Government chief of the delegation, arrived on the steam packet *France*, and was visited by the Commission. He announced the sailing of the delegation from Havre on the 24th September in the steam packet *Canada*.

Early on the morning of the 5th October the marine telegraph gave notice of the *Canada* in the offing. She was immediately visited by the Revenue Cutter, having on board Mr. Assistant Secretary of State Hitt and Mr. Walker Blaine, private secretary of the Secretary of State of the United States, and the members of the New York State Commission. Mr. Hitt welcomed the guests in the name of the United States. Salutes were given by the ships-of-war and the forts in the harbor, after which the distinguished gentlemen were transferred to the charge of the Commission of the

State. Arrived at the Battery, they were met by Admiral Halligon. Carriages were in attendance, and the entire party was driven to the Fifth Avenue Hotel, escorted by the Seventh Regiment in full strength, which had tendered its services as a military escort. The route of the cortege through Broadway, Fourteenth street and Fifth Avenue, was thronged with people, and the principal buildings were hung with the flags of France and the United States. At two o'clock the delegation, the family of Lafayette, the Marquis de Rochambeau, the Count de Grasse and the descendants of the French officers who served in the Yorktown campaign were formally presented to the Governor, who tendered to them a review of the troops of the First Division, N. Y. S. N. G., Major-General Shaler commanding. The troops were drawn up in line the entire length of Fifth Avenue, from Twenty-fifth street to the Central Park. After a review in line, a march past was witnessed from a grand stand erected for the occasion, Major-General Hancock was present. The delegation dined with the Governor and the Commission in the evening.

The delegation consisted of the following persons:

## GUESTS OF THE NATION

M. MAX OUTREY, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la France aux Etats Unis, Chef de la délégation.

M. LE COMMANDANT LICHTENSTEIN, Officier d'ordonnance du Président Grévy, représentant officiel du Président, de la République Française.

*Représentant le Ministère des Affaires Etrangères.*

M. MAX OUTREY, Ministre Plénipotentiaire de la France aux Etats Unis; M. DE CORCELLE, Secrétaire d'Ambassade; M. BOULARD POUQUEVILLE, Secrétaire de Ambassade.

*Représentant l'Armée Française*

M. BOULANGER, Général de Brigade. M. BOSSAN, Colonel de Dragons; M. BLONDEL, Lieutenant-Colonel, directeur adjoint d'artillerie; M. BUREAUX DE PUSY, Chef de Bataillon du Génie, attaché au ministère de la guerre; M. MASON, Capitaine de la Légion Etrangère; M. SIGISMOND DE SANUNE, Lieutenant de Dragons.

*Représentant la Marine Française*

M. HALLIGON, Contre Amiral, Commandant en chef de la Division Navale des Antilles; M. DE PAGNAC, Capitaine de Vaisseau; M. CAVELIER DE CUVERVILLE, Capitaine de Vaisseau; M. DESCAMPS, Capitaine de frégate; M. DE LA BARRIERE, Capitaine de frégate; M.

SCHILLING, Lieutenant de Vaisseau ; M. THOMAS, Lieutenant de Vaisseau ; M. LE COMTE DE GRASSE, Lieutenant d'Infanterie de Marine.

*Représentant le Ministère des Beaux Arts*

M. FÉLIX RÉGAMÉY.

*Les Lafayette*

M. BURREAU DE PUSY, Chef de Bataillon du Génie, attache au ministère de la guerre ; M. LE COMTE DE BEAUMONT ; M. DE CORCELLE, Secrétaire d'Ambassade ; M. SIGISMUND DE SAHUNE, Lieutenant de Cavalerie ; M. GASTON DE SAHUNE.

*Représentants des Familles des Officiers Français qui ont servi à Yorktown*

M. LE MARQUIS DE ROCHAMBEAU.  
M. LE COMTE DE GRASSE.  
M. LE VICOMTE DE NOAILLES.  
M. LE COMTE D'OLLONE.  
M. LE BARON HENRI D'ABOVILLE.  
M. LE BARON CHRISTIAN D'ABOVILLE.  
M. LAUR DE LESTRADE.  
M. LE COMTE DE GOUVELLO.  
M. LE VICOMTE D'OLLONE.  
M. LE VICOMTE D'HAUSSONVILLE.

These gentlemen represented the following officers of the army and navy of 1781 :

The Marquis de Rochambeau is adopted son of the last heir of the Count de Rochambeau, enjoys his titles, his name, and the ancient estate at Vendôme, near Tours.

The Count de Grasse is the grandson of the brother of the Count de Grasse, of whom there is no descendant in the male line.

The Vicomte de Noailles is the lineal representative of the Vicomte de Noailles, who was Colonel en Second of the Regiment of Soissonais.

The Comte d'Ollone, with whom his son, the Vicomte d'Ollone, represents, 1st, his grandfather, Count d'Ollone ; 2d, his grandfather's brother, the Chevalier d'Ollone, aid to the Baron de Viomenil ; 3d, his grand uncle, M. de Ménonville, Chief of Staff of the Count de Rochambeau.

M. Laur de Lestrade is a descendant of the Baron de Lestrade, Lieutenant-Colonel of the Regiment of Gatinois.

The Baron and Comte d'Aboville and their brother-in-law, the Comte de Gouvello, are lineal representatives of the Baron d'Aboville, Chief of Engineers of Rochambeau's army.

The Vicomte d'Haussonville, whose name is distinguished in literature and social science, represents the Prince de Broglie, who served in America in 1782.

The following reports, made by General Boulanger to his Government, are now presented in translation as the official interesting record of the later movements of the distinguished guests

## REPORTS OF THE FRENCH DELEGATION

### I

BALTIMORE, 11 October, 1881

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE :

I have the honor to address to you the following report upon the sojourn in the State of New York of the French military delegation sent to Washington. It is our first stage of our journey on American soil :

Embarked at Havre, the 24th September last, on the steam packet Canada, the military delegation arrived in sight of New York the 5th October, about ten o'clock in the morning. The roughness of the sea did not permit of the transfer of the delegation to the American man-of-war, which bore the flag of Admiral Wyman, and the Canada moved up the harbor, under the escort of the American and French ships.

As soon as the steamer had anchored, the reception commission of the State of New York, Senator King [John A.], Chairman, came on board to tender a welcome to the representatives of France. With this committee came also Messrs. Blaine and Hitt, charged by the Cabinet, to accompany the French delegation through its entire journey. The delegation, together with the other French guests invited, were then disembarked and taken in carriages to the Fifth Avenue Hotel. During the drive the Seventh Regiment of New York Militia, whose fine discipline and elegant uniform are famous in America, formed a guard of honor.

The reception in the streets of New York was grandiose in its character. All the public buildings were still draped in mourning, while the greater part of the private houses displayed the flags of France and of the United States. A large crowd gathered along the route of the cortege, and the welcome was every where of the warmest kind.

In the course of the day Admiral Wyman paid a visit to the French delegation.

The next day, the 6th October, the delegation went on board the Tennessee, to return the visit of the American Admiral. It was received with a salute of thirteen guns.

The same day a very fine review was held of all the militia of New York. These troops, which were placed under the orders of General Hancock, consisted of several regiments of infantry and of three batteries of artillery. The French national hymn was played in succession by the bands of all the different corps on the line of review, and the march past was executed with remarkable alignment and precision. The enthusiasm was even greater than the day previous ; applause and shouts of Vive la France burst forth on every side ; the men waved their

handkerchiefs, and the progress of the cortege through Fifth Avenue was truly triumphal.

After the review the delegation received visits from the Governor of the State of New York, the principal persons of the city, the committee of the Chamber of Commerce, members of the French colony, etc., etc. The Governor, with the delegation, dined at the Fifth Avenue Hotel.

Finally a curious exhibition was made in the presence of the French delegation, to show the rapidity of the Firemen's service in New York.

The 7th, in the morning, the delegation, escorted to the wharf by a company of the Gardes Lafayette, embarked on board the American men-of-war *Vandalia* and *Kearsarge*. On the gun-deck of this latter vessel, the name of which is famous, are the two cannon which sunk the Confederate man-of-war *Alabama*.

The two vessels steamed up the Hudson, carrying General Hancock and the French delegation, to West Point. There, in front of the buildings of the military school, a battalion of cadets was drawn up, and from the flagstaff, which rose from the field of manoeuvre, floated the French flag above the American flag. The cadets went through their drill with astonishing precision, then marched past, at quick and double-quick step, to the music of the *Marseillaise*. The manoeuvres over, the General in command of the school did the honors of the post with extreme cordiality, and the delegation was struck with admiration at the excellent manner in which this celebrated institution is housed and conducted.

On the 8th October a special train carried the French delegation to the Falls of Niagara. On the road a breakfast of fifty covers was given in one of the cars by Mr. Vanderbilt, the President of the company, to the French delegation. Toasts were drunk to the President of the French Republic, the President of the United States, Her Majesty the Queen of England, to the memory of Washington, Lafayette, Rochambeau and the French officers who fought for the cause of the Independence of the United States, to the French and American armies and navies.

The day of the 9th was devoted to visiting the Falls of Niagara, which in the evening were illuminated by electric lights with the three national colors.

On the 10th the delegation left the State of New York for Elmira on its way to Baltimore, where it arrived in the evening of the same day.

In a word, the representatives of France have thus far every where met with a most impressive and cordial welcome. The magnificent hospitality extended to them at New York is an evidence of the lively recollection in which the Americans hold the succor rendered them by France in the last century, and the centennial

celebration of 1881 will surely contribute to draw closer the bonds which unite the two nations.

BLOUANGER, General

## II

WASHINGTON, 24th October, 1881

MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE :

I have the honor to address to you the following report upon the visit to Baltimore, Washington, Yorktown, and Richmond, of the military delegation sent to Washington to the centennial celebration of the independence of the United States.

The military delegation remained at Baltimore during the 11th, 12th, and 13th October. Fêtes were given in its honor, and it everywhere received an extremely warm welcome. The only incident to be noticed was a drill of the firemen. As at New York, the rapidity with which the various branches of the service are assembled on occasion of a fire, is most remarkable. Four minutes after the alarm was signalled, five steam fire engines had arrived, and were already at work. Jointed ladders on wheels, doubling upon each other, and worked by a windlass, were rapidly applied to the front of the threatened building, and by them access was had to the fourth and fifth stories. Finally, a hose fed by three or four engines sent up a considerable mass of water to a very great height. Too much stress can not be laid upon the importance to France, and to the city of Paris especially, of a careful study of the manner with which this service is constituted in the United States.

The 13th, the delegation arrived at Washington, where it was received by the Secretary of State, Mr. Blaine.

The 14th, it was escorted by all the members of the Cabinet to the Capitol, where it had the honor to be presented to the President of the United States, and General Sherman, and the most distinguished personages of the country. It was then introduced to the Chamber of the Senate, which was in session. Mr. Bayard, one of the Senators, arose, invited attention to the presence of the French delegates, and called for a suspension of the session in order that they might be received. The suspension was announced by President Davis and the presentation was made in the Senate Chamber itself.

While at Washington, the delegation visited the fine institution of the Union Soldiers' Home, and the Arlington Cemetery, a magnificent park, where lie the remains of fifteen thousand soldiers who fell in the war of secession. In this last excursion, they were escorted by General Sherman, whose personal attention and courtesy deserve their warmest acknowledgments.

The 17th, the entire French delegation em-

barked on a large steamer, the City of Catskill, for Yorktown. On its way down the Potomac it stopped at Mount Vernon, the home of Washington, where is the tomb of that great man. The house in which he dwelt is piously cared for by an association of American ladies, who have purchased the property. Nothing of its ancient furniture has been changed. Here is the room where Washington died, that which Lafayette occupied, etc.

On its arrival, on the 18th, at Fort Monroe, the delegation went on board the French man-of-war *Magicienne*, bearing the flag of Admiral Halligon, and on this vessel, followed by the *Dumont d'Urville*, entered the bay of Yorktown.

The 10th, the anniversary of the capitulation of Lord Cornwallis, the principal ceremony was held, consisting of the laying of the corner stone of the monument commemorative of this great event. Subsequent addresses were made by the President of the United States, the French minister, and by Mr. Winthrop, the most celebrated orator of the United States. In this last discourse, which occupied the greater part of the ceremony, the orator expressed with great elevation of thought and in elegant phrase the feeling of gratitude which the United States preserve for the French nation; he eulogized the French officers who fought a century ago for the cause of Independence.

The next day, after witnessing a review of seven to eight thousand men of the regular army and of the militia, the delegation was received by General Hancock, commander of the troops assembled at Yorktown, after which it accompanied President Arthur to the steamer *Dispatch*, upon which he returned to Washington. On the evening of the 20th the delegation left Yorktown in the City of Catskill, and arrived on the 21st at Richmond, where it spent the day. Its reception at the capital of Virginia was enthusiastic, the entire town being dressed with flags and triumphal arches erected at several points; in the evening, a magnificent ball was given to the French delegation.

The delegation returned to Washington on the 22d. A regiment of Boston militia on their way through Washington, was drawn up in front of the Arlington Hotel, where the French guests had their apartments, and immediately on its arrival, the delegation was visited by General Grant, whose visit it returned the next day.

During this second stage of its journey, the delegation received the same demonstration of affectionate sympathy which it met on its arrival on the American continent; everywhere it became assured of the sincerity of the desire of the people of the United States for the greatness of the French nation, to which it is attached by the memory of an ancient alliance, and is to-day united by the similarity of their political institutions.

BOULANGER, General

### THE STEUBENS

Baron de Steuben, Major-General in the Army of the United States, left no descendants. Of the gentlemen who visited the country in response to the invitation of Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, to take part in the Yorktown celebration, three are descended from a brother of the Baron. The remainder represent collateral branches; in all seven in number.

COLONEL ARNDT VON STEUBEN.  
CAPTAIN FRITZ VON STEUBEN.  
CAPTAIN RICHARD VON STEUBEN.  
CAPTAIN EUGEN VON STEUBEN.  
LIEUTENANT CUNO VON STEUBEN.  
LIEUTENANT BERNDT STEUBEN.  
LIEUTENANT ANTON VON STEUBEN.

Notified of their coming, the Secretary of the Navy ordered the United States gunboat *Kearsarge* to await the arrival of the steamer in the lower bay. On the morning of Wednesday, the 12th November, the *Herder*, having on board the guests and Baron von Schlözer, the German Minister, was signalled. She was immediately visited by the United States Revenue Cutter, having on board Gen. Adams, who had been designated by the Secretary of State to receive the visitors in the name of the Government. He was assisted by Mr. Creighton Webb. A number of the Commission appointed by the Governor of New York accompanied them to the *Herder*, when the guests were formally received and placed in charge of the Commission, who at once transferred the party to the *Kearsarge*, by which vessel they were brought to the city under the salutes of the forts in the harbor. Carriages were in readiness at the Battery, and they were driven to the Fifth Avenue Hotel. In the afternoon an elegant dinner was given to them by the New York Commission, and in the evening a choral demonstration was made by the German musical societies at Union Square, the mayor of the city presiding over the ceremonies; after which they took the midnight train to Washington.

The following is a brief itinerary of their movements:

October 13th to 15th—Reception and stay at Washington. 17th to 18th—Went down the

Potomac on the City of Catskill, stopping at Mount Vernon, Old Point Comfort and Fortress Monroe, to Yorktown. 19th—The celebration. 20th—Military review in the morning; naval review in the evening; later in the evening, hop at the Hygeia Hotel, Old Point Comfort. 21st—Visited Richmond, where a dinner was given at the hotel, and a ball in the evening. 22d—Returned by rail to Washington. 25th—Visited Baltimore, where a dinner was given, and a grand torch-light procession in the evening. 26th—Left for a tour, in which they visited Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, Buffalo, Niagara Falls and Boston.

November 5th—They returned to New York, and dined with the Chamber of Commerce in the evening. 6th—Visited Utica, Steubenville and the tomb of the Baron. 7th—Visited the New York Historical Society. Were present at the grand ball given by the Commissioners of the State of New York. 8th—Visited Philadelphia, where they witnessed a torch-light procession, after which they returned to New York. 10th—Sailed in the Wieland of the Hamburg line.

During the entire tour through the United States they were in charge of Mr. Walker Blaine and Mr. John Davis of the State Department of the United States.

Everywhere they were received with the greatest courtesy as representatives of the family of one of the most distinguished of the foreign born officers who served in America during the revolution, and by our German-American citizens with unbounded enthusiasm.

## EDITOR'S CHRONICLE

THE New York Historical Society held its first meeting, after the summer recess, on the evening of October 4th. On motion of John Austin Stevens, a committee was appointed to take part in the courtesies to be extended to the national guests invited to the Yorktown celebration. Among the donations reported was an additional contribution of the well-known Wormsloe Imprints, containing the hitherto unpublished Acts of the Colony of Georgia, 1755-1774. This elegant volume was presented by Mrs. De Reune.

Announcement was made of the receipt of a legacy of \$5,000 bequeathed by Edward Bill. Memorials of Judge William W. Campbell and James A. Garfield were read. Mr. Evarts spoke at length in eulogy of the late President. The paper of the evening, entitled, "The Allied Armies at the Siege of Yorktown in 1781," was read by Asa Bird Gardner.

The stated meeting for November was held on the evening of the 1st inst. Among the notable additions reported was an album containing photographic portraits of the Bank officers of the city of New York, presented by William Barton, and a curious water-color view of New Amsterdam, supposed to be drawn about 1650. The donor, Mr. C. E. Detmold, stated that it was claimed to be the oldest view extant of the original settlement of New York city. The special committee appointed to extend the courtesies of the Society to the guests of the nation reported, through their chairman, that the delegation would visit the rooms of the Society on the 7th inst. Chester A. Arthur, President of the United States, and the Hon. Andrew D. White, were elected Honorary Members of the Society. The paper of the evening was read by George W. W. Houghton; it was entitled, "The Last British Commander at New York, Sir Guy Carleton."

The materials for the essay were mainly drawn from the papers of Lord Dorchester, examined by Mr. Houghton in London last year. It presented a vivid picture of the condition of New York at the close of the war. On the conclusion of the reading, after remarks by Mr. De Lancey, Dr. Moore, and the Rev. Dr. Bevan, the executive committee were instructed to take measures for a careful examination of the Dorchester manuscripts, and to make arrangements for an appropriate celebration of the centennial of the evacuation of New York, on the 25th of November, 1883.

The seventy-seventh anniversary of the founding of the Society was celebrated at the Brick Church on the evening of Tuesday, November 29th. The orator of the evening was the Hon. Andrew D. White, President of Cornell University; the subject, "American Influences in the French Revolution." Mr. White ascribed great



influence to the example of America, but it is rather to the philosophic teachings of the last century and to the confessed failure of existing institutions to hold society from relapse into anarchy that the great revolution owed its origin, its progress, and its triumphant success.

THE Massachusetts Historical Society held its monthly meeting Thursday, October 13th. Resolutions of sorrow for the death of President Garfield, and of sympathy for his bereaved family, were adopted by a rising vote. The presiding officer, Dr. Ellis, paid a tribute to the memory of Samuel F. Haven, an earnest laborer in the field of history and archæology. An interesting conversation took place on the subject of the manuscript volume of Governor Bradford's "History of the Old Plymouth Colony," and of its true proprietor. It is claimed that as it is regarded in England as national property, it can only be alienated by Act of Parliament. It becomes, therefore, of importance to know when and how it left New England. Mr. Samuel C. Cobb communicated a couple of leaves covering the months of October and November, 1781, from the diary of his grandfather, General David Cobb, who was on Washington's staff, also a letter to Judge Robert T. Paine, with an account of the surrender.

The November meeting was held on the 15th of that month, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop in the chair. The deaths were announced of the Rev. William Newell and John M. Amory Lowell. The paper of the day was by Mr. Justin Winsor, on the manuscript of Bradford's History, which he traced from the Governor to Hutchinson, and finally to England. The remainder of the business was of a desultory character.

THE New England Historic Genealogical Society held its quarterly meeting at the Society's House, Boston, Thursday, October 8th. An interesting paper was read upon Lafayette as the nation's guest in 1824-5, by the Rev. A. B. Muzzey. The November meeting was held on 2d November, when a paper was read by the Rev. Edwin M. Stone, of Providence, entitled, "Reminiscences of Marblehead by an old

Neighbor." Mr. Stone was settled in the neighboring town of Beverly in 1834. The usual table business was transacted, and memorial sketches were reported by the historiographer of five members recently deceased.

THE Virginia Historical Society has been busy throughout the summer, meetings of its executive committee having been frequent in the commodious rooms placed at its disposal by the Westmoreland Club. On the 1st inst., Mr. R. A. Brock, the well-known local antiquary and historical student, and also the associate editor of the Richmond Standard, took possession of the rooms in person, and they are now permanently opened to the public. The accessions to membership has been large and the prospects are bright for this institution. Among the members elected we note his excellency, John Beverley Robinson, Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, a scion of an old Virginia family. The munificent gift of Dinwiddie and Washington papers, recently purchased at the Henry Stevens' sale, in London, was announced. We have already referred to the extent and value of this collection [VII., 73.] at the session of the 23d July, and numerous relics have been added to the museum of the Society, among which a camp table used by Cornwallis on his march through Virginia. Numerous minor gifts of books and documents attest the sincerity of the interest displayed in the welfare of the Society.

THE Georgia Historical Society met on the evening of Monday, the 3d October; only table business was transacted. At the November meeting, Monday, 7th, a paper was read by Major R. M. Orme; the subject, Who are the Physical and Moral Cowards of Society? Several valuable donations were announced and the Society adjourned.

THE Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Philadelphia held its stated meeting in October. An essay entitled, "How Money is Made," giving an account of the processes of the United States Mint, was read by Mr. A. E. Guterbridge. Photographs were exhibited of the Dresden Codex, one of the four known manuscripts in the hiero-

glyphic characters of the ancient inhabitants of Yucatan. It was published in fac-simile in Lord Kingsborough's *Antiquities of Mexico*. A peculiarity of the photographs is that they are the first work ever published in polychromatic photography. At the November meeting Mr. Edwin N. Barber read an essay on "Early European Tobacco Pipes found in America."

THE Literary and Historical Society of Quebec opened its winter course of lectures on the evening of the 25th November, with an inaugural address by its President, Mr. J. M. LeMoine, who chose as his topic, Edinburgh and Rouen. His paper, printed in full in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 26th, is a charming piece of descriptive literature.

THE Halifax Historical Society held its regular monthly meeting Thursday, November 3. The Lieutenant Governor General was present and read a sketch of the History of Government House, full of local interest. A sketch was also read of Nicholas A. Olding, at one time a leading lawyer in Nova Scotia.

THE Annual Meeting of the Chicago Historical Society was held in its Hall, 140 and 142 Dearborn Avenue, Chicago, Nov. 15, 1881. Hon. I. N. Arnold presided. In behalf of Hon. E. B. Washburne, who had been asked by the Society to write a sketch of Edward Coles, the second governor of Illinois, he presented the Society a copy of that valuable work.

The President was requested, by a vote of the Society, to ask Edward Coles, Esq., of Philadelphia, if he would obligingly deposit in the fire-proof vault of this Society the original letters and other documents formerly owned by his father, which had been copied or referred to in Mr. Washburne's sketch.

President Arnold made his Annual Report. The following facts were elicited: During the past year 818 bound volumes and 2,910 unbound books and pamphlets have been added to the library. These, added to the collections made since May, 1817, make an aggregate of 6,036 bound volumes and 18,754 unbound books. In addition to these, rare and valuable maps have

been collected, among which are many old French maps of this country, secured by Mr. E. B. Washburne in France, all of which have been bound into a large volume.

During the year nine papers have been read by the following persons: J. G. Scammon, E. B. Washburne (2), H. C. Van Schaack, E. A. Otis, E. G. Mason, H. L. Hammond, John Wentworth and J. D. Caton.

Last summer fourteen large quarto volumes of manuscripts, which had been prepared by the Librarian, were bound, making a total of twenty-six volumes of manuscripts in the library. Most of these are letters, many of which are of great historical interest and value.

Respecting the financial condition of the Society, the President reported that the Gilpin Fund amounted \$49,559.63, and in a few years more the income from it would become available. The eight city lots bequeathed to the Society by the late Lucretia Pond of Petersham, have been sold for \$13,500, and, in accordance with the will of Miss Pond, the income from this will be used in the purchase of historical works. The income from members is sufficient to defray the current expenses of the Society. The President also, in appropriate terms, alluded to the decease of six worthy members of the Society during the past year, and said suitable resolutions of regret and respect had been spread upon the Society's records.

After the reports of the Treasurer and Trustees of the Society's funds, confirming the President's report, an election was held, and the following persons were elected to the offices named:

President, Isaac N. Arnold; First Vice President, Thomas Hogue; Second Vice President, E. B. Washburne; Secretary and Librarian, Albert D. Hager; Treasurer, Henry H. Nash. Executive Committee, to serve four years—Mark Skinner and D. K. Pearsons, for the unexpired term made vacant by the death of Geo. F. Rumsey and John Wentworth.

Notice was given that President Arnold would read an eulogy on the late William B. Ogden at the next meeting, December 20.

Hon. W. F. De Wolf was then introduced, and read a very interesting paper on his "Rec-

ollections of Eminent Men," after which the meeting adjourned.

THE Yorktown Centennial was on the whole successful. The faults in detail were inevitable when the extent of the plan and the inadequacy of the means are considered. The Joint Congressional Commission seems in the beginning to have had no conception of the magnitude the celebration was certain to assume, and when that consideration was forced upon them, not only displayed an incapacity to deal with it themselves, but an indisposition to permit others to supply their own lamentable deficiencies. Without outside assistance, they would have been in the strange position of having invited an enormous assemblage without providing means of landing it even when it reached York River.

Rude, incomplete and uncomfortable as were the arrangements, the celebration still had that grandeur inherent to vast assemblages moved by a common and patriotic impulse. Already, in the language of the orator of the day, the occasion has taken rank among those grand international ceremonies of which the Field of the Cloth of Gold is the brilliant example. The picturesque encampment on Temple Farm and the beauty of the famous bay, alive with a thousand sail, will be remembered when the last memory of inconvenience and discomfort shall have faded from the mind of those whose fortune it was to witness the historic scene.

The programme was not essentially modified, though somewhat curtailed. The President, in his dignified demeanor and becoming serenity, realized the anticipation of his friends, and won the respect and confidence of the country. The interchange of welcome and acceptance with our foreign guests was cordial and gratifying. The oration of Mr. Winthrop, worthy of the occasion and of his own high fame, will rank among the most admirable and elevated examples of forensic art. The salute to the British flag was felicitous beyond example in the range of international courtesies, fitting recognition of the fortunate fact that the nation, whose arms the allied powers combined to humble a century ago, is to-day the nearest ally of each; recognition also of the services of those Whigs of England

whose voice encouraged us in the heat of the struggle with royal prerogative, the defeat of which on the field of Yorktown was the signal for the supremacy of that liberal party of which Mr. Gladstone is to-day the honored chief. The corner-stone was laid to the monument to the Alliance which our forefathers ordered to be raised in commemoration of the freedom by land and sea which it finally achieved on that sacred and historic ground. Let the Congressional Commissioners hold in mind this purpose and remember in the emblems inscribed upon the towering shaft that it is the union of nations to a common end which is to be commemorated and not merely a victory which, though glorious, was but a consummation of the purpose of the alliance.

The courtesies extended to the guests of the nation by the State of New York by the Commissioners appointed for the purpose were worthy of the historic occasion. The festivities on the arrival and departure were on a grand and lavish scale. No such military pageant has ever been witnessed in the streets of New York as the review by the Governor and guests and the subsequent march past of the First Division, every corps with its full complement of admirable music. The trip to West Point was of unexampled interest. The two men of war, gaily decorated, mounted the river, the shores of which were lined with spectators; on the *Vandalia*, Admiral Wyman, with the naval representation of the French delegation and the New York State officials; on the historic *Kearsarge*, Major General Hancock, with the army representatives of the French delegation and the United States officials, equally shared the honors of the day. The weather was exceptionally perfect, the noble river at its best, its shores variegated with the changing tints of the October foliage.

The visit to the grounds of the Academy, the military drill of the Cadets, and in the evening the moonlight view of the Hudson, a fairy scene from the commanding height at Cozzens', and an elegant entertainment and ball, were the incidents of a memorable day.

Not less perfect in its ordering were the parting ceremonies. The Commissioners' Ball on the evening of Monday, the 7th, was a marvel of

elegance, beauty, and decorum. The entire interior of the Casino was carpeted anew for the occasion in colors which admirably set off the brilliant costumes of the ladies and numerous officers. The State reception by the Governor and the Commissioners on the stage, which was reached by broad steps from the corridors of the main floor, was conducted with ceremonious formality.

The stage and sides of the building were lined with tropical trees of marvelous luxuriance and beauty, relieved by the color of a thousand growing plants. In front of the stage was a curtain of ferns, which stretched across the entire building. Two garlands of lights encircled the hall. From each pillar sprung graceful sprays of small porcelain globes, and four elegant chandeliers hung from the ceiling. Over the stage two enormous ensigns of France and United States blended their common colors, above which, beneath an arching line of the flags of all nations on a resplendent ray, dazzling with gold, silver and color, which glittered like a great jewel in the calcium lights, was the name of Washington.

The decorations were appropriate in their historic truth. Over the silken panels on the sides of the stage were the names of Rochambeau and De Grasse, in silver lettering, upon a lozenge of blue, set in a field of buff. The old whig colors predominated, in quiet dignity and harmony, in the entire decoration of the building. On the sides between blazoned shields of France, the Bourbon lilies and the Republican fasces, on the one side, and of the United States and the State of New York. on the other, were the names of Vioménil, Lincoln and Saint Simon and of Chastellux, Knox and de Choisy; while at the lower end of the hall, facing the stage, those of Steuben, Lafayette and Nelson, divided by groups of standards, the one combining the Bourbon golden lilies on a white field with the stars and stripes of the revolution, the other the tri-color with the stars and stripes of to-day. The music was by the two most famous bands in the United States. The military music included all the celebrated French and American airs; the Marseillaise, the *Chant des Girondins*, *Partant pour la Syrie*, among the former. The arrangements for the ar-

rival and departure of the fifteen hundred guests, for the care of their hats and cloaks, were absolutely perfect in their well-ordered subdivision, not a moment of delay being experienced at any time in the evening. The list of one hundred managers, to whom the distribution of tickets and the direction of the floor was intrusted, comprised a representation of the best names and most distinguished families in the city.

The next day, Tuesday, the 8th, in pursuance of a request of the French Minister, the Commissioners received a parting visit from the French delegation, and the official visit was closed with the same ceremonious dignity with which it opened. On Wednesday the delegation scattered, a part leaving by the French steamer, others for Canada, while the military gentlemen and the Lafayettes, who, by the courtesy of Mr. Blaine and the liberality of the railroad companies, were tendered passes over the entire western country, and as far south as New Orleans, left in a special car for the interior and the Pacific coast.

The visit of the French delegation, the Lafayettes, and the Steubens, to the New York Historical Society, on the morning of the 7th December, was of peculiar interest. There was a large gathering of the older members, among whom gentlemen who were present at the visit of Lafayette to the Society in 1824. Two portraits of Lafayette adorned the Hall, the one painted for Colonel Ebenezer Stevens, in military costume, in 1784, and presented to the Society by him in 1804, and which hung over Lafayette's head on the occasion of his last visit. The other, of a copy of that of Ary Scheffer.

It was the privilege of the writer of these lines to show to M. Bureaux de Pusy, one of the descendants of Lafayette, the original letter written by Lafayette from his Olmutz prison, announcing the transfer of his ancestor, General Bureaux de Pusy, his companion in captivity, to another place of confinement. This interesting relic, the property of Mr. Jeremiah Colburn of Boston, was printed in translation in the Magazine (VI. 444). The Steubens were equally interested in the manuscript papers of Major-General de Steuben, preserved by the Society, which are specially full upon the Virginia campaign which preceded the battle of Yorktown.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 37, Station D—N. Y. Post Office.)

**SPECIAL REPORT OF NEW YORK STATE SURVEY ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE SCENERY OF NIAGARA FALLS, and the FOURTH ANNUAL REPORT ON THE TRIANGULATION OF THE STATE, for the year 1879.** JAMES T. GARDNER, Director. 8vo, pp. 96. Together with a map of Eastern and Central New York. CHARLES VAN BENTHUYSEN & SONS, Albany, 1880.

To the courtesy of Francis A. Stout, one of the Commissioners of the State Survey, we are indebted for a copy of this interesting report. The importance of the subject was painfully manifest when recently, as one of the Commissioners appointed by the Governor of the State of New York to extend its courtesies to the guests of the nation, the writer of these lines, after an interval of a few years since a former visit to Niagara Falls, found that all access to points of view on the American side had been closed, and this grandest of natural scenery was in the exclusive control of the speculative owners of the grounds. To the extreme mortification of the gentlemen accompanying the French delegation, it was ascertained that the hours at which the Falls could be seen were subject to individual direction. The right of the riparian holders to manage their property in their own way is not denied, but the report ably sets forth the reasons, and accompanies them with photographic views in illustration, why the entire front on the two sides of the river should be formed into an International Park, under the joint control of the State of New York and of Canada. Mr. Gardner, the Director of the New York Survey, and Mr. Frederick Law Olmstead have made a careful examination of the grounds, and their suggestions as to the extent of land necessary to give satisfactory access to the Falls of Niagara, and preserve their value—which is fortunately small—are embodied in the report.

It is sincerely to be hoped that the Legislature of the State will give this subject, which is of interest not only to ourselves, but to the world, an early attention before it be too late to arrest the gradual degradation of this master-piece of nature.

**THE STORY OF THE UNITED STATES NAVY, FOR BOYS.** By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D. Illustrated 16mo, pp. 418. HARPER & BROTHERS. New York, 1881.

This instructive and entertaining volume, which children of a larger growth may read

with as much pleasure and profit as those for whom it is designed, was prepared at the suggestion of Captain Luce, the intelligent Captain of the training-ship *Minnesota*. Its correctness was assured by submission to the authorities of the navy department, and its nautical terms have been corrected by an officer in the service.

In the beginning of the nation, the navy was the pride of the republic. It was the gallantry of our seamen which rescued us from that domineering arrogance which, finally arrested on land by the victory of Yorktown, was still maintained at sea. And again, in these latter days, the gallant Farragut, whose figure is the frontispiece to this excellent volume, has taken such a place in the history of marine warfare as no man has reached since the hero of Trafalgar.

We heartily commend Mr. Lossing's book to our readers, young and old. No better models can be given to American youth than our naval heroes.

**PINNOCK'S IMPROVED EDITION OF DR. GOLDSMITH'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND,** from the invasion of Julius Cæsar to the death of George II., with a continuation to the year 1872. Illustrated with numerous engravings by William C. Taylor, LL. D., of Trinity College, Dublin. One hundred and sixth American, from the thirty-fifth English edition. New and enlarged edition. 12mo, pp. 541. CHARLES DE SILVER & SONS, Philadelphia, 1881.

This is a cheap edition of a work which has been famous in its time, and which, because of the extreme limpidity and beauty of its style, age cannot wither. The recent additions by the competent hand of Dr. Taylor bring down the original, with its additions, to the present day. Questions for the teachers' use at the close of each section, fit it for schools.

**YEAR BOOK—1880. CITY OF CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA.** With a colored map of Charleston, the Harbor and Vicinity. The News and Courier Book Presses, Charleston, S. C. 1880.

We depart from our usual custom to express our obligation to his Honor the Mayor of Charleston, Wm. A. Courtenay, for this admirably arranged and well-printed exposition of the condition of the city of Charleston. The map

which precedes it contains a chart of the population and products of the principal foreign States with which the United States has commercial relations, and, what is far more significant, a tabular statement of the growth in production; the colossal results in the eleven States of the great Northwest in the past four years; "statements which" (it is added) "will arrest public attention, and may well be studied by all our citizens, for herein lies the future growth and greatness of this city" (Charleston).

We hail with profound satisfaction such words as these. They show that the great seaboard city of the South understands her true duty, and that hereafter her interests, rather than her sympathies, will control her relations to the Union. If such declarations be made good by action, as there is reason to hope from the patriotic and energetic action of her chief magistrate, capital will no longer hesitate to engage in the development of the admirable facilities of Charleston as an outlet for that increasing granary of the Northwest, whose overflowing stores will ere long tax the capacity of every seaport on the Atlantic coast. An appendix to this Annual Review of the Mayor contains a brief history of Charleston, with a number of valuable statistical tables.

**MCCARTY'S ANNUAL STATISTICIAN,**  
1881. L. P. MCCARTY, Editor. 16mo, pp. 624.  
L. P. MCCARTY, Publisher and Proprietor.  
San Francisco, California. E. R. MCCARTY,  
Hotel Brunswick, New York City. (1881).

This is a most handy volume, containing an infinite variety of statistics, well arranged, carefully indexed and completely set forth. The classifications are under the heads of The World, Principal Rulers, Foreign Cities, Chronology, United States, Biographies, Anniversaries, etc. It is announced to appear in January of each year.

**THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT, FROM MAY, 1762, TO OCTOBER, 1767, INCLUSIVE.** Transcribed and edited, in accordance with a resolution of the General Assembly, by CHARLES J. HOADLY, State Librarian. 8vo, pp. 698. Press of the CASE, LOCKWOOD & BRAINARD CO. Hartford, 1881.

Th's volume contains the unprinted portion of volume IX. of the Public Records, and from pages 1 to 316, inclusive, of volume X. of the same series. "It is not known," says Mr. Hoadly, in his prefatory note, "that the Journals of either House of the General Assembly are extant for any of the six years covered by

this publication, and the Journal of the Governors and Council has also disappeared." Appended is the book of Reasons why the British Colonies in America should not be charged with Internal Taxes by authority of Parliament, said to have been compiled by Governor Fitch.

The note to Instructions to the Connecticut Commissioners to the Stamp Act Congress held in New York in October, 1765, contains the most complete bibliography of the proceedings of that Congress we have yet met with.

**CATALOGUE OF THE LIBRARY OF STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.** Vol. V. (Third supplement.) Prepared by DANIEL S. DURRIE, Librarian, and ISABEL DURRIE, Assistant. 8vo, pp. 585. DAVID ATWOOD, State Printer, Madison, Wisconsin, 1881.

This volume comprises the titles, with cross references, of books and pamphlets received since the publication of the second supplement, August 1, 1878, at which time the number was about eighty thousand. Since that date the number has been increased to over ninety-four thousand. In a circular issued with the volume, an earnest appeal is made for contributions of books, and especially of pamphlets, which are usually neglected as unimportant, but which are often of incalculable value in their monographic treatment of special subjects.

**HISTORY OF THE GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE (AT WASHINGTON, D. C.)** with a brief record of the public printing for a century, 1789-1881. By R. W. KERR, of the Government Printing Office. Illustrated. 8vo. INQUIRER PRINTING AND PUBLISHING CO., Lancaster, Pa., 1881.

This appears to be a summary of all the information accessible concerning the public printing by the United States Government. The first mention made of this term, which to the ordinary mind conveys an idea of mingled favoritism and extravagance, occurs in the annals of Congress, in the report of Mr. Sylvester of New York, to the First Congress, recommending that proposals be invited for printing the laws and other proceedings of that body. In 1804 the system of letting out the contract for printing to the lowest bidder was adopted, and prevailed until 1819, the work being done, according to the author of the present account, in a very imperfect manner. In that year it was provided by joint resolution that each house elect its own printer, and the famous firm of Gales & Seaton were elected printers by both houses. In

1846 the contractors' plan was returned to. In 1852 the contractors becoming bankrupt, a radical change was made. An office of Superintendent was created by law, rules for the purchase of materials laid down, and the rates of compensation for labor established. In 1861 the Government became the owner of what is now known as the Government Printing Office Building. The details of the office arrangement are described and illustrated with numerous plates of machinery used in the various processes incident to the business.

#### YORKTOWN CENTENNIAL HAND-

BOOK. Historical and Topographical Guide to the Yorktown Peninsula, Richmond, James River and Norfolk. By JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS. 12mo, pp. 124. Illustrated. Printed for the author by C. A. COFFIN & ROGERS, 85 and 87 John street, New York, 1881.

The purpose of this handbook is to supply the average reader with all the information needed with regard to this historic ground. It contains narratives of the campaigns of the Revolution and the war of secession, biographical sketches of the French commanders and lists of the officers of the army and navy who came to our assistance in 1780-1781. Added to this, a historic and topographical guide to the Peninsula, and all the proceedings of Congress and Legislatures with regard to the Centennial. Its interest is not merely temporary; on the contrary, it will be found an excellent souvenir of the Centennial celebration.

#### THE HUGUENOTS OF LA ROCHELLE.

A Translation of the "Reformed Church of La Rochelle." An Historical Sketch by LOUIS DELMAS, Pastor and President of Consistory 1870. Translated from the French by George L. Catlin, United States Commercial Agent at La Rochelle. 16mo, pp. 295. ANSON D. F. RANDOLPH & Co. New York, 1880.

The history of the Huguenots is at last being written. Volume after volume, pamphlet after pamphlet appears, throwing fresh light upon the consistency, perseverance and admirable tenacity of this heroic body of men whose influence has stamped itself in unfading marks on the history of the parent State and of the alien colonies to which they fled for refuge from the most ruthless persecution, if it be viewed from purely religious grounds, of modern times. The Spanish persecutions and the atrocities of Alva, in the Netherlands, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew, have been claimed, and not with-

out justice, to have been based, the one on political, the other on dynastic reasons of policy. Even the expulsion of the Moors from Spain may be politically excused as the last acts in a long series of resistance to the foreign invader and secular foe, but the search will be vain that seeks to find one shadow of excuse for the uncalled for revocation of the solemn pact of the Edict of Nantes which drove from France the flower of her population and her industry. The days of diplomatic agents from this to foreign countries are numbered, and the inevitable progress towards free trade will render the office of the commercial agent equally a sinecure, but so long as good ministers as Irving, and Broadhead, and Motley, and such agents as Mr. Catlin, devote their intervals of leisure to the serious work of history, there will be little complaint of their continuance.

Mr. Delmas, in his introduction, distinctly establishes the purpose of the book to be limited to the religious history of La Rochelle in its most lofty and calmest phase. Its historic interest, therefore, is in the origin and manifestation of protestantism at La Rochelle, and the part the sect played there in the stormy period of French history which succeeded. He denies the possibility of assigning a precise date to the origin of the reformed christian church at La Rochelle. The four gospels were translated into French in 1521, and in 1528 the entire Bible had been printed in the same language, and in many editions. In 1534 it was circulated throughout the entire country. Between 1559 and 1573 there were many adhesions of notable people to the Reformation.

In the beginning of 1562, the Edict of January accorded to the reformers the free exercise of their religion outside of the city limits, but on the petition of the protestants of La Rochelle, supported by the Governor and Mayor, who were of their faith, the King withdrew the restriction. In February the first provincial synod was held at La Rochelle. About the same period occurred the massacre of protestants at Vassy by order of the Duke of Guise, the carrying off of the King and Queen mother, and the outbreak of civil war. On the 6th April the protestants of Rochelle replied by tearing down all the images in the churches, much to the regret of the Consistory, who repudiated the act. It is impossible here to recapitulate all the incidents of the long contest which followed the League, the war of the Guises, the siege and fall of Rochelle, the last stronghold of protestantism in France, the abjuration of Henri Quatre for the possession of Paris, and the promulgation by him in April, 1598, of the famous Edict of Nantes, so called because he was then sojourning in that city.

This ordinance was declared to be perpetual and irrevocable, and secured full liberty of con-

science After his death, Marie de Medicis, on taking the regency, confirmed it. Next followed the persecutions in Bearn, the building of a fort at the gates of La Rochelle to overawe the population, the siege and capture of the city by Richelieu, the interference of Buckingham with an English force, his withdrawal and murder, the terrible famine which wasted the doomed city, and its final fall. The policy of enforced homogeneity which has been the source of many of the internal troubles of France was pursued by Louis XIV. The temple at La Rochelle was demolished by order of Parliament, the pastors carried to the bastille, the congregation fled to Holland, and on the 18th October, 1685, the Edict of Nantes was revoked by royal ordinance dated at Fontainebleau.

The final chapter, entitled the Church under the Cross, relates the persecutions which ensued, and an appendix supplies numerous official documents, addresses, etc., issued during the long struggle.

**SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE CUMBERLAND.** Twelfth Reunion, Toledo, Ohio, 1880. Published by order of the Society, 8vo, pp. 239. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1881.

The reunion for 1880 took place at Toledo, on the 22d and 23d September, 1880. The place was well chosen, for that city and Lucas county contributed more troops to that army than to any other. The oration was delivered by General Benjamin Harrison. The memorial pages contain tributes to Generals Thomas, Anderson, Hooker, Davis, Williams, LeFavour, Campbell, to Colonels Greenwood and Fowler, and to Major Curtis. These reunions serve to keep alive the patriotism of the country and the memory of the cause.

**HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF SPAIN BY THE ARAB-MOORS.** With a sketch of the civilization which they achieved and imparted to Europe. By HENRY COPPÉE. 16mo, 2 vols, pp. 455-496. LITTLE, BROWN & Co. Boston, 1881.

There is a glamour about Eastern civilization irresistible to Western nations. When we open the pages, whether of the wonderful tales of Haroun al Raschid, the chivalric romance of Rustan, the Garden of Gulestan, Scott's famous tale of the Talisman, or the melancholy story of Boabdil, the last of the proud sovereigns of Granada, it is as though we had passed the borders of some enchanted land, where every sense is held captive by novel charm. The present history is drawn in more sober colors than

that of Irving's last splendid but fanciful picture of the Conquest of Granada. Irving's History of Mahomet and his Successors brings the Arabians in their conquering march to the Pillars of Hercules. The story of the Conquest of Granada is but the final episode of the great work, the Conquest of Gothic Spain, which he seems to have contemplated but never to have nerved himself to accomplish.

In the history of Spain, as in England and France, Mr. Coppée finds two distinct histories of conflicting races meeting, struggling and finally blending in a common organization.

In Spain there were the Goths of the rugged north, who overran and conquered the Spanish-Roman race, and founded the Visigothic Empire, which in turn later was met and confronted by the rolling force of Mahommedanism, which, with its marvelous power of domination and organization, grouped together the North African tribes, swept across the Straits of Gibraltar, and overthrew the Goths, whom climate and luxury had degenerated, in one decisive battle, and, in less than a century after the death of the Prophet, mastered the Peninsula and founded a civilization which Europe had never as yet seen.

To narrate the thrilling incidents of this conquest, to present some idea of the social life, customs, art, literature, architecture, progress in the sciences and the form of government by which they were protected and fostered, is the ambitious purpose of Mr. Coppée, and well has he succeeded in his task. He also, like Irving, had fitted himself for his task by a sojourn in Spanish countries and by a visit to the scene of his story. It is enough to say that his work well fills the gap between Irving's first more serious work and the page on which Prescott paints in glittering style and glowing color the career of Ferdinand and Isabella and the downfall of the Moorish monarchy, and should hold a place on the shelf of every student of history.

**FLORIDA; ITS SCENERY, CLIMATE AND HISTORY.** With an account of Charleston, Savannah, Augusta and Aiken, and a chapter for consumptives; being a complete Handbook and Guide. By SIDNEY LANIER. With numerous illustrations. 12mo, pp. 262. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co. Philadelphia, 1881.

This edition of the late lamented Mr. Lanier's charming guide-book to the beautiful peninsula whose very name is fragrant with the odor of blossoms and of fruit, is as fresh as the day it was written. Rarely has the poet's touch so happily blended history and fancy, statistics and descriptions of scenery, as in this exquisite volume. His sense of color is keen, and his temperament alive to the sensuous charm of the



orange groves and the vigorous, penetrating balsam of the pine. There are passages which remind one of Shelley's inimitable descriptions of the translucent splendors of Baiae's Bay.

The illustrations are pretty and appropriate, and the book will remain a favorite companion to the increasing host which wends its way to the groves of Florida when the more ambitious flights of the author have been forgotten.

**THE HISTORY OF SAINT AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA.** With an introductory account of the early Spanish and French attempts at explorations in the territory of Florida, &c., to which is added a short description of the climate and advantages of Saint Augustine as a health resort. By WILLIAM W. DEWHURST. 24mo, pp. 182. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS, 1881.

In this monograph the author has condensed in a readable form the elaborate accounts of the early writers of the notable events connected with the early settlement and defence of Saint Augustine, and the traditions and chronicles in the keeping of the descendants of the early settlers have been diligently sought for. The bibliographical suggestion of works for consultation by the historical student, indicates the narrative of De Soto, by a Knight of Elvas; the works of Cabeça de Vaca, Garcilssa de la Vega, Landonnière, Bartram, Romann, Vignoles, Roberts, De Brahm, Stork, Forbes, Darby, Williams and Fairbanks.

The Indian town of Seloy stood on the present site of St. Augustine. On the failure of the Spaniards to hold a settlement, the famous Admiral Coligni, chief of the Huguenot party of France, conceived the idea of establishing a Protestant colony. With the consent of King Charles the Ninth, he sent out Ribault with two ships on the 18th February, 1562. Making land about the latitude of St. Augustine, they sailed north, and finally disembarked at Port Royal, where they established a colony and erected a fort, which they called Fort Charles. Receiving no further support from France, the colony, on the brink of starvation, constructed a small vessel of fibrous plants, and setting sail for home were picked up by a passing vessel and taken to England. Two years later Coligni despatched a second colony, with three ships, to Florida, under the command of Landonnière, who had accompanied Ribault. He again made land at St. Augustine, pushed up the coast to Port Royal, but finding Fort Charles deserted and the colony broken up, returned to the river Mai, or St. Johns, and founded the settlement of St. Augustine, June 22, 1564, forty-three years before the first settlement of the English at Jamestown, and sixty-six years before the

landing of the Puritans from the Mayflower, at Plymouth.

The subsequent history of this, the oldest town in the United States, is told in a pleasing and graphic manner.

**MAGNA CHARTA; OR, THE RISE AND PROGRESS OF CONSTITUTIONAL CIVIL LIBERTY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA.** Embracing the period from the Norman conquest to the Centennial year of American independence. By J. C. WELLS. 8vo, pp. 505. MILLS & Co. Des Moines, 1880.

The design of this volume is not to trace the full development of the English or American constitutions, but to treat of the principles therein which underlie personal and political rights and restrain governmental prerogative. Magna Charta is not the fountain or source of Anglo Saxon liberties, but the chart upon which they are collected and laid down in statement.

The materials consulted in the preparation of the volume extend from Roger of Wendover's *Chronicles* through the standard histories of England, and find their culmination in the latest American authorities; Draper's *Civil War*, Curtis' *History of the Constitution*, *Treason Trials at Indianapolis*, &c. The final chapters are on Emancipation, the Nations' Wards and the Civil Rights Law, the mention of which shows the extent of the field traversed. The work is written in an impartial, while thoroughly national, spirit. His final words are the proud boast, which should be that of every citizen in these days of detraction, "I, too, am an American citizen."

**THOMAS CORWIN. A SKETCH BY A. P. RUSSELL.** 12mo, pp. 128. ROBERT CLARKE & Co. Cincinnati, 1881.

It is not often that a man has the posthumous good fortune to secure a competent and appreciative biographer. This is an exceptional case. The reputation acquired by Mr. Russell by his admirable library notes, to which unstinted praise was given in these pages [IV., 238], is sufficient to secure for this free sketch of the great statesman, politician and humorist of the West a wide reading. It would be hardly just to term this a biography, however. It is rather such a tribute as a votary brings to a shrine, a wreath of recollections for a favorite brow. It is a strange commentary upon the danger of humor that this, the Prince of American wits, should have placed on record his opinion that it was fatal to the reputation of a public man with high aspirations. It is needless to commend this fascinating sketch; it carries its own flavor and needs no grain of praise.

**POINTS OF HISTORY FOR SCHOOLS**

AND COLLEGES. By JOHN LORD. 4to, pp.

293. A. S. BARNES &amp; Co. New York, 1881.

This little book is, in the words of its author, designed for both teachers and pupils as a supplement to ordinary school histories, by fixing in the mind what is most vital and important in the history of civilization. The author does not claim the work to be absolutely free from error. As there are two thousand questions and answers, this is hardly possible. The questions and answers are arranged by cycles of history as Roman, Grecian, of the Middle Ages.

**HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE.**

By JOHN RICHARD GREEN. Small 4to, 2

vols., pp. 718-634. AMERICAN BOOK EXCHANGE. New York, 1881.

This invaluable contribution to history, written in a novel manner and entirely in accord with the spirit of the age, in its acknowledgment of the superior claims of the people to historical relations over the privileged or ruling classes, has already been elaborately reviewed in the pages of the Magazine [II., 377, VI., 71].

Its appearance in a cheap form within the reach of all is welcome.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHARLESTOWN, MASSACHUSETTS, AND BUNKER HILL.**

By JAMES F. HUNNEWELL. 8vo, pp. 100. JAMES R. OSGOOD &amp; Co. Boston, 1880.

The result of long labor, such works as these are only satisfactory when executed by those whose hands wait on their hearts. Mr. Hunnewell is a native of the historic town whose bibliography he has collected in this volume. The division is of the periods into which the early American history naturally groups itself. The ante and post revolution periods, here called the colonial and the town period, the latter beginning with the year 1776. There is of course a separate division for the Battle of Bunker Hill, and a list of maps and plans.

**REMINISCENCES OF TWO YEARS IN THE UNITED STATES NAVY.**

By JOHN M. BATTEN, late Acting Assistant Surgeon United States Navy. 16mo, pp. 125. Printed for the author. INQUIRER PRINTING AND PUBLISHING CO. Lancaster, Pa., 1881.

In this modest volume the author puts on record his personal experience. He received his appointment on the 23d March, 1864, and was assigned to service on the United States steamer Princeton, and the next month detailed for service on Hampton Roads, whence he was ordered to the

Valley City, then lying off Hill's Point, on the Tar river, North Carolina. It is a daily record of the coast service, with some experience of gun-boat warfare. It was on board this vessel that Captain Cushing was brought after his daring feat of the blowing up of the Confederate ram Albemarle with his torpedo launch.

In 1866 Surgeon Batten was honorably discharged. These minute memoranda of daily experience will be of interest to those immediately concerned in this branch of the arduous coast service.

**SIR JOHN FRANKLIN.**

By A. H. BEESLY.

18mo, pp. 238. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS. New York, 1881.

This volume, the preface announces, is based mainly on narratives of two expeditions to the Polar seas by Sir John Franklin himself, and on a monograph upon the great arctic explorer, by M. de la Roquette. The well-known works of Sir John Richardson, Captain Sperard Osborne, Dr. Kane, Admiral McClintock, have also been freely used. The book commences with a survey of arctic history, giving an exposition of the threefold object of polar exploration, viz.: The discovery of a north-west passage, that is, from the Atlantic to the Pacific by the north of America; a northeast passage by the north of Norway and Siberia, or for a north polar passage straight across the pole. The common goal of all has been the Straits, known since 1728 as Behring. The remainder of the volume concerns Franklin himself from his early career to the last expedition, in which it was sadly closed amid the regrets of the civilized world, and a sympathy in which his heroic wife had large place.

**EMINENT AMERICANS. COMPRISING**

BRIEF BIOGRAPHIES OF LEADING STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, ORATORS, and others men and women who have made American history.

By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D. Illustrated with over 100 fine portraits by Lossing &amp; Barrett. 16mo, pp. 488. AMERICAN BOOK EXCHANGE. New York, 1881.

Only from the storehouse of facts of large and minor importance, collected in a life-time of study of American history, are such volumes as these with which the indefatigable author is enriching the library of youth possible. The sketches are short and to the point, and well suited to elevate as well as to instruct the minds of those upon whom the destinies of the great republic, and through it the future of the civilized world, rest, the youth of America.

The materials are drawn from our colonial, federal, and national annals, and the persons selected as examples are each types of some

form of the political, religious or social life of the country and its wonderful progress.

#### THE MARTYRDOM OF LOVEJOY. AN

ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE, TRIALS AND PERILS OF REV. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, who was killed by a Pro-slavery Mob at Alton, Ill., on the night of November 7, 1837. By an eye-witness. 8vo, pp. 233. Fergus Printing Company, Chicago, 1881.

The writer of this thrilling story of the early days of anti-slavery agitation was the personal friend of the courageous and independent editor who refused to submit to the dictations of the mob, and, after the successive destruction of three printing presses, lost his life in the defence of his fourth and last, which shared the fate of the preceding. The facts are related in an impressive manner, and the effect of the news on the country is minutely described. The book is printed in a creditable manner.

#### THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF FLATBUSH

AND MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE DUTCH SETTLERS IN KINGS COUNTY. By GERTRUDE LEFFERTS VANDERBILT. 12mo. D. APPLETON & Co., New York, 1881.

The History of the Town of Flatbush was written by the Rev. Thomas M. Strong, the pastor of the Reformed Church, and published in 1842. The present volume is announced to be its continuation from a different point of view, and is not an unsatisfactory attempt to describe the changes which have taken place in the habits and customs of the Dutch villages of the New Netherlands.

#### MEMOIR OF GOVERNOR ANDREW.

With Personal Reminiscences by PELEG W. CHANDLER, to which are added two hitherto unpublished Literary Discourses and the Valedictory Address. 16mo, pp. 298. ROBERTS BROTHERS. Boston, 1880.

To no more competent hand could the memoir of the distinguished Governor of Massachusetts have been assigned than that of the eminent Nestor of the Boston bar. From early youth Mr. Andrew was deeply interested in the anti-slavery movement; and the war breaking out under his administration of the government of the State, found him ready and active to throw her entire force into the support of the general government; nay more, found him prepared. His alacrity in responding to the call of the President for troops was the result of his foresight; and his ardor in the cause never fal-

tered until the final triumph. He it was also who raised the first regiment of colored troops, and with the sagacity which marked his every action, officered them with the best blood of the old commonwealth. The purpose of this volume is not that of an historical memoir, but rather to present his traits of character and modes of thought and action, and may be termed a psychological analysis of his mental and moral nature.

#### REMINISCENCES OF A NONAGENA-

RIAN. Edited and illustrated by SARAH ANNA EMERY. 8vo. WILLIAM H. HUSE & Co., Newburyport, 1879.

This, as its name implies, is a volume of personal recollections meted out by the abundant printed historical material concerning the famous town of Ould Newbery, now Newburyport. It is, therefore, of almost wholly local interest. Some good work appears upon the arms and genealogies of commercial New England families of note.

#### THE FOREIGNER IN CHINA. BY L. N.

WHEELER, D. D. With Introduction by Prof. W. C. Sawyer. 12mo, pp. 268. S. C. GRIGGS & Co. Chicago, 1881.

This is a very interesting presentation, whether considered from a religious or a political point of view, of the history of the influence of the western world upon the people and government of the celestial empire. Mr. Wheeler has had excellent opportunities for the examination of this question. He was missionary to China from 1865 to 1873. For four years he resided at Peking. His work is written in candor, and in the distribution of its praise and condemnation, he deals fairly with the Chinese.

#### PLAIN USES OF THE BLACKBOARD

AND SLATE, and other visible and verbal illustrations in the Sunday-School and Home. By the Rev. W. F. CRAFTS. 16mo, pp. 345.

The author declares his purpose in the theoretical parts of his book to show that blackboard exercises are legitimate adjuncts of Sunday-school teaching. There is no reason to suppose that this proposition will be controverted. It is claimed that this eye teaching is an old Bible method, which will not be disputed. The eye is the earliest and best teacher. Things heard are forgotten; but, by some marvelous correspondence between the retina and the brain, things seen hold a perpetual place in memory. Some of the illustrations do not seem either very necessary or appropriate.

## REGISTER OF BOOKS RECEIVED.

THE PORTRAITS OF JOHN HAMPDEN in the Executive Mansion at Washington, and of Lafayette, in the Hall of the House of Representatives of the United States. By Robert C. Winthrop. Privately reprinted from the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, June 9, and Sept. 8, 1881. 8vo pamphlet. John Wilson & Son, Boston, 1881.

JOURNAL OF THE MILITARY SERVICE INSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Vol. II., No. 7. 8vo. New York, 1881.

AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT PROGRESS IN ASTRONOMY (for the years 1879 and 1880). By Prof. Edward S. Holden. 8vo, pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

A SYNOPSIS OF THE SCIENTIFIC WRITINGS OF SIR WILLIAM HERSCHELL. Prepared by Edward S. Holden and Charles S. Hastings. 8vo, pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

AN ACCOUNT OF RECENT PROGRESS IN PHYSICS AND CHEMISTRY for the years 1879 and 1880. By George F. Berker. 8vo, pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER. Vol. 35, No. 140. October, 1881. 8vo, pamphlet. David Clapp & Son, Boston, 1881.

MEMOIR OF SAMUEL STEHMAN HALDEMAN, LL. D. By Charles Henry Hart. (Reprinted from the Penn. Monthly, Aug. 1881). With Appendix. 8vo, pamphlet. Philadelphia, 1881.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE GRAND COMMANDERY KNIGHTS TEMPLAR OF NEBRASKA, at its Ninth Annual Conclave, 1881. 8vo, pamphlet.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA UNDER THE CONSTITUTION. Vol. I. 1783-1801. By James Schouler. 8vo. W. H. & H. Morrison, Washington, 1880.

MEMORIAL OF JOHN AUGUSTUS SMULL. Edited by William H. Egle. 4to. Lane S. Hart, Harrisburg, Pa., 1881.

REPORT OF THE UNITED STATES GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEYS, west of the One Hundredth Meridian, in charge of Lieut. George M. Wheeler, under the direction of Brig. Gen. A. A. Humphreys. Vol. VII. Archaeology. 4to. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1879.

THOMAS CORWIN. A Sketch by A. P. Russell. 12mo. Robert C. Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1881.

KING'S MOUNTAIN AND ITS HEROES. History of the Battle of King's Mountain, October 7, 1780, and the events which led to it. By Lyman C. Draper, LL.D. 8vo. Peter G. Thomson, Cincinnati, 1881.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY for the year 1877. Publication Fund Series. The Colden Letter Books, 1765, 1775. Vol. II., 8vo. Printed for the Society, New York, 1878.

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THE PUBLIC RECORDS OF THE COLONY OF CONNECTICUT from May, 1752, to October, 1767, inclusive. Vol. XII. Transcribed and Edited by Charles J. Hoadley, State Librarian. 8vo. The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., Hartford 1881.

AN ABRIDGED HISTORY OF ENGLAND AND CONDENSED CHRONOLOGY, from the time of the Ancient Britons to the Reign of Queen Victoria, with a synopsis of England in the Nineteenth Century, its Government, Institutions, etc. Compiled by Archibald Hamilton McCalman. 8vo. Trow's Printing and Book-binding Co., New York, 1880.

BATTLE MAPS AND CHARTS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, with Explanatory Notes and School History. References by Henry B. Carrington, M. A., LL.D., Colonel, U. S. A. 8vo. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. [1881].

BRIEF, BUT COMPLETE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND GERMANY, from the Roman Conquest to the Present Day, by Mary E. Kelly. 4to. E. Claxton & Co., Philadelphia, 1881.

AMONG THE SIOUX OF DAKOTA. Eighteen Months Experience as an Indian Agent. By Capt. D. C. Poole, U. S. A. 12mo. D. Van Nostrand, New York, 1881.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS DURING THE YEAR 1879. 8vo. pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

COTTON GOODS OF THE WORLD, AND THE SHARE OF THE UNITED STATES THEREIN. Reports from Consuls of the United States on the trade in cotton yarns and twist, and cotton manufactures in their several districts, with an introductory letter from the Secretary of State. No. 12, October, 1881. 8vo. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ASSOCIATION, at its meeting at New York, February 8, 10, 1881. Bureau of Education. No. 3, 1881. 8vo. pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

THE DISCIPLINE OF THE SCHOOL. Bureau of Education. 8vo. pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

EDUCATION AND CRIME. Bureau of Education. 8vo. pamphlet. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1881.

JAMES ABRAM GARFIELD. A Memorial Sermon delivered at Friendship Street Baptist Church, September 25, 1881, by Rev. E. P. Farnham. 8vo. pamphlet. Tibbits & Shaw, Providence, 1881.

PRELIMINARIES TO A HISTORY OF THE CROWLEY FAMILY. 16mo. pamphlet. Franklin Printing Company, Lowell, Mass., 1881.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANUSCRIPT OF GEN. DEARBORN as Map Commissioner in 1838-39, for the sale of the Seneca Indian Lands in the State of New York. Read before the Albany Institute, October 12, 1881, by Henry A. Homes, 8vo. pamphlet. Weed, Parsons & Co., Albany, 1881.

OFFICIAL REGISTER OF THE OFFICERS AND CADETS OF THE U. S. MILITARY ACADEMY, WEST POINT, N. Y., June, 1881. 12mo. pamphlet. A. V. Haight, Poughkeepsie, N. Y. [1881].

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SELECTIONS FROM THE LETTERS OF THE HON. E. H. MILLS. (Printed from Mass. Hist. Society Proceedings). 8vo. pamphlet. John Wilson & Son, Cambridge, 1881.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN: THE TYPE OF AMERICAN GENIUS. An Historical Romance by Rufus Blanchard. 8vo. R. Blanchard & Co., Wheaton, 1882.

RALEGH: HIS EXPLOITS AND VOYAGES. By George Makepeace Towle. 12mo. Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1882.

THE LEAGUE OF THE IROQUOIS, AND OTHER LEGENDS. From the Indian Muse. By Benjamin Hathaway. 12mo. S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, 1882.

HOW IS YOUR MAN? or the Sharks of Sharkville. Realities of the Graveyard Insurance System. 16mo. Lee & Shepard, Boston, 1882.

MEMORIAL OF HENRY WOLCOTT, one of the first settlers of Windsor, Connecticut, and of some of his descendants. By Samuel Wolcott. Printed for private distribution. 4to. A. D. F. Randolph & Co., New York, 1881.

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF AMERICAN POLITICS. By Charles Reemelin. 8vo. Robert Clarke & Co., Cincinnati, 1881.

#### ANNOUNCEMENT

The Harpers have now in press, and shortly to be issued, a Cyclopaedia of American History, compiled by Dr. Benson J. Lossing. It is prepared to supply a want long felt by general readers. It will present the most important wants in the history of the United States from the aboriginal period to 1876, with the dates of their occurrence. Each record is preceded by a reference to its causes and a statement of its relation to the general history. Illustrations calculated to enhance the usefulness of the book are given in abundance. In a word, the work combines the qualities of an illustrated history of the United States, a dictionary of American biography, and an American portrait gallery. It is confined strictly to our national history.

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